THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

EDITED BY

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, C.I.E.,
MAJOR, INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

VOL. XXV. — 1896.

BOMBAY:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co.

LONDON: LUZAC & Co.
BOMBAY: EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.
NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co.
CHICAGO: S. D. PEET, Esq., PH.D.
LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.
PARIS: E. LEROUX.
BERLIN: A. ASHER & Co.
VIENNA: A. HOLDER & Co.

CONTENTS.

The Names of Contributors are arranged alphabetically.

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME XXV. — 1896.

ESSAYS ON KASHMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARD.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions, by G. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXIV. page 347.)

The Imperative (امرحال).

25. The second person singular has the form of the Root or Stem of the Verb. *E. g.*, کرُن *karun*, to make, کر *kar*. Another form of the Imperative is the so-called Respectful form: *e. g.*, کرُن *karun*, کرِتہٕ *kar-tạ*. The negative used with the Imperative is مہٕ *mạ*, or, more emphatic متہٕ *matạ*. The first person plural of the Imperative also expresses an intention; *e. g.*, کرو *karau*, let us do.

The Participles.

26. (1) **Present Participle** (صیغہٕ حالیہٕ). This has two forms:—

(*a*) In ان ـاَن *ân*, *e. g.*, سوزُن *sôzun*, سوزان *sôzân*. This Participle is indeclinable, and is used —

(*α*) Principally in composition with the auxiliary verbs چھہٕ *chha* and آسُن *âsun*, 'to be;' *e. g.*, سوزان چھس *sôzân chhus*, I am sending; سوزان اوسس *sôzân ôsus*, I was sending;

(*β*) Standing independently, especially as a nominative or accusative after verbs like وُچھُن *vuchhun*, to see; *e. g.*, تمِ وُچھ پکان *tami vuchh pakân*, by him was he seen to go; تم وُچھن یوان *tim vuchhan yivân*, they will see him coming.

(*γ*) Frequently doubled; *e. g.*, پکان پکان *pakân pakân*, going on continually further and further.

(*b*) In ِت ـِت *it*[13] (expressing a state), in intransitive verbs in composition with چھہٕ *chha* and آسُن *âsun*; *e. g.*, شُنگِت اوس *shungit ôs*, he was sleeping, he slept.

27. (2) **The Perfect Participle** (Passive in the case of transitive verbs, Active in the case of intransitives. — اسم مفعول) [often with a change of the root-vowel, *vide post*].

(*a*) In مُت *mut*, *e. g.*, سوزن *sôzun*, to send, سوزمُت *sûzmut*. The plural is in مت *maṭi*, the fem. sing. in مچ *maṭs*, pl. مچه *maṭsa*. Many verbs have irregular forms in this participle. The irregularities are the same as those of the Aorist, and are derived from them.

(*b*) In ت ـِ *it*[13] (expressing a state); *e. g.*, لکهت چهه *likhit chhu*, it is written, *i. e.*, it has been put into writing.

28. (3) **Future Participle Active**, in وول *vôl* and ون ـَ *avun*. This has been described above [§§ 22-24]. Both occur in composition with چهه *chha*, and آسن *âsun*.

29. **The Participle Absolute** (ماضی معطوف). — The termination is ت ـِ *it*, added to the stem of the verb; *e. g.* کرن *karun*, کر *kar*, کرت *karit*.

The Participle Absolute has, as in Sanskṛit, either an active or a passive meaning, according to the context. It also frequently occurs after the following verbs:—هکن *hekun*, to be able; گچهن *gatshun*, to go (having done a thing to go, *i. e.*, to do it at once); مکلن *mokalun*, to cease; especially with چهنن *chhunun*,[14] to throw; *e. g.*, تراوت چهنن *trâvit chhunun*, to throw away; کڈن چهنن *kaḍit chhunun*, to expel; چٹت چهنن *tsaṭit chhunun*, to cut down; کهت چهنن *khit chhunun*, to eat up,[15] etc. (Cf. also the Pres. part. (*b*), and Past part. (*b*).)

The Precative.

30. This form expresses a prayer or request, and is only used in the 2nd and 3rd persons. The termination is زه *zi*, which is added to the root with ـِ *i* as a junction vowel; *e. g.*, کرن *karun*, کرزه *karizi*. With هه *hi* added, it takes a conditional meaning; *e. g.*, کرزهه *karizihi* thou shouldst do (or shouldst have done); دزهه *dizihi*, thou shouldst give (or shouldst have given).

The Optative (ماضی تمنی).

31. This mood expresses a wish. The termination is هه ـَ *aha*; *e. g.*, سوزن *sôzun*, سوزهه *sôz-aha*. In the case of دین *dyun*, and similar verbs, merely the syllable هه *ha* is added to the 1 sing. fut.; *e. g.*, ین *yun*, to come, 1 sing. fut. یمه *yima*, یمهه *yima-ha*. The words ای کاش *ay kâsh* are used with the optative in the sense of the Latin *utinam*; *e. g.*, ای کاش زانهک *ay kâsh zân-aha-k*, wouldst that thou knew.

32. The Optative is also used as a Potential, and with ای *ay*, if, as a Conditional mood.

---

[13] This form in ت ـِ *it* is probably identical with the Participle Absolute.

[14] Elmslie and Wade, *tshunun*.

[15] [Cf. the Hindûstânî *ḍâlnâ* in *kâṭ ḍâlnâ*, etc. — TRANS.]

Formation of Tenses and Persons.

33. In the Active voice a distinction must be made between the **Simple** and the **Periphrastic** tenses. If we exclude the **Imperative** (امرحال) and the **Present Optative** (ماضی تمنا), there are only two [three] **Simple Tenses.** The **Present Indefinite** or **Future** (مضارع) and the **Aorist,** or tense of narrative (ماضی مطلق) [and the **Pluperfect II.** (ماضي بعيد)].

34. The **Present Indefinite** or **Future** has the following terminations. [This tense was originally a present, but is now only used, in the Indicative, with a future meaning. It is also regularly used as a Present Subjunctive.]

	Sing.	Plur.
(1)	*ạ*	*au*
(2)	*ak*	*iu*
(3)	*i*	*an*

35. The Aorist [or Indefinite Past]. [In this tense the verb frequently changes its radical vowel in the masculine singular, and sometimes also further modifies it before a final *i* Thus, from کَرُن *karun,* to make, 3 sg. masculine *kor*u, 3 sg. fem. *kạr*i : 3 pl. masc. *kạr*i , 3 pl. fem. *kari.* It also frequently changes the final consonant of the root in the feminine. Thus, *pok*, he went, fem. *pạch*i. In short, the 3rd person of the aorist is merely an old adjectival past participle, and is subject to the same rules as adjectives, as regards gender and number, see §§ 158 and ff. and 217 and ff.

The following are the terminations of this tense in the case of Intransitive verbs:—

	Sing.		Pl.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
(1)	*us*	*is* or *es*	*i* (underlined)	*i*
(2)	*uk*	*ik* or *ek*	*ivạ*[18]	*ivạ*
(3)	*u*[16] (underlined)	*i*[17] (underlined)	*i* (underlined)	*i*]

36. The Aorist of Transitive verbs is treated passively [that is to say, instead of saying 'I sent thee,' the expression used is 'thou wast sent by me.' In this way the subject of the sentence is in the case of the instrumental, and the object of the sentence becomes the subject of the verb. The verb agrees in gender, number and person with this latter subject. The third person sg. of the aorist transitive, construed passively, *sûz*u, *sûz*i, *sûz*i , *sûzi,* he (it[19]), she, they (m.), they (f.) was, were, sent, is taken as the basis of the ordinary conjugation of the aorist, and to this the following terminations are added :—

Agent 1st Person, no termination.

Agent 2nd Person, sg. *t*, pl. *vạ*.

Agent 3rd Person, no termination.

We thus, when the object of the sentence, *i. e.*, the subject of the verb, is in the third person (*i. e.*, the 3rd personal pronoun, or a noun substantive), get the following scheme of terminations to be added to the root. There are other schemes for the same person which will be described subsequently (see § 88).

---

16 This u is usually omitted in writing, and is not pronounced.

17 [This i is sometimes omitted in writing, and is barely audible. Many (including Wade) omit it altogether, but I have Dr. Neve's authority for its existence.]

18 According to some, *vạ*.

19 Once for all, throughout the verb, the neuter is the same as the masculine.

Subject (of the verb) [he (it) she, they] was (were) sent].

Subject of sentence in instrumental case.	Singular. Masc.		Singular. Fem.		Plural. Masc.		Plural. Fem.	
Sing. (1) by me	(u)	[With Radical Vowel frequently altered. Radical final consonant unaltered.]	i	[Radical Vowel sometimes modified. Radical final consonant liable to change.]	i	[Radical Vowel sometimes modified. Radical final consonant unaltered.]	ạ or i[20]	[Radical Vowel unaltered. Radical final consonant liable to change.]
Sing. (2) by thee	ut		ạt		it		ạt or e	
Sing. (3) by him, her, it	(u)		i		i		ạ or i	
Pl. (1) by us	(u)		i		i		ạ or i	
Pl. (2) by you	(u)vạ		ivạ		ivạ		ạvạ or ivạ	
Pl. (3) by them	(u)		i		i		ạ or i	

The *u* is not pronounced and is seldom written. So also the *i* of the Fem. Sing., especially the *i* of *ivạ*.

37. [If the object of the sentence, *i. e.*, the subject of the verb, is in the second or third person, the nominative suffixes of these persons have also to be added. This will become plain from the paradigms. Regarding the suffixes, see § 47.]

38. [The second form of the **Pluperfect (Plup. II.)** has the following terminations added to the root direct, frequently with a change of the final consonant of the root (see § 158), but with no change of the radical vowel. *E. g.*, The Plup. II. 3 sg. masc. of لدن *ladun*, to load, is لزوو *lazôv*.

Sing.		Pl.	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
(1) یوس or ـــ وس — *ôs* or *yôs*	اییس or آیس *ôyas* or *êyas*	ایی *êy*	اییہ *êyi*
(2) یوک or ـــ وک — *ôk* or *yôk*	اییک or آیک *ôyak* or *êyak*	ایوٕ *êvạ*	اییوٕ *êyivạ*
(3) یوو or ـــ وو — *ôv* or *yôv*[21]	اییہ *êyi*	ایی *êy*	اییہ *êyi*

The above are the terminations of the neuter verb. The Transitive verb is construed passively like the aorist, the same terminations being added as above explained.]

The Periphrastic or Compound Tenses.

39. (1) The **Present Definite** (حال), is compounded of the Present Participle, and the Present of the Auxiliary verb چھہ *chha*, 'to be.'

40. (2) The **Imperfect** (ماضی استمراری), compounded of the Present Participle, and the Aorist of the Auxiliary verb آسن *âsun*, 'to be.'

41. (3) The **Perfect** (ماضی قریب), compounded of the Perfect Participle and the Present of the Auxiliary verb چھہ *chha*, to be (transitive verbs treated passively).

[20] Some verbs take the *ạ*- and others the *i*- forms, see § 90.

[21] See § 160.

42. (4) The **Pluperfect I.** (ماضي بعيد), compounded of the Perfect Participle, and the Aorist of the Auxiliary verb آسن *ásun*, 'to be.' [For Plup. II., see under head of Simple Tenses.] [Transitive verbs treated passively.]

43. (5) The **Periphrastic Future,** compounded of the Future Participle, and the Auxiliary verb چھہ *chha*, 'to be'; *e. g.*, کرون چھہ *karavun chhu*, he is about to make.

44. (6) The **Future Perfect and Dubitative** (ماضی شکیہ), compounded of the Perfect Participle, and the Future of the verb آسن *ásun* [Transitive verbs treated passively].

45. Mp. gives (7) A **Perfect Optative or Conditional,** compounded of the Perf. Part. + Opt. or Cond. of آسن *ásun*, and (8) An **Imperfect Imperative,** compounded of the Pres. Part. + Imperative of آسن *ásun*, but I have not met with any instance of them in literature.

46. The Tenses of the Passive are all Compound ones (see Passive, §§ 136 and ff.).

47. In order to be able to comprehend the Paradigms, it is necessary here to give the certain cases of the **Personal Pronouns,** and their connected suffixes.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

1. Nominative.

	Personal Pronoun.	Suffix.
Singular.	(1) بہ *bo*, I	س *s* / م *m*
	(2) چہ *tsa*, thou	ک *k*
	(3) سہ *su*, he; سہ *so*, she; تہ *ti*, it	ن *n* / س *s* (all genders.)
Plural.	(1) اسی *asi*, we	....
	(2) تہ *tohi*, you	وہ *va*
	(3) تم *tim*, they (masc.); تمہ *tima*, they (fem.)	ک *k*

2. Accusative.

Singular.	(1) بہ *bo*, me	م *m*
	(2) چہ *tsa*, thee	ت *t*
	(3) سہ *su*, him; ,, *so*, her; تہ *ti*, it	ن *n* / س *s*

	Personal Pronoun.	Suffix.
Plural.	(1) اَسِ *as'*, us	....
	(2) تُہِ *toh'*, you	وٕ *vą*
	(3) تِم *tim*, them (masc.)	ک *k*
	تِمہٕ *timą*, them (fem.)	

Note that, in the full forms, the Nominative is the same as the Accusative. In the second pers. sing. and in the first person of both numbers, however, the Accusative usually takes the form of the Dative.

3. Instrumental.

Singular.	(1) مےٚ *me*, by me	م *m*
	(2) ژےٚ *tse*, by thee	ت *t*
	(3) تَمِ *tąm'*, by him	ن *n*
	تَمہِ *tami*, by her	
Plural.	(1) اَسہِ *asi*, by us	....
	(2) تُہہِ *tohi*, by you	وٕ *vą*
	(3) تِمَو *timau*, by them (m. f.)	ک *k*

4. Dative.

Singular.	(1) مےٚ *me*, to me	م *m*
	(2) ژےٚ *tse*, to thee	ی *y*
	(3) تَس *tas*, to him or her	س *s*
Plural.	(1) اَسہِ *asi*, to us	....
	(2) تُہہِ *tohi*, to you	وٕ *vą*
	(3) تِمَن *timan*, to them (m. f.)	ک *k*

[NOTE. — There is no suffix for the Nominative plural, and that the suffixes of the plural of the 2nd and 3rd persons are the same for all cases.]

REMARKS ON THE SUFFIXES.

48. It must be noted as a peculiarity of the Kâśmîrî idiom, that all pronominal suffixes are, so to speak, Relative, — that is to say, that they invariably refer to some preceding or following noun or pronoun, and are thus, properly speaking, pleonastic. A Kâśmîrî does not say, "he killed the man," but "the man, he killed-him," or "he killed-him, the man." He does not say, "I will give to thee," but "to thee will I give-to-thee." Hence we find بۂ بَلراوَک تِم *bo balrâva-k* (causal of بَلُن *balun*, to be in good health) *tim*, I will heal-them them. We also,

however, find sentences like بہٕ بلراون *bo balrāva-n*, I will heal him (سہٕ *su* being understood from what precedes).

49. In applying these suffixes, the following special rules must be followed :—

1. Simple Tenses.

(*a*) A final ہ *h* is merely a graphic sign to shew that the word ends in a vowel, and hence should be treated as non-existent.

(*b*) A form ending in a consonant takes ـَ *a*, ـٕ (*u*) or *u* (usually omitted) as a junction vowel, in which case if the consonant is *k*, it becomes *h*; *e. g.*, سوزک *sôza-k*, thou wilt send, سوزہم *sôzah*(*a*)-*m*, thou wilt send me.[22]

(*c*) ـَو *av* (*au*) becomes ـو *ô* and ـِو *iv* (*iu*) becomes یو *yô*; *e. g.*, سوزو *sôzau*, we shall send, سوزوت *sôzô-t*, we shall send thee; سوزو *sôziu*, you will send, سوزیوم *sôzyô-m*, you will send me.

(*d*) ت *t* becomes *th* [if followed by another suffix]; *e. g*, چہٕ سوزت *tse sûzu-t*, he was sent by thee; چہٕ سوزتھم *tse sûz*ᵘ*th*(*a*)-*m*, he was sent by thee to me.

(*e*) For وٕوہ وہ ـ *ᵘva-va* we find وٕوہ ـ *ôva*; so also, ـون *ᵘva-n* becomes ـون *ôn*; and ـَوہ وہ *ava-va*, اوہ ـَ *âva*.

(*f*) ـوس *ᵘva-s* becomes ـوس *ôs*; ـوم *ᵘva-m* becomes *ôm*, and ـوک *ᵘva-k* becomes ـوک *ôk*.

(*g*) ـَنَن *anan* becomes ـَن تس *an tas*. That is to say, the pronoun becomes separated from the verb and ceases to be a suffix.

(*h*) If another suffix is added after ـَن *an*, the latter becomes ـون *ôn*; *e. g.*, دِمن *dima-n*, I will give him, دِمونوہ *dimôn*(*a*)-*va*, I will give him to you.[23]

2. Compound Tenses.

In these the suffixes are added, according to the foregoing rules, to the auxiliary verb; *e. g.*, چھسن *chhus*(*a*)-*n* (him).

Double Suffixes.

50. In the Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect we meet with Double suffixes (see Aorist). One suffix is that of the Instrumental. The other, that of the Nominative, Dative, or Accusative.

Examples.

51. Nominative Suffixes :—

1*st person singular*. — (*a*) س *s*: 1st sing. pres. بہٕ چھس *bo chhu-s*, I am; 1st sing. aorist, بہٕ کھوچس *bo khûtsu-s*, I feared. چہٕ ترووتھس بہٕ *tse trôv*(ᵘ)-*th*(*a*)-*s*, by thee (was) forsaken-by-thee-I I, *i. e.*, by thee was I forsaken, thou forsookest

[22] The translator is responsible for most of these examples.

[23] In forms like درایہٕ *drâyi*, we sometimes find دراس *drâs*, instead of درایس *drâyis*. [Np., Matth. xiii. 26.]

me:[24] (بۄ) رٹوس (تۄہ) (*tohi*) *roṭ-va-s* (*bo*), (by you) (was) seized-by-you-I (I), *i. e.*, you seized me.

(*b*) م *m* : 2nd plural aorist, تۄہ سۄزوم بۄ *tohi sûz-va-m bo*, by you was I sent, you sent me.

2nd person singular. — ك *k* ; 2nd sing. pres. چہ چھك *tsa chhu-k*, thou art ; 2nd sing. aor. چہ کھوچك *tsa khûtsu-k*, thou didst fear.

3rd Person Singular.—

(*a*) ن *n* : 2 sg. aor. تۄہ سۄزون سۄ *tohi sûz-va-n su*, by you was he sent.

(*b*) س *s* : 3 sg. aor. یس تمو مول کورس *yus timau mol koru-s*, (he) who by them was bought, *i. e.*, (he) whom they bought.

2nd Person Plural. — وۄ *va* : 2 pl. pres. چھوۄ *chhi-va*, ye are ; 2 pl. aor. تۄ کھوچوۄ *tohi khûts-va*, ye feared.

3rd Person Plural. — ك *k* : 3 pl. pres. تم چھك *tim chhi-k*, they are.

52. Accusative Suffixes :—

1st Person Singular. — م *m* : 2 pl. imperat. سۄزیوم *sôzyô-m* (for *sôz-iu-m*), send me.

2nd Person Singular. — ت *t* : 1 sg. fut. بۄ کرت *bo kara-t*, I will make thee.

3rd Person Singular. — (*a*) ن *n* : 1 sg. fut. بۄ مارن *bo mâra-n*, I will kill him.

(*b*) س *s* : 3 pl. fut. تم کرنس *tim karan(a)-s*, they will make him.

2nd Person Plural. — وۄ *va* : 1 sg. fut. بۄ ماروۄ *bo mâra-va*, I will kill you.

3rd Person Plural. — ك *k* : 1 sg. fut. بۄ مارك *bo mâra-k*, I will kill them.

53. On the distinction between the Accusative suffixes ن *n* and س *s*:—
Instead of ن *n* (acc.), س *s* is used —

(1) In forms which end in —

(*a*) ـ *i* or *e* : *e. g.*, مارس *mâri-s*,[25] he will kill him (from مارۄ *mâri* + س *s*) ; چلس *tsali-s*, they fled (from) him (from چل *tsali* + س *s*).

(*b*) ن ـ *an* : *e. g.*, صلیبۄ دنس *ṣalîba din(a)-s*, صلیبۄ لدنس *ṣalîba ladan(a)-s* (Matth. xx. 19), they will crucify him, or حوالۄ کرنس *havâla karan(a)-s* (Matth. xx. 19), they will put him in charge. [Matth. xxvii. 22, 23, has *ṣalîbi* (fem. obl.) not *ṣalîba* (masc. obl.).]

[These are the only two cases allowed by Wade.]

(2) In the 3 sg. aor. ; *e. g.*, کورس *koru-s*, he made him, to distinguish it from کورن *korun* (?). [*s* is here a Nominative suffix.]

[24] Some call this an Accusative suffix : by thee thou hast forsaken *me* (!) ; by you didst thou send *me* (!) ; by you did you send him (!). Cf. Np., Matth. xxvii. 46 ; xxi. 13 ; xxvii. 9 ; xxvi. 55.

[25] Wade, *mâri-a-s*.

(3) When a feminine predicate follows; *e. g.*, هُوِدوُشکَہ جَمع کَرِو تَہ گَنڈیُوس گیڈِ *hûnivushka jam' kariu ta gaṇḍyô-s gyaḍ*[i], (Matth. xiii. 30) gather ye the tares and bind them in bundles.

54. Dative Suffixes :—

1st Person Singular. — م *m* : 2 sg. imperat. دِم *di-m*, give me.

2nd Person Singular. — ی *y* : 1 sg. fut. دِمَی *dima-y*, I shall give to thee.

3rd Person Singular. — س *s* : 1 sg. fut. کَرَس *kara-s*, I shall make for him.

3rd Person Plural. — ک *k* : 1 sg. fut. سوزَک *sôza-k*, I will send to them.

(*To be continued.*)

ON SOME DATES OF THE KOLLAM ERA.

BY DR. ROBERT SCHRAM; VIENNA.[1]

MR. SUNDARAM PILLAI gives in his interesting pamphlet, *Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore*, Madras, 1894, **fourteen inscriptions dated in the Kollam Era.** Some of these dates mention the week days and the moon's and Jupiter's places, so that they can easily be verified, and it is perhaps not without interest to see how far they agree with each other. The dates contained in the inscriptions are the following : —

No. 1. — In the year opposite the year 301 since the appearance of Kollam, with the sun in the sign of Leo (*i. e.*, the Malabar month Chingam, or, roughly speaking, about the latter half of August 1125 A. D.)[2]

No. 2. — In the Kollam year 319, with Jupiter in the sign of Scorpio and the sun in Capricornus (*i. e*, the Malabar month Makaram, or, roughly speaking, the end of January 1144 A. D.)

No. 3. — In the year opposite the year 336 after the appearance of Kollam, with the sun 6 days old in the sign of Taurus, Saturday, Makayiram star (*i. e.*, the 7th Iḍavam, lunar mansion Mṛigaśîrsham, about the end of May 1161 A. D.)

No. 4. — In the year [opposite the year 336 since the appearance of Kollam],[3] with the sun * days old in Taurus, Saturday, Makayiram star.

No. 5. — In the year 342 after the appearance of Kollam, with the sun 7 days old in Leo (*i. e.*, the 8th of Chingam, about the end of August 1166).

No. 6. — In the Kollam year 348, with Jupiter in Cancer and the sun * * old in Pisces, Thursday, Anusham star (*i. e.*, the Malabar month Mînam, approximately speaking in March 1173).

No. 7. — In Dhanus and when life was at its height (Dhanus 365, about the end of December 1189).

No. 8. — In the Kollam year 368, with Jupiter in Virgo and the sun 2 days old in Taurus (3rd Iḍavam 368 M. E., or about the latter half of May 1193).

No. 9. — In the Kollam year 371, with Jupiter in Cancer and the sun 24 days old in Cancer (25th Mêḍam 371 M. E., or about the beginning of May 1196).

No. 10. — In the Kollam year 384, with Jupiter in Cancer [and the sun * days old in Gemini] (Mithunam or Iḍavam 384 M. E., about May or June 1209).

No. 11. — In the year opposite the Kollam year 389, with Jupiter in Aquarius and the sun 18 days old in Pisces, Thursday, Pushya star, the 10th lunar day (*i. e.*, 1214 A. D.)

[1] [An improved version of which is to be found in this *Journal*, Vol. XXIV.—ED.]

[2] The words within brackets are Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai's remarks.

[3] The words within square brackets are supplied in the inscription by Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai.

No. 12. — In the year opposite the Kollam year 410, with Jupiter in Scorpio and the sun 27 days old in Aries (*i. e.*, the 28th Mêḍam, about April 1235).

No. 13. — In the Kollam year 427, with Jupiter entering Aries and the sun 21 days old in Taurus, Wednesday, the 5th lunar day after the new moon.

No. 14. — In the Kollam year 491 and in the fourth year, the sun being 21 days old in Aquarius (22nd Kumbham 491 M. E., or, roughly speaking, about the end of February 1316).

As the dates Nos. 3, 11 and 13 seem to be the surest, we will begin with them. Mr. Robert Sewell states in his *South-Indian Chronological Tables*, Madras, 1889, page 7f., that on the first day of the Kollam era 1434160 days of the Kaliyuga had expired, and this brings us to the day 2022626 of the Julian period. And counting from the beginning of the Kaliyuga, corrected by — 2 d. 51 g. 8 v. 45 p. (see Warren's *Kala Saṅkalita*, page 10) and adding hereto 3926 years of 365 d. 15 g. 31 v. 15 p. *plus* the duration of the months Mêḍam, Iḍavam, Mithunam, Karkaḍakam and Chiṅgam, we find indeed that the entrance of the sun into Kanyâ took place on the day 2022625 of the Julian period at 37 g. 40 v. 36 p. after mean sunrise at Laṅkâ.

Taking now the dates as current years, we find for the beginning of the respective months the day of the Julian period: 2145227 d. 1 g. 28 v. 31 p. for Iḍavam 336; 2164524 d. 28 g. 11 v. 43 p. for Mînam 389; and 2178465 d. 33 g. 52 v. 16 p. for Iḍavam 427. The first instance is so near sunrise that the slightest difference in the assumed duration of the solar months can bring it back to the end of the day 2145226, which day is to be taken as the 1st Iḍavam; so the 7th Iḍavam 336 corresponds to the day 2145232 of the Julian period, which day (29th April 1161 A. D.) was indeed a Saturday. As it is easily found by Jacobi's *Tables* that on this day the moon was indeed in Mṛigaśiras, this date seems identified without doubt. If the 1st Iḍavam 427 corresponds to the Julian day 2178465, the 22nd will correspond to 2178486 or the 15th May 1252, which day was indeed a Wednesday, and by Jacobi's *Tables* the 5th *tithi* was running; so this date, too, is undoubtedly ascertained.

The day 2164524 for the 1st Mînam 389 would bring the 19th Mînam to the day 2164542, which, instead of being a Thursday and the 10th lunar day, is Wednesday and the 29th lunar day. But when we take this year to be expired, the beginning of Mînam 389 falls on the the day 2164889 d. 43 g. 42 v. 58 p. and the 19th Mînam corresponds to the day 2164907 or the 12th March 1215, which was a Thursday, and on which day by Jacobi's *Tables* the 10th *tithi* was running and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Pushya; so there can be no doubt that this date also is correctly ascertained by transferring it to 1215.

These dates shew that in the inscriptions the years are sometimes expired and sometimes current.

No. 4 is the same as No. 3, and need not therefore be taken into consideration. Nos. 1, 5 and 14 have no particulars by which to decide if the years are current or expired, so they may correspond respectively either to August 1126 or 1127 (1125 of one begins the year with Chingam instead of Kanyâ), to August 4, 1167 or to August 3, 1168 (or to August 4, 1166 when beginning with Chingam), and to February 15, 1316 or February 14, 1317.

For the dates Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 the position of Jupiter is given, so that it is possible to decide in every case if the year is current or expired. Taking first all the years as current and calculating the places of Jupiter, we find Jupiter in the sign assigned to him in Ncs. 6, 9, 11 and 13, whilst in No. 12 Jupiter, instead of being in Scorpio, was yet in Libra. So this date has to be taken as expired, which brings Jupiter to Scorpio. In No. 10 the case is reversed. Jupiter ought to be in Cancer, but he had really left this sign for some months and was far advanced in Leo. Yet this is easily explained when we consider the contents of the inscription. The words [and the sun * days old in Gemini] are supplied. As the last lines of the document in question speak of a first half-yearly payment due in Vṛiśchigam 385, Mr. Sundaram Pillai supposes that the document itself was made half a year before Vṛiśchigam

385, which would bring us to Mithunam or Iḍavam 384. But as this supposition does not agree with Jupiter's place, there can scarcely be any doubt that the document, instead of being made half a year before the first payment, was drawn up a whole year earlier or in one of the first months of 384, whilst Jupiter was yet in Cancer. It is not quite easy to say which day is to be taken for Jupiter's leaving Cancer; for one cannot be sure whether the true or the mean position of Jupiter is to be taken into account. This seems to be decided by No. 13. When calculating the true place of Jupiter by the Tables in Warren's *Kala Saṅkalita,* we find Jupiter, 14 degrees in Aries. As the inscription says "Jupiter entering Aries," fourteen degrees are rather too much advanced for such an expression. But when we simply calculate the beginning of Jupiter's years by the Tables of Kielhorn, we find that the year Piṅgala, which corresponds to Aries, had begun on the day 2178462 of the Julian period, just 24 days before our date, so that the expression "Jupiter entering into Aries" would be quite exact. Using, therefore Kielhorn's *Tables* also for No. 10, we find for the beginning of Śrîmukha or Jupiter's entering Leo the day 2162576 or the 27th Tulâ 384, so that the document would be brought to Kanyâ or Tulâ 384, some days before the first Vṛiśchigam, so that the *first* half-yearly payment was only due after a whole year.

As to the dates Nos. 2, 7 and 8, they must be erroneous; for Jupiter, instead of being in Scorpio, Cancer and Virgo, is found respectively in Aquarius, Sagittarius and Aries. Mr. Sundaram Pillai, in the note to page 29, also remarks that the position assigned to Jupiter in these inscriptions does not agree with the other inscriptions. There must be some error in the date.

To sum up, we find for our dates: —

- No. 1 = August 1126 or August 1127 (August 1125, if one begins the year with Chiṅgam).
- No. 2 erroneous.
- No. 3 = 29th April 1161.
- No. 4 = No. 3.
- No. 5 = August 4, 1167 or August 3, 1168 (August 4, 1166, if one begins the year with Chiṅgam).
- No. 6 = 1173 A. D., February 22, or March 1, or March 8, or March 15.
- No. 7 erroneous.
- No. 8 erroneous.
- No. 9 = April 17, 1196.
- No. 10 between October 23, 1208 and January 14, 1209.
- No. 11 = March 12, 1215.
- No. 12 = May 10, 1236.
- No. 13 = May 15, 1252.
- No. 14 = February 15, 1316 or February 14, 1317.

NARSINH MEHTANUN MAMERUN.

A POEM BY PREMANAND.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GUJARATI WITH NOTES BY MRS. J. K. KABRAJI.

(*Continued from p.* 106.)

Canto VII.

245 "What ruin the old woman has brought on me!" (Kuṅvarbâî laments).
"My grandmother-in-law stands in the place of an enemy to me; she has destroyed all the gladness of my heart:

(She who appears) sweet of tongue and of few words and sings the praises of Harî at every step,
With a show of benevolence chose to dictate the list, but she bears malice in her heart."[83]
Kuṅvarbâî went to her father with the paper in her hand,
(And said) "My grandmother-in-law has prescribed impossible things: say, father, what is to become (of us)?
She has made a demand that not even a millionaire could satisfy.
Why has this *śîmant* come to me, thus to be a source of grief to the *sâdhu*, my father?
One thousand pieces of gold, to say nothing of the clothes!
And not a *kauḍi* do I see with you, father.
Father, I beseech you to go back, for by stopping longer you will forfeit your good name."
Says the Mêhêtâjî: — "Daughter mine, remain confident.
The old woman has helped and not harmed our cause.
Śâmâḷîâ is not one to neglect me on this occasion: why dost *thou* shed tears?
Dâmôdar is not deaf to (our) prayers. *He* will not have to go into debt (for our sakes).
Kuṅvarbâî, go you to your home, it is none of *our* concern.
If Harî does not furnish this *mâmêrûṅ*, the ridicule will be all *his*.
As he (miraculously) replaced the nine hundred and ninety-nine *sâṛîs* on the person of Pañchâlî,[84]
So will he provide the requisites of the *mâmêrûṅ*.
You wait patiently till the morrow.
Have faith in your heart, daughter of a Vaishṇava. The Lord Gôpâḷ will support us and maintain us through life."
On hearing these words of her father, the daughter's heart was filled with affection,
And she returned to her home with faith in her bosom.

कडवुं ७ मुं. राग मारु.

डाट वाळ्यो रे, डोसीए डाट वाळ्यो रे.
वडसासु वेरण थई मारी, हरख हईयांनो टाळ्यो रे. डोसी.
मीठा वचननी ने थोडा बोली, हींडे हरिगुण गाती रे;
परमारथी थई पत्र लखाव्यो, मनमां मोटी काती. डोसी.
कागळ लेइने कुंवरबाई आव्यां, पीता केरी पासे रे;
वडसासुए वीप्रीत लखाव्युं, कहो हवे शुं थाशे रे; डो०
लखेसरीथी पुरूं नव पडे, एवुं मांही लख्राव्युं रे;
साधुपिताने महादुख देवा, मारे शीमंत शाने आव्युं डो०
सहस्र मोहोर सोनानी रोकडी, वस्त्र तणुं नहीं लेखुं रे;
तातजी हुं तो तमारी पासें, कोडी एक न देखुं. डोसी
पिताजी तमो पाछा पधारो, अहीं रहे इजत जाशे रे;
मेहेताजी कहे पुत्री मारी, रहो तमे विश्वासे. डोसीए.
आपणुं कारज सीध्युं, डोसीए रुडुं कीधुं रे;
शामळीओ अवसर नहीं भुले, तुं कां आंसुडां पाडे. डोसी.
दामोदर कांइ नथी दोहलो, नहिं कांइ करजे काढे. डो०
कुंवरबाई तमे घेर पधारो, आपणुं एमां शुं जासे रे;
जो मामेरूं हरी नहीं करे तो, उपहासी एनी थाशे. डो०
पंचाळीनां पटकुळ पुरयां, नवशोने नवाणुं रे;
ते रीते मामेरूं करसे, तुं थवा देने वाहाणुं; डोसीए.
विशवाश हदेमां राखो तमो, छो वइष्णवनां बाळ रे;
आपणुं ए प्रतिपाळण करसे, शामळिओ गोपाळ. डो०
हईडे हेत दीकरीने आव्युं, सुणी तातनी वाणी रे;
कुंवरबाई फरी मंदीर आव्यां, विश्वाश उरमां आणी. डो०

Canto VIII.

Mark, ye people, the queer ways of this sinful age, the Vaishṇavas are ridiculed.
This Nâgar community is much given to sarcasm, and will make cutting remarks on the most trivial matters.

[83] *Lit.*, bears a large knife in her heart.

[84] This is a reference to the well-known story of Draupadî, who was condemned to be stripped in open court, but whose honour was saved by Vishṇu, who substituted another cloth as soon as one was removed, till nine hundred and ninety-nine were supplied in succession; when her enemies, finding their efforts fruitless, ceased to harass her any more.

As the Mêhêtâjî arose to have his meal with his company of *vérâgîs*,
The people all assembled around in a crowd, and began to laugh at them,
Saying:—"See how the *tilak* and the necklace of *tuḷaśi* beads, and the printed cloth on his person become the Mêhêtâjî!
Oh, see the beauty of the *vêvâî:* millions of cupids will hide their heads through shame!
Now you will see that he will sing the *Râg Malâr*[85] as he bathes, and will bring down a shower.
Then he will hold forth the food and mutter incantations and Jâdav Nâth will partake of the oblation."
All the *vérágîs* bathed themselves with such (water) as they could get;
But the water provided for the Mêhêtâjî was boiling hot;
As hot as the oil boiled for frying Sudhaṅva[86] was the water heated
For the Mêhêtâ by the *vêvâṇ*,[87] that he might be flayed alive!
Seeing the water so hot the Mêhêtâjî asked for some cold water.
But Kuṅvarvahu's sister-in-law[88] turned away her face and said sneeringly:—
"Why, Mêhêtâjî, can you not bring down a shower at will that you ask *us* for cold water?"
This remark went to the Mêhêtâ's heart, and he straightway called for his cymbals.
Seated on a stool he invoked the Lord Sâmaḷ and began to play the *Râg Malâr.*
The Nâgar people assembled to watch (the result), and went on speaking unmannerly things.

कडवुं ८ मुं. राग गोडी.

जोजो रे कउतक कळियुगनां, वइष्णवनी चेस्टा थाय रे;
वांका बोली नात नागरी. सेजे बोले अन्याय रे;
भोजन करवा मेहेताजी उठ्या, साथे बहु वेरागी रे;
टोळे मळी सउ नात नागरी, जोई जोई हसवा लागी रे;
चीरया तिलक ने तुळशीनी माळा, छापो अंग बिराजे रे;
वेवाईनां रूप जुवो रे बाईओ, कोटीक कंदर्प लाजे रे.
मलार गासे नाती वेळा वरशसे वरशाद रे;
प्रसाद करतां थाळ गाशे, जमसे जादवनाथ रे.
स्नान करी सउ वइष्णव बेठा, जेने जेशुं मळतुं रे;
मेहेताजीने नाहावा अरथे, जळ मल्युं कळकळतुं रे;
जेम तेल कढा ताती उकाळी, सुधनवाने तळवा रे;
तेम वेवाणे जळ उकाळ्युं, मेहेताजीने छळवा रे. कड॰
उष्णोदक उनुं देखीने माग्युं, मेहेते टाढुं पाणी रे;
मरमवचन मुख मरडीने बोली, कुंवरबाईनी जेठाणी रे;
मांगया मेह वरसे मेहेताजी, तो अम पाश शुं मागो रे;
बाजटे बेठा ताळ मंगावी, बोल हृदेमां वाग्यो रे.
स्मरण कीधुं शामळीयानुं, आरोप्यो राग मलार रे.
नागर लोक जोवाने मळीया, बोले वंग उचार रे. क॰

Canto IX.

The Mêhêtâjî sat on a bench and called upon Śrî Gôpâḷ.
He sang the *Râg Malâr* with devotion, beating the cymbals with his hands:—
"Help me, thy servant, Śâmaḷâ, who am being ridiculed.
The water is hot enough to crack a cocoanut.
The enraged Haṅsdhvaj Râî had boiled the cauldron of oil,
But by thy mercy it cooled down and Sudhaṅva was saved.
Thou, O Śâmaḷâ, didst accept the order for seven hundred rupees[89] (that I wrote).

85 The Râg Malâr is reputed to have the power of bringing down rain at any season, if sung by a righteous man. The next canto is set to this *râg*.

86 There is a story that the Râja Haṅsdhvaj had condemned Sudhanva, his own son, to be thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil. The oil was boiled to a steaming stage in Haṅsdhvaj Râî's presence, but, as Sudhanva was being thrown into it, Śiva cooled it down immediately and the condemned man came out of the cauldron unscathed, much to the astonishment of the Râja and the people.

87 Fem. of *vêvâî*, see note 36.

88 Wife of the elder brother of Kuṅvarbâî's husband.

89 It is related that once some holy men came to Narsiṅh's door on their way to Dwârkâ. They had not the necessary means to proceed on the journey and to live in that place of pilgrimage, and naturally expected that Narsiṅh, the great exponent of Vishnuism, should supply them with funds. When Narsiṅh pleaded his poverty hey demanded a written order on any banker-friend he might have in Dwârkâ, whereupon Narsiṅh made out a

Thus I have faith that thou wilt help me and send me a shower.
If thou dost not give me a little cold water, 'Sâmaḷâ, how shall I trust to receiving the *mâmêrûṅ* from you?"
On hearing this prayer of Narsiṅh, the great god was moved.
In a moment the sky became overcast and darkness spread in all four directions.
There was thunder and lightning in the skies.
Dust arose on all sides and rain began to pour down in torrents.
The water found its way into the *vêvâî's* house and the people began to clamour.
All the Nâgars fell at his feet saying: — "Pardon our unjust conduct:
We were fools not to have recognized you, you *are* verily the chief of pious men."
'Srîraṅg Mêhêtâ joined in praising (Narsiṅh): only the *vêvâṇs* kept away from pride.
At length the rain ceased and the Mêhêtâ then bathed himself;
But when all was over the crafty Nâgar-people said: — "Oh, it was only an unseasonable shower, such as we have very frequently."
You are blind to what is proved before your very eyes; it is but a sign of this sinful age.

Refrain.

Then the Mêhêtâjî sat down to his meal, and took the *tâḷ* in his hand,
And the crowd of *vêrâgîs* began to chant the hymn of offering.

कडवुं ९ मुं. राग सोरठ मलार.

मेहेताजी बेठा बाजठे, स्मरया श्रीगोपाळ;
मलार गायो प्रीतशुं, हाथे वगाडी ताळ, मेहेताजी०
उपहास थाय तारा दासनो, सामळा करो साहाय;
उष्णोदक अति उकळ्युं, फाटी श्रीफळ जाय. मेहेताजी०
जेम कढा उकाळी तेलनी, कोप्यो हंसध्वज राय;
तारी कृपाए टाढुं थयुं, उगारयो सुधन्वाय. मेहेताजी०
हुंडी स्वीकारी तें शामळा, रुपईया शेशात;
ते विश्वासे वळगी रह्यो, मोकळो वरसाद. मेहेताजी०
समोवण नहीं आपो शामळा, करशो मामेरूं क्यम.
वीनंती नरसइयानी सांभळी, प्रेरयो परब्रह्म. मेहेताजी०
पळमांही आभे घटा थई, चोदस चढयो अंधकार;
गगनाविशे घन गडगडे, थाय वीज चमत्कार, मेहेताजी०
उडे फोरण बहु कांकरा, वरशे मुशळ धार;
वेवाईना घरमां जळ थयुं, करे लोक पोकार, मेहेताजी०
सरवे नागरीओ पाए पडे, क्षमा करो अपराध;
अमो अज्ञाने न ओळख्या, तमे शिरोमणी साध. मे०
श्रीरंग मेहेतो स्तुती करे, वेवाणो मागे मान;
वरसाद वीसरजन थयो, कीधुं मेहेताए स्नान. मेहेताजी०
ठग नागर कहे थयुं मावठुं, एम थाय घणीवार;
प्रतीत न प्रत्यक्ष पारखे, कळिजुगनो प्रकार.

उथलो.

मेहेताजी भोजने बेठा, करमां लीधी ताळ;
टोळुं वेरागी तणुं, तेणे गावा मांडी थाळ रे.

Canto X.

After this prayer was offered, Vaṇmâḷî partook of the food,[90]
And accepted the offering out of his love.
(Now I relate) what happened when the night was over.
The night was spent in praise and prayer and day broke.
Kuṅvarbâî went up to her father and said:—"Now let us distribute the *môśâlûṅ.*"
The Mêhêtâjî said:—"Go, daughter, and invite all your relatives and connections,
And with faith in your heart, bring an empty basket
And sit under the *maṇḍap*,[91] holding it forth.
You are to invite all your relatives and caste-people with their families.

bill addressed to a fictitious banker, asked him to pay Rs. 700 to the pilgrims on his account, and sent the men on. Narsiṅh knew that the Lord Krishṇa would come to his aid in his difficulty, and he did come. He appeared to the pilgrims at Dwârkâ in the guise of a Vâṇiâ banker, endorsed the bill and paid them seven hundred rupees on the spot.

[90] The god is believed to eat part of the food offered.

[91] A *maṇḍap*, *i. e.*, a canopy of cloth decorated with plants and flowers, is generally prepared for each festival.

The delay is not mine, daughter : I am waiting for the recipients to arrive."
Said Kuṅvarbâî :—" Father, how can *I* have confidence ?
How shall I sit, holding the empty basket, while the people laugh at me ?"
Said the Mêhêtâjî :—" Daughter mine, thou art a Vaishṇava by birth.
It is neither my concern nor thine ; Śrî Harî will provide the *môśâlûṅ*."
On hearing these words of reproach from her father, Kuṅvarbâî went to her mother-in-law
" My father is ready with the gifts, pray send round invitations."
Paṇḍê Khôkhalô went round to invite (the guests) and got together the whole town.
The *vêvâî* people mutter to themselves :—" The Mêhêtâjî will soon shake off his pride."
The Mêhêtâjî entered the *maṇḍap* with the *tâḷ* in his hand.
All the Nâgars, standing up, cried " Jê-Gôpâḷ " (with feigned devotion).

Refrain.

Getting an empty basket (Kuṅvarbâî) sat holding it forth.
The Mêhêtâjî blew into his shell, and prayed to Śrî Harî.

कडवुं १० मुं. राग शामेरी.

मेहेते गाई प्रसादनी थाळी, आरोगवा बेठा श्रीवनमाळी
लीधो प्रसाद पुरण प्रीते, पछे शुं थयुं रजनी वीते.

ढाळ.

वीती रजनी कीरतन करतां, थयो प्रातसकाळ रे.
कुंवरबाई आव्यां पीता पासे, हवे मोशाळानी करो चाल रे.
मेहेताजी कहे पुत्री जइने, सगां सउने तेडां करो;
विसवाश आणी मंडप मांहीं, एक छाब ठाली जइ धरो
ज्ञात सगां सहीत पधरावो, सरव कुटंब परिवार जी;
छे वार ज्ञात मळ्यां तणी, नथी मोशाळानी वार जी,
कुंवरबाई कहे तातजी, मने केम आवे विसवाश;
ठाली छाब हुं केम धरूं, थाय लोकमां उपहास रे.
मेहेताजी कहे पुत्री मारी, छो वइष्णवनी दीकरी;
तारे मारे चींता शानी, मोशाळुं करशे श्रीहरी.
मरमवचन सुणी तातनुं, सासु कने आवी वहु;
मारो पिता मोशाळुं करे छे, सगां मित्र तेडो सहु.
खोखले पंडे तेडां कीधां, मेळव्युं बधुं गाम;
वेवाई वरग एणी पेरे बोले, मेतो मुकोने जासे माम.
मंडपमां मेहेताजी आव्या, हाथ ग्रहीने ताळ रे;
नागर सहु उभा थई, कहे प्रेमे जे गोपाळ रे.

वलण.

मंगावी एक छाब ठाली, ते चोकमां आणी धरी;
मेहेताजीए शंख पुरयो, विनती श्रीहरीनी करी.

Canto XI.

The Mêhêtâ blew into his shell and called upon Vanmâḷî.
All the four castes began to laugh, striking each other's palms (*i. e.*, in expectation of amusement) ;
" The *vêvâî* has begun the farce of the *môśâlûṅ*.
All the customs of the Nâgars has he forsaken.
Look at his printed cloth, his (biforked) *tilak* and his *tâḷ*, and his necklace of *tuḷaśî* beads.
Now will Narsiṅh dance and his *ṭopîwâlâs*[92] sing."
Thus say the assembled Nâgar community sneeringly :—
" And he will give us bodices for home wear : "
Many women both young and old are assembled in the *maṇḍap*.
And they whisper sarcastic words, (to them) sweeter than sugar.
They laugh and stare at the Mêhêtâ and mock him with cries of " Jê Śrî Kṛishṇa."
The pearls of their nose-rings hang daintily over their pretty faces.
Decked all over with ornaments and fine clothes and silk bodices,
The youthful and blooming Nâgar women laugh and jeer at the Mêhêtâ.
Some with jewels in their ears, their arms covered with ornaments,
Their bangles jingling, and their throats glistening with (jewels),
Stand quietly and draw their veils over their heads.
One casts sideling looks from her piercing eyes :
Another's long tresses trail down her back,

[92] *Lit.*, wearing caps, *i. e.*, Vaishṇavas, so called as they used to wear caps coming down to their ears.

Her arms and feet jingle with ornaments, her high brow is adorned with large *tilaks.*
Some have taken their little ones on their hips;
While some (inquisitive) one rises now and then to see if the basket is still empty ;
And some modest daughter-in-law hides herself behind her husband's sister.
Some mothers put words into their children's mouths
And make them repeat them, while others do their best to keep them quiet.
Some harsh-tongued woman speaks harsh and unjust things.
Such various moods the crowd presents,
And on little pretences is Harî maligned (thus): —
" Kuṅvarbâî's father is giving me a *paṭôlî* as the *mâmêrûṅ* gift;
I shall never wear a plain *sâḍî* again !
What lacks the Vaishṇava so long as he has the necklace round his neck,
And the ten or twenty rich *ṭôpîwâlâs* in his wake ?
We congratulate thee, Kuṅvarvahu ; thou art fortunate in thy *pîyar.*[93]
Thy father blows into his conch-shell and lo !
The maternity gifts are as good as received (by us) !"
Thus the scornful *vipras* mock him :—
" Place a stone in that empty basket or the wind will blow it off ! "
At this the daughter lost courage and went up to her father; but he motioned to her to have patience.

Refrain.

" Have faith, daughter," (he said) and took the *tâḷ* in his hand,
And placing the sheet of paper in the empty basket called upon Śrî Gôpâḷ.

कडवुं ११ मुं. राग मारु.

मेहेते वगाडयो शंख, स्मरया वनमाळी;
लाग्यां हसवा चारे वरण; मांहो मांही दे ताळी:
मोशाळांना ढंग वेवाइए मांडया;
नागरना वेहेवार, एणे सरवे छांडया.
छापा तिलक नें ताळ; ज्ञुओ तुळशी माळ,
नरशईओ करशे नृत्य; गाशे टोपीवाळा.
जोवा मळी नागरी नात्य, बहु टोळे टोळां;
मुख मरडी करे वात, आपशे घरचोळां.
बहु नानी मोटी नार, मंडपमां मळी;
करे वांकी छानी वात, शाकरपें गळी,
मेहेताने करे जे श्रीकृष्ण, हसी पुरूं जोती;
मुख उपर लळके सार, वेशरनां मोती.
सज्या सोळशणगार, चरणांने चोळी,
जोबन मद भरी नार, करे बहु ठठोळी.
काने तरोटी जडाव; गळस्थळ चळके छे.
जडाव चुडो हाथ कांकण खळके छे,
समी रही ओढे चीर, शणगत वाळे छे;
अणीआळां लोचन, कटाक्षे भाळे छे.
छुटे अंबोडे नार वेणी लांबी छे,
झांझर झमके पाय, कड़लां कांबी छे
केशर तिलक विशाळ भाले कीधां छे,
कोइए नानां बाळ केडे लीधां छे.
कोइ जोवा ठाली छाब अबळा उठे छे.
कोइ वहुवारु लजवाळ नणदी पुठे छे,
को शीखवी बोलावे बाळ को वारी राखे छे,
को वांकां बोली नार वांकुं बोले छे.
एवां कउतक अनेक सउको देखे छे;
शेहेजे बोले अन्याय, हरीने लेखे छे.
कुंवरवहुनो बाप करशे मोमेरुं;
हुं लईश पटोळी सार, शाडी नहीं पेरुं.
वइष्णवने शी खोट? कोटे माळा छें,
वेहेवारीआ दशवीश टोपीवाळा छे.
कुंवरवहु धन धन पीयर पनोती छे;
बापे वगाडयो शंख शादर पोती छे.
वांका बोला विप्र बोले उपहासे,
मुको छाबमां पाहाण, वाये उडी जासे!
मुक्यो दीकरीए नीस्वाश, आवी पीता पासे,
मेहेते कीधी सान रेहेजे विश्वासे.

वलण.

विश्वाश राखो दिकरी करमां लीधी ताल रे;
कागळ मुक्यो छाबमां मेहेते स्मरया श्रीगोपाळ रे.

Canto XII.

Holding the paper in the empty basket, Narsiṅh Mêhêtâ called upon the god Harî.
All the *vêrâgîs* follow with their hymns, a sight quite strange to the Nâgars.

[93] Parents and the parental abode.

While these reciters of the *Vêda* speak unmannerly things, the Mêhêtâ remains absorbed in Mâdhava.
"O, see! Everything is placed in the basket: don't you see the rows of bodices?" (remark the people).
But the Mêhêtâ minds not a word; he is lost in praise of Mâdhava.
"Hail Dâmôdar, Bâḷ-mukand, thou Lord that savest from hell, thou son of Nand,
Master of the universe, Moon of the garden of Vandrâvan, son of Dêvakî, thou source of joy,
Lord of the Gôpîs, Gôvind, Protector of kine, victorious and yet kind and merciful!
Be mindful of me, thy servant, and prepare for (the bestowal of) the *môśâlûṅ*.
As I sing praises with my mouth, and the *tâḷ* in hand, the Nâgar community reproach me.
It is difficult to have to do with this people. Lord, keep my honour this time.
If thou, Nandkumâr,[94] art my master, what (harm) can this wicked world do me?
As I know thee to be the protector of thy servants, I have every confidence in thee.
You sent timely help to Amarîsa[95] when he was in trouble. You have lived in the womb, too, (for the sake of mortals).
To kill Saṅkhâsur[96] you took the shape of a fish;
And, to bring out the fourteen jewels from the depths of the sea, you transformed yourself into a tortoise.[97]
You destroyed the great sinner Hîrṇâksha,[98] and placed the earth in its proper position once more.
And even a man like Ajâmêḷ,[99] who was a great sinner, you raised to yourself, on his uttering the name of his son (at his death).
When Prahlâda[100] was in difficulties you, great god, manifested yourself at once.
You absolved Dhruva[1] from all fear of death and second birth, and made him immortal like your own self.

---

[94] Son of Nand.

[95] Narsiṅh now enumerates all the services done to his devotees by Kṛishṇa. Amarîsa (=? Ambarîsha) was an ardent worshipper and was subjected to persecution by certain Ṛishis, to test his devotion.

[96] Saṅkhâsur was a sea-monster. He lived at the bottom of the sea in a conch-shell. The wife of Sândîpan, a worshipper of Vishṇu, once complained to him that this sea-monster had stolen her son from her, whereupon Vishṇu took the shape of a fish and fought the monster and brought back the son. [But the legend is well-known in another form. — ED.]

[97] It has been said that the gods churned the sea in search of fourteen gems or incomparable things, when Kṛishṇa in the shape of a tortoise bore them all on his back.

[98] Hîrṇâksha = Hiraṇyâksha, the twin brother of Hiraṇyakaśipu, had carried off the earth into the regions of Pâtâla, whence Vishṇu brought it back and placed it in its proper position.

[99] Ajâmêḷ (=? Ajâmila) was at first a follower of Vishṇu. But he fell into evil ways through the influence of a wicked woman, and lived a life of unrighteousness. At his death the messengers of Yâma went and stood by his bed. Ajâmêḷ was frightened by their cruel, ugly faces, and in his fright called his youngest and best-loved son, Nârâyaṇ, by name. But as he uttered this word, a synonym of Vishṇu, the latter's messengers took the place of those of Yâma, and lifted Ajâmêḷ up into the presence of Vishṇu, where the god forgave him all his trespasses and gave him salvation.

[100] Prahlâda, the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu and father of Bali. He became an ardent worshipper of Kṛishṇa while yet a boy, which so enraged his father, who was a sworn enemy of Vishṇu, that he ordered him to be killed but all attempts to destroy his life proved fruitless through the intercession of Vishṇu. Thus baffled, Hiraṇyakaśipu declared he would believe in Prahlâda, if by his prayers he produced Vishṇu before his eyes. Prahlâda uttered his prayers and Vishṇu became visible in the form of half-man, half-lion and in a fierce fight there and then killed Hiraṇyakaśipu.

[1] Dhruva was a son of Uttânapâda, and grandson of the first Manu. His mother was the second wife of Uttânapâda and had no respect for her lord. Consequently Dhruva was no favourite with his father. Once, as he saw his half-brother, the son of the elder and more devoted queen, sitting in his father's lap, Dhruva tried to do the same, but his step-mother forbade him saying, "Thou hast no right to sit in thy father's lap since thy mother loves him not. If thou wishest to be a favourite, too, go and shake off this *avatâr* and be born once more unto me." Dhruva was stung and went to the woods to engage himself in *tap* (devotion). Vishṇu befriended him, and said to him, "Go back to thy parents, they are longing to meet thee. Reign with them for thirty-six thousand years, at the end of which time I shall send thee a *vaimân*, in which thou shalt come up to me with thy parents." So Dhruva went back, reigned for thirty-six thousand years, and mounted up to Vaikuṇṭh at last in a *vaimâṇ* (the aërial car of the gods). [This is an interesting variant of the accepted legend. — ED.]

Even the wicked Puṅśchalî was able to ascend in a *vaimâṇ* to Vaikuṇṭh, because she taught her parrot to utter thy name.
You ate the impure berries, and in consequence Śavarî[2] was enabled to enter paradise.
Because Vibhîshaṇ[3] bowed his head to your feet, you made him the monarch of Laṅkâ.
You gave absolution to the fisherman and his family,[4] and he was granted immunity from a second existence on earth.
Thus have you helped your worshippers in their difficulties. You saved the elephant from the clutches of the sea-monster.[5]
You appeared on earth in the shape of a dwarf,[6] and but for you the seat of Indra would have been lost.
You took the grief of the queen of Pañchâḷa (Draupadî) to heart and replaced her clothes as they were removed from her.
You gave Pârath victory over Kuvrav, and you even stooped to drive chariots in the battlefield of Kurukshêtra.
You gave absolution to Rukmâṅgad, and you rushed to the help of Harîchandra.[7]
You saved the Râjkumâr Chandrahâs[8] on three occasions, because he worshipped (you) with the conch-shell.
You saved Sudhanvâ from being burnt, although his own father had thrown him into a cauldron of boiling oil.
Even though Muradhvaj was sawn to death, he wept not and was granted salvation (by your mercy).
You saved the birds during the fire in the forest of Khaṇḍav by throwing the elephant bell over them.[9]
You ate the vegetables placed before you by Vidur,[10] because he had pleased you with his devotion.
You took the rice from the hand of Sudâmâ and in reward gave him the nine priceless jewels.[11]
You defeated the pride of Mâdhav's[12] heart; and held up the Mount Gôvardhan as if in play.[13]

---

2 Once when Vishṇu was wandering in the desert he met a Bhîl-woman. She had been expecting the great god to pass by her door, and as she had nothing in the way of food to place before the Lord, she went to the woods and collected *bêrê* (a kind of berries) and kept them ready. However, as a precaution against their being found sour by the god, the poor woman had bitten each berry and tasted it. Vishṇu knew this and should not have eaten the impure fruit, but he did not like to damp the ardour of the poor woman. He partook of the berries, praised the woman for her devotion and rewarded her by granting her absolution from her sins.

3 Vibhîshana was a brother of Râvaṇa, but he had befriended Sîtâ during her captivity, and had impressed on Râvaṇa the necessity of submitting to the will of Râma (another incarnation of Vishṇu). As a reward Râma, after killing Râvaṇa, set him upon the throne of Laṅkâ.

4 This fisherman had borne Râma and Lakshmaṇa over the waters of the Gaṅgâ when they were banished from Ayôdhya.

5 This is a reference to a famous fight between a monster elephant and the sea-monster Grâha.

6 Reference to the Vâmana, or dwarf, *avatâra*.

7 Reference to the legends of Rukmiṇî and Hariśchandra.

8 Allusion to the romantic legend of Chandrahâsa.

9 These birds used to worship Kṛishṇa.

10 A very poor but sincere adorer of this god.

11 Sudâma was a poor Brâhmaṇ; he was devoted to Krishṇa, and once when he went into his presence at Dwârkâ he had nothing with him to offer the god, but some parched rice. The Lord received him kindly and respected him on account of his learning. Sudâma hesitated to place the rice before the god, but he said: "Hast thou brought no offering? From such a one as thee I would accept even a trifle," and with his own hands pulled out the bundle of rice from Sudâma's clothes. Then in reward for his modesty and learning, Kṛishṇa turned him into a rich man and gave him other gifts bodily and mental, nine gifts or "jewels" in all.

12 Mâdhava had displayed his mighty bow that no earthly youth could wield. Kṛishṇa, when he saw it, broke it in two.

13 When Indra sent heavy rain into Vṛindâvana, through jealousy that all worship was given to Kṛishṇa, the cowherds and cowherdesses went and asked the boy Krishṇa for redress. He laughed, and lifting up the mountain Gôvardhana from the ground, held it over Vṛindâvana, so that Indra was baffled.

Lord Jadurây,[14] you drank off the fire in the forest, and saved the milkmaids and their kine from burning.
You accepted the worship of Kubjâ,[15] although you had to suffer the taunts of the populace.
Such a friend of the poor are you, — so kind and merciful, — that I place myself as your servant under your protection.
You are the mighty Dâmôdar, while I am but one of millions that serve and worship you.
I have espoused your cause, great god, and I crave your assistance.
Woes are growing round my head thick as trees (in a forest), which circumstance fills *your* worshippers with humiliation.
The Nâgar community is rich and thriving, while my sect is moneyless.
Just as if the thirty-three crores (of gods) suffered from any want, all the blame would attach to the Kalpa-vṛiksha ;[16]
So if the Vaishṇavas lose their prestige, *your* glory will fade, my Lord.
My relatives stand in the place of the messengers of Yâma[17] to me, and yet how can you sleep on ?
I have (already) called together and seated all the relatives, and my daughter sits, holding her *pîgâṇî*[18] in her hand.
The cup is void of the *kâṅkûṅ*-paste, and (naturally) my daughter feels impatient.
It is two '*garîs*' past midday : pray come soon : time is flying,
Kuṅvarbâî is at thy mercy ; I am too powerless to do anything.
What ! Art (still) sleeping in Vandrâvan, with Râdhâjî[19] pressing thy feet ?
Or is it some incomparable woman like Lalitâ, or Viśâkhâ, or Chandrâvalî,
(With whom) you spend the night in mirth, and thus forget your worshipper ?
Wake up and see, Lord Jâdava, and hear thy servant's prayer.
As you appeared unto Kabîr on his calling you to mind,
And as you accepted the milk offered by a worshipper, Dâmôdar,
You saved Trilôchan from his great grief, because he fetched you water like a servant.[20]
You invested the Kôḷî[21] with dauntlessness and you drank off the poison prepared for Mîrâṅbâî.[22]
For the sake of Śênâ,[23] Lord, you changed yourself into a barber and went to shave (the king).
I had not known you, my Lord, when I used to fetch grass,
And did not know a single letter, for my sister-in-law had turned me into a cowherd,
But Sadâśiva made me your servant and shewed me the immortal dance.
I saw your amorous pastimes, and thenceforward made a study of your doctrine,
And for that the people ridicule me ; yet I have faith in you.

---

14 Reference to Kṛishṇa's Yâdava descent.

15 Kubjâ was a servant of Kanśa, but she offered worship to Kṛishṇa when she saw him, and he by a touch of his hand transformed her into a goddess. [The ordinary legend is that Kubjâ was a crooked damsel whom Kṛishṇa made straight in return for a slight service. — ED.]

16 The immortal tree in heaven from which all the gods derive sustenance.

17 Yama, as the god of death.

18 The cup in which they keep *kuṅkuṅ* paste.

19 The wife of Kṛishṇa.

20 Kṛishṇa appeared to Triḷôchan in the guise of an ascetic, and received service and gifts at his hand. The references to Kabîr and Tṛilôchan take us to the times of the mediæval reformers.

21 The Kôḷî (? Pauṇḍraka) was an impostor. He tried to pass himself off for Kṛishṇa, and when they called upon him to shew his strength, Kṛishṇa endowed him with his own strength and fearlessness.

22 Mîrâṅbaî was the first Gujarâtî poetess. She was the wife of Kuṅbhâ, Râṇâ of Mêwâḍ, and had left he husband through some quarrel and gone to live in Dwârkâ. Here she worshipped Kṛishṇa and made poetry in his praise. Her husband sought to kill her by sending her a cup of poison with a mandate to drink it and prove her innocence, if she were true to him. Kṛishṇa drank off this cup and Mîrâṅbâî was saved.

23 Śêna was a barber, but loved the god Kṛishṇa, and shaved his worshippers and devotees without remuneration. Once while he was thus engaged the king of his country, who was a sworn enemy of Krishṇa, called for him. His non-appearance would have enraged the king and led him to condemn him to death, but Kṛishṇa took the form of the barber and went and shaved the king.

Trikama, you must not forsake him, whom you call your own.
You came to distribute *khichḍô* to my guests, and for my sake you employed five hands.[24]
Once when I was very thirsty at midnight, you took up the pot and poured water down my throat.
So many times have you established my truth (to the people), and even accepted my (fictitious) *hundîs.*
In that way then, Lord, do you supply the *môsâḷûṅ*, and fill up the empty basket with gold coins.
But if you do not come to my aid, my beauteous Śâm, remember that I have to do with the Nâgars!

Refrain.

I have to deal with the Nâgars, plainly understand it!"
Hearing Narsiṅh's prayer, the Lord of Vaikuṇṭh arose and rushed (to his assistance).

कडवुं १२ मुं. राग सारंग.

ठाली छाबमां कागळ धरी, नरसिंह मेहेते स्मरया हरी.
वेरागी शरवे पुठे गाय, नागरने मन कउतक थाय.
वांका वचन बोले वेदीआ, मेहेतो माभ्रवमां भेदीआ;
जुओ छाबमां मुक्युं सार, ओ दीसे कमखानी हार!
ते बोल अंतर नव धरे, मेहेतो स्तुती माधवनी करे;
जय दामोदर बाळमुकंद, नरकनिवारण नंदनानंद;
विश्वंभर वंदरावनचंद, देवकीनंदन आनंदकंद;
गोपीनाथ गोविंद गोपाळ, जय बंधु दीनदयाळ;
हुं शेवकनी लेजो संभाळ, मोसाळानी करजो चाल.
मुखे कीरतन हाथें ताळ, नात नागरी बोले आळ;
छे दोहलो लोकाचार, लज्जा राखजो आणीवार;
मारो शेठ तुं नंदकुमार, शुं करशे पापी संसार?
तमो प्रतिपाल पोताना दास, माटे मुजने छे विश्वास.
अमरीसनो नीवारयो त्रास, तमे भोगव्या छे गरभवास;
लीधो मछ तणो अवतार, संखासुरनो कीधो संहार;
कमठ रूप धरयुं मोरार, रत्न चउदे काढ्यां बाहार;
मार्यो हीरणाक्ष महापापी, धरणी स्थीर करीने स्थापी;
अजामेळ सरखो महापापी, पुत्रने नामे पदवी आपी.
प्रल्हादनी दोहली जाणी वेळा, परमेश्वर प्रगट थया वहेला.
ध्रुवनो जन्म मरण भय हर्यो, अवीचळ पोतासरखो कर्यो.
पोपट पढावती पुंश्चली, वैमाने बेशी वैकुंठ वळी.
तमो उछिष्ट आरोग्या बदरी, तोतो परमगती पामी शवरी;
लगार चरण नमाव्युं शीश, बिभीषण कीधो लंकाधीश;
तारयो कुटुंब सहीत ते माछी, नव पाम्यो जन्मपीडा पाछी.
छो दोहली वेळाना साथी, तमे ग्राहथी मुकाव्यो हाथी;
वटुक वेश थया वामन, जातुं राख्युं इंद्रासन;
तमे पंचाळीनुं दुख जाण्युं, पुरयां चीर ते नवसेनवाणुं;
कवरवथी जिताडयो पारथ, कुरुक्षेत्रमां हांक्या रथ;
रुक्मांगद तारयो संसार, हरीचंद्रनी कीधी वार.
शंखा पुजतो राजकुमार, चंद्रहास राख्यो त्रणवार.
तमे सुधन्वा बळतो राख्यो, जो पीताए कढामां नांख्यो.
वेहेरतां नव रोयो रज, मुक्ति पाम्यो मुरध्वज.
खांडव वन खग लीधां राखी, गजघंटा ते उपर नांखी;
वीदुरनी आरोग्या भाजी, तेनी प्रीते थया तमो राजी.
सुदामानां लेई तांदुल, नवनीध आपी तें अमुल्य.
मद माधवाना मननो हरयो, लीलाए गोवरधन धरयो;
दावानल पीधो जदुराय, बळतां उगारयां गोपीने गाय;
कुबजानी लीधी अर्चा, तमे लोकतणी सही चरचा.
अनाथबंधु दीनदयाळ, हुं शेवकनी लेजो संभाळ;
तमो छो दामोदर दक्ष, हुं सरखा शेवक छे लक्ष.
मारे एक तमारी पक्ष, परमेश्वर थाजो प्रत्यक्ष.
मारे माथे दुखनां वृक्ष, तेथी लाजे तमारी पक्ष.
धनवंत छे नागरी नात्य, तेमां दुरबळ मारी जात्य;
दुखे दबाय तेत्रीस करोड, कल्पवृक्षने लागे खोड.
शोभा वैष्णवनी जो गई, कळा तमारी जांखी थई;
मने सगां थई लाग्यां जम, तमने निद्रा आवे केम.
सगां सउ बेसारयां आणी, पुत्रीना कर मांही पीगाणी;
छे कंकुवणी कंकावटी, पुत्रीने थाय चटपटी.
मध्यान्ह उपर थई बे घडी, वेहेला आवो वेळा वटी;
कुंवरबाई तारे आसरे, हुं दुर्बळथी अर्थ न सरे;
शुं सुतो वंदरावन मांय, त्यां राधाजी चांपे छे पाय;

[24] The text is rather unintelligible here. The *khichḍô* (a mixture of rice and pulse) was provided by Krishṇa when Narsiṅh had some ascetics as guests.

ललिता विशाखा चंदरावळी, तने उत्तम नारी को मळी;
रंगमां जाए शरवरी, तेने भक्त गयो वीसरी.
जागी जोरे जादवपती, शांभळ शेवकनी वीनंती.
कवीरने जेम करुणा करी, समरे दरसन दीधुं हरी;
भक्त एक नामे दामोदरजी, तेनुं पय पीधुं तमे हरजी,
त्रिलोचननुं महादुख हरयुं, शेवक थईने पाणी भरयुं;
अभेदान कोळीने दीधुं, मीरांबाई तणुं वीष पीधुं;
शेना माटे नापीत थया, पवन करवाने प्रभुजी गया;
हुं तमने कदी नव संभारतो, लावतो घास महिषी चारतो.
नव जाणतो धोळापर काळो, भाभीए मने कीधो गोवाळो.
सदाशिवे मने कीधो दास, देखाडयो मने अखंड रास;
में जोयो तमारो वीलास, तेवो में कीधो अभ्यास;
लोक बोले मने उपहास; मारे मन तारो विश्वास.
बोलावीए पोतानो कही, तेने त्रीकम तजीए नही;
खीचडो जमाडवा आव्या नाथ, हुं माटे कीधा पंचहाथ.
हुं मध्यराते तरशो जाणी, झारी लई पायुं पाणी;
मने साचो कीधो कोटीवार, हुंडी सकारी श्रीमोरार.
तमो ते रीते मोसाळुं करो, ठाली छाब सोनइये भरो;
जो नही आवो सुंदर शाम, तो मुज नागर शाथे काम.

वलण.

नागर शाथे काम छे, समजी लेजो वात रे;
सुणी नरशइनी वीनती, उठी धाया वइकुंठनाथ.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B.A., M.F.L.S.

No. 41. — *Biters Bit* (*a Noodle Story*).

IN Tanjore there lived a rogue of the first water, practising roguery as his profession, and living solely by it; so much so that he was known throughout the country as the Tanjore Rogue. No one dared to have anything to do with him, for people felt sure of falling into his clutches and becoming duped by him. After living for a long time in Tanjore as a true devotee to this profession, the Tanjore Rogue found it impossible to keep his life and soul together any longer there. Doors were shut against him, as soon as it was known that he was approaching a house. Men and women ran and hid themselves in unknown places, as soon as they perceived him at a very great distance. His name was in every one's mouth, and life any longer in Tanjore became an impossibility. So the rogue resolved to try his fortune in some other place, and, calling his wife, addressed her thus:—

"My dear, we have been living hitherto very happily here. Till now I have had a very successful profession, and found a way to earn thousands. I had an easy part to play. With very little labour I was always duping others. But now the days have changed. People have become more wise. Very few fools come my way now to be duped. My name is a byeword, and instead of finding a doubtful livelihood here I have resolved to go elsewhere, leaving you to live upon what little we have saved. I need not tell you that I am so clever that I will earn thousands in no time, and soon return to your side."

"My dear husband," replied she. "You have spoken like a true hero. I give you my full permission to go, for I am sure that you will succeed wherever you may go, though my confidence of your success in this city has been completely lost by our sad experience of the last few months."

Thus saying, she ran off and soon returned with a big clay-ball and a handful of cooked rice: a proceeding which puzzled the rogue himself. She then rounded off the clay-ball and applied to its surface the cooked grains so nicely and so cleverly that the minutest eye could not distinguish the clay underneath. The rogue now saw what she meant.

"Done like a rogue's wife!" said he. "Language fails me to express my praise, my dear."

"Am I not your wife, my lord?" said she smilingly. "Why should the rice at home be wasted. Why should you not, in starting out to earn a livelihood by your profession in a

distant place, begin to practise it on the way? You can meet with some fellow-traveller on the road, and exchange with him this ball of rice, and thus commence to live by your noble art from the very starting point."

"May the God of Roguery shower his boons upon you, my dear! May he keep you, who has outwitted me in my own art, safe till my return!"

Thus saying, the Tanjore Rogue took leave of his wife, and, with the ball suspended on his shoulder, started towards the north!"

Now, there was a second rogue, called **the Trichinopoly Rogue,** who had made his position in Trichinopoly as impossible as had the Tanjore Rogue in Tanjore. With the permission of his wife the Trichinopoly Rogue, too, had started to try his fortunes in another country. He also must have something for the way, and so his wife brought him a small brass vessel filled with sand to within a quarter of an inch of the top, and scattered over it a thin layer of raw rice.

Both the rogues met. The patron God of Roguery had so arranged it. For how long could he keep apart such master gems of his own creation? They met as strangers for the first time in their lives on the banks of the river Coleroon.

"May I know who the gentleman is that I have the happiness of meeting to-day?" asked the Tanjore Rogue without knowing who the stranger was.

"I am a traveller for the present, a native of Trichinopoly," was the answer which the other rogue gave.

He then came to know that the stranger was a native of Tanjore and a traveller like himself. Beyond this they knew nothing of each other, for each was careful in his own way. By this time they had both bathed in the river and finished their ablutions. The Tanjore Rogue was waiting for an opportunity to get his ball of rice exchanged, just as the other rogue was with his vessel of raw rice; for each had seen what the other had for his dinner. The Tanjore rogue first began:—

"That disreputable wife of mine gave me cold rice tied up in this bundle. I am not in good health, and if I eat cold rice I fear I may fall ill. I do not know what to do. There appears to be no village near us. If I could only get some raw rice I could cook it in your vessel.

The Trichinopoly Rogue was very glad to hear this suggestion, and as soon as the Tanjore Rogue had finished his speech, he said:—

"My friend, I am sorry for you. Yes, when you are not in good health eating cold rice will be bad for you. In travelling especially, the first thing to be cared for is health. I am very hungry. If you give me your rice, I have no objection to give you my rice and the vessel too. What matters if it takes some time? You can cook and eat, and if there is anything left over, you can give it me hot."

Each felt himself elated in having deceived the other, and the exchange was readily made, as if they had been friends for a long time. The Trichinopoly Rogue was the first to discover that he had accidently met a person who had outwitted him in his own art.

He turned round to see what the Tanjore Rogue was doing, but he had not yet discovered the trick that had been played upon him, for he was collecting dried sticks to light a fire. Said he to himself:—

"Oh! he has not yet discovered the trick. I shall leave him alone till he does it."

So thought he, and he had not long to wait, for as soon as the fire began to burn, the Tanjore Rogue took the vessel to the side of the water to clean the rice before setting it on the fire. When water was mixed with the rice the trick was discovered, and the Tanjore Rogue stood dumb with astonishment for a minute. Without having the slightest suspicion, he had

outwitted! He directed his eyes towards the Trichinopoly Rogue, who smiled and approached his friend.

"Was it proper on your part to have deceived me thus?" was the question which the Tanjore Rogue put to him.

"Was it proper on your part to have deceived me thus?" was the reply he received.

They then fell into a long conversation and many were the tales and adventures which each rogue related about himself to the other. In this pleasant conversation they spent a long time, forgetting hunger, fatigue and exhaustion. After full 5 *ghaṭikâs* of their beloved subject, said the one rogue to the other:—

"It is now plain that we are able men in our own way, and that we have started to earn a livelihood in foreign parts. We must continue friends from this moment. We must have a common object and work together for it. So from this minute we must embrace each other as brothers in a common cause."

"Agreed," said the other, and from that minute they became friends.

The sun had now set and the two men walked as fast as they could to some place where they might find something to eat. It was a jungly tract of land, but at last the sight of a dim light cheered their hopes. It was a lonely cottage in that wilderness, and its sole inhabitant was a bent old woman of three score years or more. She was an old lady who had seen a good deal of calamity in her younger days, and who had retired to that forest to lead a retired life. But even there her greed followed her, and she was a seller of puddings in the forest. For though the place appeared gloomy during night it was not so during the day. Many neatherds frequented that part in the daytime with their cattle, as the place afforded a good pasture, and the old woman sold them puddings and made money, saving a good sum in time. The rogues knocked at the door and demanded entrance.

"Who are you?" asked the woman from inside.

"We are travellers in search of a place for food and rest," was the answer. Again the same question was put, and again the same answer given. For a third time the question was repeated and when the same answer was a third time given the door flew open.[1] The rogues gave money to the old woman, who fed them sumptuously. After the meal was over the strangers related to the old lady how they had come out in search of adventure, and how they would be highly obliged if she would advise them on that subject. The old woman was flattered.

"My dear sons," said she. "You seem to be young men. I have no children. You can live under my roof as my own children. I will feed you well, and impose upon you a very light task in return. I have a very quiet beast, a cow which one of you will have to take out to graze. There is no pasture near this cottage, so you will have to take her out a *ghaṭikâ's* distance near to a tank, where there is abundant grass. There are fruit trees near the tank, under which you can protect yourself from the sun, while the cow is grazing. This is a job in which one of you may be engaged. As for the other, I have a few beds of cabbages in my backyard, which must be daily watered. A few buckets of water will quite suffice. If one of you manages the cow and the other waters the cabbages, you can remain under my roof as long as you like, and pay nothing for your food."

These terms seemed very lenient to the two rogues. The grazing of a quiet cow and the watering of a few cabbage plots must be easy, even if one had to do both. The bargain was soon struck, and the two rogues had more than enough to eat that night, and fell sound asleep.

[1] It is a belief among Hindus that devils knock at houses at night to play mischief with the inmates. The devils do not answer three times. Hence to test whether the knocker is a real person or a devil the inmates ask thrice before opening the door in the night.

The morning dawned, and both the rogues had something for breakfast. The old woman promised to give them a very sumptuous hot meal at night, and started the Trichinopoly Rogue, with something to eat in hand for mid-day, to graze the cow. The Tanjore Rogue had to water the cabbage plots in the backyard, and so was sure of his mid-day meal at home.

The Trichinopoly Rogue started with the cow, and had a very quiet business of it till he reached the tank. He thanked his stars for their having conducted him to the old lady, for what trouble was to be expected in grazing a quiet cow. Cows in India are proverbial for their meekness, but there are exceptions. As soon as the tank was reached, the rogue untied the cow and it began to graze even more quietly than he expected.

"What a fine time I shall have," thought the rogue.

But in a moment all his hopes were changed. Suddenly the cow took to her heels and for fear of losing the animal, and, as a consequence his evening meal, the rogue followed it headlong. But he was no match for the cow, for she had not thus been led out to graze for several days ; it might have been even for months. She was far in advance of the rogue, and knowing that he could not overtake her for some time, stopped to graze. The rogue slackened his pace, and walked up slowly, gaining, in the meantime, fresh vigour to recommence the race, in case there was any occasion for it. The brute did not disappoint him. It was grazing again quietly.

"Poor thing; it was, perhaps, terrified at some object at first, and so ran off so wildly. She is now grazing quietly according to her nature. I shall reach her in a minute," thought he, and he reached the cow but, unfortunately, not to catch her. Just as he was on the point of catching her the cow again took to her heels; again the rogue began the race; again the cow stopped and began to graze; again, though not with so much hope as at first the rogue slackened his pace, regained strength, and was almost at the point of catching her. Again he failed. And so the whole day, even without having time for his mid-day meal, the Trichinopoly Rogue was after the cow. He was always unsuccessful in catching her. He had traversed nearly twenty *kôs* by the time that evening approached, and he had gone round the big tank and its neighbourhood nearly a hundred times. But at last, fortune seemed to pity even the worst type of rogue, and, as if more out of pity than anything else, the cow allowed itself to be caught.

"I shall never bring you up here again to graze. I shall, instead, give such a glowing description of you to my friend the Tanjore Rogue and change my job with him to-morrow. Watering a few plots must be extremely easy."

Thus thinking within himself, and composing his face, for with a dismal face one cannot play a devil's part, he slowly lead the cow to the cottage of the old woman. His whole body was in pain. Several thorns had found seats deep in his feet. He had hitherto lead an easy life in roguery, but that day seemed to be a punishment for all his sins. Still with a composed countenance he returned home.

Meanwhile, the **Tanjore Rogue** in the backyard had only to water four or five green plots.

"I could do it in half a *ghaṭikâ*," thought he.

There was a hand *pikoṭṭa*[2] at which he had to work, and the condition was that he should not cease work till the plots were full of water to the brim. He was at work till mid-day, and then found that the water baled up was not even a quarter of the quantity required!

"What? My hands are already red with work. I have pain from top to toe, and yet the plots are not a quarter full. What can be the reason?" thought the Tanjore Rogue, and tried his best to find out the cause, but without result.

[2] A *pikoṭṭa* is a country water-lift.

Now this was all clever trickery in the old woman of the wood. The fact was that in the midst of the plots, the old woman had placed subterranean tunnels by means of which the water was guided underground to a long distance, and there used for irrigating several acres of land. This was so well managed that there was not the least room for any suspicion. The Tanjore Rogue with all his cleverness was not able to find the trick out, though he surmised that there was some trick at the bottom. The old woman came to him at mid-day, and took him very kindly inside the house for a light meal, and then requested him to proceed to his task. Even before a *ghaṭikâ* was wanting to evening, and as if she took the greatest compassion on our hero, she visited him again, and spoke thus: —

"My son. Don't mind the trouble. You can do the rest to-morrow, cease work and take rest."

He thanked her for her kindness, left the *pikoṭṭa*, and came to the *pyâl* outside the house. Sitting there, he began to chew betel-leaves and areca-nut, and as he was engaged in this, the thought passed and repassed his mind: —

"What a fool I have been? If I had taken out the cow, I would have had a better time of it to-day than the tiresome duty of watering these plots. There comes my brother rogue with a joyful countenance. Perhaps he has had a very happy time of it. I shall give him a good description of my work and change my job to-morrow with him."

Just as he was thus speaking, the Trichinopoly Rogue approached the house with the cow with him.

"How did you fare to-day, my friend?" asked the Tanjore Rogue.

"Oh, I have had a most happy day of it. What fine fruit trees there are on the banks of the tank there, and I had no difficulty at all of any kind. I unloosened the cow to graze and passed the day sleeping under the shade of trees, and eating fruit. What a fine beast this cow is, too. It grazes quietly like a child."

Thus said the Trichinopoly Rogue, and the composed way in which he told his tale made the Tanjore Rogue believe what he said. Soon the other rogue began: —

"Oh! You do not know what I had to do. It was all over in a quarter of a *ghaṭikâ*. Half a dozen potfuls of water to each plot was all that was wanted in the business. So I passed the day in sleep and chewing betel. Come on, sit down; you had better have some."

The cow was tied up in its proper place, and the two rogues sat down on the *pyâl* of the cottage in the twilight. The pain and hardness of the work of the day were so predominant in their minds, that each easily believed the work of the other to be easier than his own, and each suggested an exchange of work, which was readily accepted.

The morning dawned. According to the mutual agreement the Tanjore Rogue took out the cow to graze, and the Trichinopoly Rogue went to water the cabbages. Each soon discovered how he had been duped by the other. In the evening they again met,

"What, brother! was it proper on your part to have deceived me thus?" asked the Tanjore Rogue, and the Trichinopoly Rogue replied:—"What, brother! was it proper on your part to have deceived me thus?"

Then the two rogues came, a second time, to an agreement that they should not direct their ingenuity to deceiving each other; but that they should always act in accord. They resolved to do so, and held a long talk as to how to deceive the old woman, and walk away with all her money. The old woman overheard all this conversation.

"I am too clever for such tricks," thought she, and was careful in her own way.

Now the old woman, was herself an extremely clever rogue, and the very next morning, as if of her own accord, she called the rogues to her side, opened her big box to them, shewed them all the gold, silver, and copper that she had there, and promised to bequeath the whole property to them, in case they pleased her by their work. The rogues, then, though their

task was very difficult, wanted somehow to continue it for a short time, waiting for an opportunity to plunder the woman. But she was not a person so easily to be made the subject of their deception.

One noon, when both the rogues were absent on their duty, she buried, in a very secret corner of her house, all her treasure, and locked up in the box heavy things, like broken pieces of stones, old rotten iron, etc. The box and the seal and everything was left in its original shape. After the rogues had their supper that night, she called them both near her, and slowly whispered to them thus: —

"My sons, as you have made up your mind to live with me like my own children, you must little by little, know all my ways. I keep my box of money in the house during the white half of the month; in the dark half of the month I throw the box in the well. It is always better to be safe, as we live in a wood. Kindly help me, my dears, by removing the box to the side of the well, and by dropping it down there gently without making noise."

The rogues did not suspect anything, for, more or less, the reason of what she did seemed very natural, and so they assisted her in removing the box to the well side and dropping it in. The old woman held up the light as they did the work.

At about midnight the rogues went to the well. The Tanjore Rogue stood on the brink, while the Trichinopoly Rogue entered by the aid of a strong rope, one end of which was in the hand of the Tanjore Rogue. As everything had to be done very secretly the *pikoṭṭa* was not resorted to in order to get down into the well. The Trichinopoly Rogue went into the water and brought up the box in one dive, but he said that he had not yet secured the box, and that he must have a second, a third, and a fourth dive. Meanwhile, he opened the box in the well itself, and found by touch that himself and his friend at the mouth of the well had been deceived. It now struck him that he might have been deceived again by the Tanjore Rogue What guarantee was there that he would be safely lifted up? So he addressed him as follows:—

"My friend, our miseries are at an end. What immense treasure this box contains! It is very heavy. When I am ready I shall shake the rope which I have attached to the box. But be very careful in drawing up the box, for if the rope breaks in the middle the whole weight of the box will fall on my head and I shall die. After drawing up the box let down the rope again for me, and draw me up."

The Trichinopoly Rogue then proceeded to seat himself in the box, removing all the stuff in it for the purpose.

The Tanjore Rogue drew up the box, and as soon as it reached the surface, he lifted it up, placed it on his head, and went off as fast as he could. His object in this was to evade the Trichinopoly Rogue, and take the whole property for his own use. When he had gone far enough to begin to feel safe from pursuit a voice fell on his ears: —

"Walk a little slower, my friend."

"What! has the Trichinopoly Rogue followed me?" He stopped for a minute, then quickened his pace a little. Again the same words fell on his ears: —

"Walk a little slower, my friend."

Again he stopped, and, putting down the box, discovered the Trichinopoly Rogue, whom he had imagined all this while to be pining away at the bottom of the well, in the box itself.

"Was it proper on your part to have deceived me thus?" asked the Tanjore Rogue.

"Was it proper on your part to have deceived me thus?" replied the Trichinopoly Rogue, and added that if he had not adopted that plan he would have been left in the well, as proved by the action of the Tanjore Rogue.

For a third time they came to an agreement that they should not deceive each other thus, but it was of no avail. They soon parted company, and went away to different places to try their skill independently.

MISCELLANEA.

EPIGRAPHIC DISCOVERIES IN MYSORE.[1]

MR. L. RICE, C.I.E., the Director of the Archæological Department in Mysore, who, two years ago, discovered the Aśôka Edicts of Siddâpur, has again made **three most valuable finds.** He has kindly forwarded to me photographs and transcripts of his new inscriptions; and, with his permission, I give a preliminary notice of their contents, which indeed possess a great interest for all students of Indian antiquities.

The best preserved among the three documents is a long metrical **Saṅskṛit Prasasti** or Eulogy on the excavation of a tank near an ancient Śaiva temple at **Sthâna-Kundûra,** begun by the **Kadamba king Kâkusthavarman,** and completed in the reign of his son **Śântivarman.** The author of the poem, which is written in the highest Kâvya style, was a Śaiva poet called **Kubja,** who, as he tells us, transferred his composition to the stone with own hands. He devotes nearly the whole of his work to an account of the early Kadamba kings, regarding whom hitherto little was known except from their land grants, published by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*. Like the land grants, the *Praśasti* states that the Kadambas were a Brahmanical family, belonging to the Mânavya Gotra, and descended from Hâritîputra. But it adds that they derived their name from a Kadamba tree which grew near their home. In this family, Kubja goes on, was born one Mayûraśarman, who went to Kâñchî in order to study, and there was involved in a quarrel with its Pallava rulers. He took up arms against them, and after a prolonged and severe struggle he became the ruler of a territory between the Amarârṇava and Prêmâra. Mayûraśarman left his possessions to his son Kaṅga, who adopted, instead of the Brahmanical termination *śarman* of his father's name, one that distinguishes the Kshatriyas, and was called Kaṅgavarman. Next followed Kaṅga's son Bhagîratha, who had two sons, Raghu and Kâkusthavarman. Both became successively rulers of the Kadamba territory; and Kâkustha's successor was his son Śantivarman, during whose reign Kubja composed his poem, while residing in an excellent village (*varaśâsana*) granted by that king. The last two kings are known through Dr. Fleet's Kadamba land grants, but the names of their predecessors appear for the first time in Mr. Rice's *Praśasti*. New also is the account of the manner in which this branch of the Kadambas rose to power. It seems perfectly credible, since Brahmanical rebellions and successful usurpations have occurred more than once in the Dekhan both in ancient and in modern times. The change of the termination in Kaṅgavarman's name, and the adoption of the names of mythical warriors by his descendants, may be due to a marriage of the Brâhmaṇ Mayûra with the daughter of a chief or king belonging to the Solar race, whereby his son and his offspring would become members of the Kshatriya caste. The inscriptions shew that such alliances were by no means uncommon in ancient times.

Incidentally, the *Praśasti* mentions besides the Pallavas two other royal races: "the great **Bâṇas,**" on whom Mayûraśarman is said to have levied tribute; and, what is of much greater interest, the **Guptas,** whom Kâkusthavarman is said to have assisted by his advice. The verse referring to the Guptas occurs in line 12 of the *Praśasti*, and I give its translation in full:

"That sun among princes (*Kâkustha*) awakened by the rays of his daughter (*Sâvitrî-Sarasvatî*, 'personified intelligence'), the glorious races of the Guptas and other kings, that may be likened to lotus-beds, since their affection, regard, love, and respect resemble the filaments [of the flower], and since many princes attend them, like bees [eager for honey]."

The Guptas, who were attended by many princes, hungering for their gifts as the bees seek the honey of the lotus, are, of course, the Imperial Guptas; and the Gupta king whom Kâkusthavarman "awakened by the rays of his intelligence" is in all probability **Samudragupta.** As far as is known at present, he was the only Gupta who extended his conquests to the Dekhan. His court-poet, Harishêṇa, alleges in the Allahabad *Praśasti* that Samudragupta imprisoned and afterwards liberated "all the princes of the Dekhan," and mentions twelve among them by name. Samudragupta's reign came to an end sometime before A. D. 400. Hence Kâkusthavarman, too, would seem to have ruled in the second half of the fourth century, and Mr. Rice's new inscription probably belongs to the beginning of the fifth. Its characters exactly resemble those of Kâkusthavarman's copper-plates, which Dr. Fleet long ago assigned to the fifth century on palæographical grounds. The two estimates thus agree very closely, and mutually support each other.

In addition to these valuable results, Mr. Rice's new inscription furnishes an interesting contribu-

[1] Reprinted from the *Academy*.

tion to the religious history of Southern India. As all the land grants of the early Kadambas are made in favour of Jaina ascetics or temples, and as they begin with an invocation of the Arhat, it has been held hitherto that these kings had adopted the Jaina creed. Kubja's *Praśasti* makes this doubtful, and shews at all events that they patronised also Brâhmaṇs and a Śaiva place of worship. An incidental remark in the concluding verses, which describe the temple of Sthâna-Kundûra, proves further that Śaivism was in the fifth century by no means a new importation in Southern India. Kubja mentions Sâtakarṇi as the first among the benefactors of the Śaiva temple. This name carries us back to the times of the Andhras, and indicates that Śaivism flourished in Southern India during the first centuries of our era.

Mr. Rice's two other finds are older than the *Praśasti,* and possess, in spite of their defective preservation, very considerable interest. They are found on one and the same stone pillar, and shew nearly the same characters, which are closely allied to those of the latest Andhra inscriptions at Nasik and Amarâvati. The upper one, which is also the older one, contains an edict in Prâkṛit of the Pâḷi type, by which the Mahârâja Hâritîputta Sâtakaṇṇi, the joy of the Viṇhukaḍaḍuṭu family, assigns certain villages to a Brâhmaṇ. This Sâtakaṇṇi is already known through a short votive inscription, found by Dr. Burgess at Banavâsi, which records the gift of the image of a Nâga, a tank, and a Buddhist Vihâra by the Mahârâja's daughter. The new document, which contains also an invocation of a deity, called Maṭṭapaṭṭidêva, probably a local form of Śiva, teaches us that Sâtakaṇṇi was the king of Banavâsi; and it furnishes further proof for the early prevalence of Brahmanism in Mysore. It certainly must be assigned to the second half of the second century of our era. For the palæographist it possesses a great interest, as it is the first Pâḷi document found in which the double consonants are not expressed by single ones, but throughout are written in full. Even Hâritîputta Sâtakaṇṇi's Banavâsi inscription shews the defective spelling of the clerks.

The second inscription on this pillar, which immediately follows the first, and, to judge from the characters, cannot be much later, likewise contains a Brahmanical land grant, issued by a Kadamba king of Banavâsi, whose name is probably lost. Its language is Mahârâshṭrî Prâkṛit, similar to that of the Pallava land grant published in the first volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*, and Saṅskṛit in the final benediction. It furnishes additional proof that, at least in Southern India, the Mahârâshṭrî became temporarily the official language, after the Prâkṛit of the Pâḷi type went out and before the Saṅskṛit came in. This period seems to fall in the third and fourth centuries A. D.

The numerous and various points of interest which the new epigraphic discoveries in Mysore offer, entitle Mr. Rice to the hearty congratulations of all Sanskritists, and to their warm thanks for the ability and indefatigable zeal with which he continues the archæological explorations in the province confided to his care. To the expression of these sentiments I would add the hope that he may move the Mysore government to undertake excavations at Sthâna-Kundûra, or other promising ancient sites, which no doubt will yield further important results.

G. BÜHLER.

Vienna, Sept. 3, 1895.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE HARE TABUED AS AN ARTICLE OF FOOD.

The hare was a forbidden article of food amongst the Jews because (though I believe this is opposed to the actual fact) it chewed the cud (*Levit.* xi. 6; *Deut.* xiv. 7); amongst the ancient Britons (Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, Book v. Cap. 13); amongst the Shî'ah sect of Musalmâns, though not specifically forbidden by the Qurân. I have heard that the reason is that the hare menstruates. But is that the actual fact? If so, is there a *sunnat* or tradition of Muhammad rendering its flesh unlawful on this account? Again, if so, why do not Sunîs also eschew its flesh?

T. C. PLOWDEN, in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A METHOD OF SWEARING BROTHERHOOD.

HERE is a curious application of the universal method of swearing eternal friendship and brotherhood by exchanging pagṛis. One Morî, a Musalmân Jâṭ, of Mârî Dîntala, Montgomery District, steals a bullock and is suspected of theft by the owner, one 'Atar Singh, a barber of Raka Chumân, Sarâî Mughal, Lahore District. Finding himself suspected he offers to produce the bullock, but before doing so, in order to escape punishment, he makes 'Atar Singh exchange *pagṛîs* with him, as an earnest of friendship that he will make no complaint.

D. K. HOMAN, in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARD.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,

by Geo. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.[25a]

(*Continued from p.* 9.)

THE AUXILIARY VERBS.

55. (1) The Defective Verb چھہ chha, 'to be.'

			Affirmative.	Negative.
Singular.	(1)	m.	چھس *chhus*, I am, and so on.	چھس نہ *chhus na*, I am not, and so on.
		f.	چھس *chhas*	چھس نہ *chhas na*
	(2)	m.	چھک *chhuk*	چھک نہ *chhuk na*
		f.	چھک *chhak*	چھک نہ *chhak na*
	(3)	m.	چھہ *chhu*	چھنہ *chhuna*
		f.	چھہ *chhe*[26]	چھنہ *chhena*
Plural.	(1)	m.	چھہ *chhi*	چھنہ *chhina*
		f.	چھہ *chhe*	چھنہ *chhena*
	(2)	m.	چھوہ *chhiva*	چھوہ نہ *chhiva na*
		f.	چھوہ *chheva*	چھوہ نہ *chheva na*
	(3)	m.	چھہ *chhi*	چھنہ *chhina*
		f.	چھہ *chhe*	چھنہ *chhena*

			Interrogative.	Negative-Interrogative.
Singular.	(1)	m.	چھسا *chhusá*, am I? and so on.	چھسنا *chhusná*, am I not? and so on.
		f,	چھسا *chhasá*	چھسنا *chhasná*
	(2)	m.	چھکا *chhuká*	چھک نا *chhuk ná*
		f.	چھکا *chhaká*	چھک نا *chhak ná*
	(3)	m.	چھا *chhuá*	چھنا *chhuná*
		f.	چھا *chheá*	چھنا *chhená*

25a [From this point, the proof-sheets have been most kindly revised by the Rev. J. Hinton-Knowles, whose authority on the subject of Kâśmîrî is unquestioned. The responsibility for all mistakes is, however, still the translator's.]

26 [In the 3rd sing. fem., and throughout the fem. pl., the author writes چھہ *chha*, not چھہ *chhe*. The latter is, however, correct, and is the form used by the author himself later on. The translator has accordingly made the necessary correction wherever چھہ *chha* occurs. In MSS. ـَ *a* and ـِ *i* or *e* are continually confused.]

				Interrogative.	Negative-Interrogative.
Plural.	(1)	m.		چھیا *chhiá*	چھینا *chhiná*
		f.		چھیا *chheá*	چھینا *chhená*
	(2)	m.		چھوا *chhivá*	چھوہ نا *chhiva ná*
		f.		چھوا *chhevá*	چھوہ نا *chheva ná*
	(3)	m.		چھیا *chhiá*	چھینا *chhiná*
		f.		چھیا *chheá*	چھینا *chhená*

Before all these must be prefixed the nominatives of the corresponding personal pronouns (see § 47); thus, بہٕ چھس *bo chhus*, I am, and so on.

Note. — In Np. the following forms occur; 3 sg. fem. usually چھہ *chhe;* 1 sg. masc., also, چھسُ *chhusu* [often heard nowadays]; 3 pl. fem., usually چھہ *chhe*; Negative, 1 and 2 sg. also, چھسنہ , چھکنہ ; Interrogative, 1 and 2 sg. also چھسہ *chhusa* چھکہ *chhuka* [all often used nowadays], and so on. [So also in current writing, the negative is often attached to the verb as in Np.]

(2) آسُن âsun, to be.

56. Imperative (negative مہ *ma*):—

Immediate.

	Sg.	Pl.
(2)	آس *ás*	آسو *âsiu*
(3)	آسن *âsin*	آسن *âsin*

Continuative.

(2)	آسان آس *ásán ás*	آسان آسو *ásán âsiu*
(3)	آسان آسن *ásán âsin*	آسان آسن *ásán âsin*

Respectful forms.

(2)	آسِتہ *ás-ta*	آسِتو *âs-i-tau*
(3)	آسِتن *âs-i-tan*	آسِتن *âs-i-tan.*

57. Infinitive:—

Masc.	Nom.	آسُن *ásun*
	Dat.	آسنس *ásanas*
	Abl.	آسنہ *ásana*
	Gen.	آسنُک *ásanuk*
Fem.	Nom.	آسنِ *ásañi*
	Dat. Abl.	آسنہ *ásani*

58. Participles :—

Present آسان *ásân :—*

Perf. sg. اُوسمُت *ôs-mut*, fem. آسمِژ *ôs-mạts ;* pl. آسمِت *ôs-mạt^{i}*, fem. آسمِژہ *ásạ-matsạ.*

Fut. sg. آسَوُن *ásavun*, fem. آسَوِن *ásavạñ^{i} ;* pl. آسَوِن *ásavạñ^{i}*, fem. آسَونہ *ásavani.*

59. Noun of the Agent.

Sg. آسنوول *ásanvôl*, fem. آسنواج *ásanvâj* [obsolete] or آسنواجن *ásanvâjạñi ;* pl. آسنوال *ásanvâl^{i}*, fem. آسنواجہ *ásanvâji* [obsolete] or آسنواجنہ *ásanvâjani.*

60. Indicative.

Pres. Def. آسان چھُس *ásân chhus*, etc., I am being.

Pres. Indef. = Future, see below.

Imperfect, آسان اُوسُس *ásân ôsus*, etc. (see Aorist below), I was being.

Perf. اُوسمُت چھُس *ôsmut chhus*, etc., I have been.

Pluperf. اُوسمُت اُوسُس *ôsmut ôsus*, etc. (see Aorist below), I had been.

Future Exact, اُوسمُت آسہ *ôsmut ásạ*, etc. (see Future below), I shall have been.

61. Aorist, I was.

		Sg.	Pl.
(1)	m.	اُوسُس *ôsu-s*	آس *ôs^{i}*
	f.	آسِس *ôsạ-s*	آسہ *ásạ*
(2)	m.	اُوسُك *ôsu-k*	آسوہ *ôs^{i}-vạ* or *ôsivạ.*
	f.	آسِك *ôsạ-k*	آسوہ *ása-vạ*
(3)	m.	اُوس *ôs*	آس *ôs^{i}*
	f.	آس *ôs*	آسہ *ásạ*

62. Future.

Immediate. I shall be.

	Sg.	Pl.
(1)	آسہ *ásạ*	آسَو *ásau*
(2)	آسِك *ásak*	آسِو *ásiu*
(3)	آسہ *ási*	آسن *ásan*

Durative. I shall be being, etc.

آسان آسہ *ásân ásạ*, and so on.

[Before suffixes, the *i* of *ási* becomes *e*, thus, *áse-m.*]

63. Future Perfect and Dubitative.

[Not given by the author. The following are the forms.]

I shall or may have been.

Sg.	m.	(1)	اُوسمُت آسہ *ôsmut ásạ*
	f.		آسمِژ آسہ *ôsmạts ásạ*
Pl.	m.	(1)	آسمِت آسَو *ôsmạt^{i} ásau*
	f.		آسمِژہ آسَو *ásạmatsạ ásau*

and so on, conjugating the various forms of the future with the past participle.

64. Optative and Conditional.[27]

Present, Were I, or had I, been.

Sg.	Pl.
(1) آسهٔ *ásaha*	آسهو *ásahau*
(2) آسهك *ásahak*	آسهو *ásihiu*
(3) آسهِ *ásihe* or آسهٔ *ásiha*	آسهن *ásahan*

Perf., I might have been.

Sg.	m.	(1)	اوسمت آسهٔ *ôsmut ásaha*	and so on.
	f.		اوسمچ آسهٔ *ôsmats ásaha*	
Pl.	m.	(1)	آسمت آسهو *ôsmati ásahau*	
	f.		آسمچٔ آسهو *ásamatsa ásahau*	

65. Precative, آسزِ *ásizi* or آسزهٔ *ásizihe.*

Participle Absolute, آست *ásit.*

(3) ین yun, to come.

66. Imperative.

Immediate, come!	*Continuing*, continue to come.
(2) يِ *yi*, (pl.) ييو *yiyiu*	يوان آس *yiván ás*, etc.
(3) يين *yiyin*	

Respectful forms :—

Sg.	Pl.
(2) يِتهٔ *yi-ta*	ييتو *yiy-i-tau*
(3) ييتن *yiy-i-tan*	ييتن *yiy-i-tan*

67. Infinitive.

Masc.	Nom.	ین *yun* or یین *yiun*
	Dat.	ینس *yinas*
	Abl.	ینهٔ *yina*
	Gen.	ینُك *yinuk*
Fem.	Nom.	ینِ *yiñi*
	Dat. Abl.	ینهٔ *yini*

[27] In the Conditional, the conjunction اَی *ay*, if, must [usually] precede [or follow]. The meaning is then of a *past* conditional, if he had been (*si esset, si fuisset*). On the other hand, اَی آسهٔ *ay ási* (present), if it is, if it be (*si est, si sit, si fuerit*). The apodosis [often] takes تهٔ *ta*.

68. Participles.

Present, یوان *yivān*, coming.

Perfect, sg. آمُت *ā-mut*, fem. آمُڇ *ā-maṭs*, come; pl. آمٕت *ā-maṭi*, fem. آمٕڇہ *ā-matsa̤*.

Future, sg. یوون *yivavun*, fem. یوون *yivavañi*, about to come; pl. یوون *yivavuñi*, fem. یوونہ *yivavani*.

69. Noun of the Agent, one who comes.

Sg. ینوول *yinavôl*, fem.: ینوآج *yinavôj* [obsolete] or ینواجن *yinavājani*.

Pl. ینوآل *yinavôli*, fem. ینواجہ *yinavāji* [obsolete] or ینواجنہ *yinavājani*.

70. Indicative.

Pres. Def. یوان چھس *yivān chhus*, I am coming.

Pre. Indef. = Future.

Imperfect, یوان أوسس *yivān ôsus*, I was coming.

Perf. آمُت چھس *āmut chhus*, I have come.

Pluperf. I. آمُت أوسس *āmut ôsus*, I had come.

71. Pluperfect II.

		Sg.	Pl.
(1)	m.	آیوس *āyô-s* (آیاس *āyô-s*)	آیی *āyêi*
	f.	آییس *āyeya-s*[28]	آییہ *āyeyi*
(2)	m.	آیوك *āyô-k* (اياك *āyô-k*)	آییوہ *āyê-va̤* or آییو *āyêv*
	f.	آییك *āyeye-k*	آییوہ *āyêyi-va̤*
(3)	m.	آیوو *āyôv* (آیاو *āyôv*)	آیی *āyêi*
	f.	آییہ *āyeyi*	آییہ *āyêyi*

72. Aorist, I came.

		Sg.	Pl.
(1)	m.	آس *ā-s*	آی *āy*
	f.	آیس *āya-s*	آیہ *āyi*
(2)	m.	آك *ā-k*	آوہ *ô-va̤*
	f.	آیک *āya-k*	آیوہ *āyi-va̤*
(3)	m.	آو *āu*	آی *āy*
	f.	آیہ[29] *āyi*	آیہ *āyi*

28 [Wade's fem. is *āyêya-s*, etc. Both *e* and *ê* are correct. I have corrected the author's transliteration of this tense throughout.]

29 Mp. آي

73. Future.

Immediate, I shall come. Sg.	Pl.	*Continuative*, I shall be coming.
(1) یمہ *yimą*	یمو *yimau*	یوان آسہ *yivān ásą*, and so on.
(2) ییك *yik*	ییو *yiyiu*	
(3) ییہ *yiyi*	ین *yin*	

74. Future Perfect, I shall have come.

1 Sg. آمُت آسہ *ámut ásą*, fem. آمٕژ آسہ *ámąts ásą*.

1 Pl. آمٕت آسو *ámąti ásau*, fem. آمٕژہ آسو *ámatsą ásau*.

75. Dubitative.

Same as Future Perfect.

76. Optative and Conditional Past.

Present, did I come.

	Sg.	Pl.
(1)	یمہہ *yimahą*	یمہو *yimahau*
(2)	ییہك *yihak*	ییہو *yiyihiu*
(3)	ییہے *yiyihe* or ییہہ *yiyihą*	یہن *yihan*

Perfect, had I come.

آمُت آسہہ *ámut ásahą*, and so on.

Precative, یزہے *yizihe* or یزہہ *yizihą*.

Participle Absolute, یت *yit*.

(4) گژھُن gatshun, to go.

77. This verb also is frequently used as a kind of Auxiliary. We shall here give only the forms which differ from the conjugation of آسُن *ásun*.

[This verb is used to mean "to become"; *e. g.*, یسو گو یہ وُچھِت ناخوش *Yisú gau yi wuchhit nákhôsh*, Jesus seeing this became displeased.]

78. Participle.

Perf. sg. گومُت *gó-mut*, fem. گامٕژ *gô-mąts*; pl. گامٕت *gômąti*, fem. گامٕژہ *gá-matsą*.

79. Aorist.

		Sg.	Pl.
(1)	m.	گُوس *gô-s* (گاس *gôs*)[30]	گَیِ *gay*^{i}
	f.	گَیِس *gaya-s*	گَیِه *gayi*
(2)	m.	گُوك *gô-k* (گآك *gôk*)	گَوَه *ga-vạ*[31] or *gav*
	f.	گَیَك *gaya-k*	گَیِوَه *gayi-vạ* or *gayav*
(3)	m.	گَو *gau*	گَیِ *gay*^{i}
	f.	گَیِه (Mp. گَیِ) *gayi*[31]	گَیِه *gayi*

80. Pluperfect.[32]

		Sg.	Pl.
(1)	m.	گَیُوس *gayôs* (گیآس *gayôs*)	گَیِی *gayê*^{i}
	f.	گَیَیِس *gayeyas*	گَیِیِه *gayyêyi*[33]
(2)	m.	گَیُوك *gayôk* (گَیآك *gayôk*)	گَیِیوَه *gayêvạ* or *gayêv*
	f.	گَیِیِك *gayeyek*	گَیِیوَه *gayayivạ*[33]
(3)	m.	گَیُوو *gayôv* (گَیآو *gayôv*)	گَیِی *gayê*^{i}
	f.	گَیِیِه *gayeyi*[33]	گَیِیِه *gayyêyi*[33]

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXIV. page 356.)

Noise and Music. — Noise, — the beating of drums, the rattling of gourds, the clashing of metal plates, — restores to consciousness or life one who is in a swoon. Swoons are due to the oppressive attacks of evil spirits. Therefore evil **spirits are afraid of noise and music.** Again, two of the leading experiences of the early life are that **noise scares** wild beasts and thievish birds, and therefore **spirits**; for, to the early man, his risks from wild beasts and his losses from birds are mainly magical, — the doings of evil spirits sent into the animals by some hostile witch or sorcerer. As with other scarers the dualism that makes the scarer also the home appears in noise. It appears still more clearly in the disciplined or regulated noise which is known as music. **Noise scares, but noise, or at least music, also inspirits.** All great spirit-times, whether the birth, sickness, marriage or death of the individual; the beginnings and endings of enterprise and endeavour, as foundation-layings and house-warmings; the changes of the seasons which are mainly the birth, maturity, and death of the sun and moon; the sudden and notable sickness of the sun and moon in eclipses; the battle-field; the guarding of the guardian, whether in health-drinking, triumphs, or temple ritual: all are **times of noise.** And the **ground-object of all these various noises of humanity is the scaring of evil influences.** In many cases the foundation is hid by a refined overlayer: the temple god-guarding outcry becomes **the hymn of praise or the call to prayer.** Again the dual experience that noise inspirits as well as scares gains in importance with the advance of man. At festive times the bagpipe sets the Scottish Highlander, the Dhêḍâ's drum sets the West Indian Bharwâr, dancing. It is neither inducement nor persuasion. It is the ancestral spirits gathering to the well-known

---

[30] The forms in parenthesis are those of Ns. [*gôs*, however, means "we went to him"].

[31] These are the only forms which are vocalized in Mp. [*Gayôs* also means "we had been to him," and *gayôk* "we had been to them."] [32] No form vocalized in Mp. [33] Mp. گییی , گییِیوه , گییِیه

sound, who enter their tribesmen, inspirit them, and force them to dance. So still more in the battle-field: the trumpets, the drum, the pipes and the shout are not only to scatter pale panic and fear but to gather and draw into the fighters the spirits of their battle-loving forefathers. Still more than the listener, the singer and the player are inspired. The Beluch Bêzungas spend the night singing, in their choruses working themselves into a frenzy.[57] Inspired by the music, the Turkî singer and harper of the South Caspian throws himself into extreme attitudes, shaking his head and rolling on his seat.[58] Of the people of Western India the Sîdîs of East African origin carry further than others the belief in the inspiration of music. If music inspires, the spirit must come out of the instrument whose sounds inspire. Therefore **musical instruments are spirit-homes.** With the Malangas or Sîdî beggars the rattle is the home of mother Misra, the musical bow or Malanga of Bâwa Ghôr, the kettle-drum of Dastagîr, and the cymbal of Sulaimân. As a guardian home the harp or other musical instrument has to be adorned and evil influences scared or housed by the wild talismanic tags of the negroe, by the stately Sphinx-head of Egypt, by the lion or human face of Greece, Rome, and Middle-Age Europe.

One of the few signs of Hindu temple worship that force themselves on the notice of strangers and passers is the evening rite called *ârtî*, the waving of burning camphor and other lights, the ringing of bells, the beating of gongs and brass plates, and in the larger temples the crash of kettle-drums. The object of this strange furious jostling of noises is to keep far from the god the dreaded fire-fiends called Yôginîs, who haunt the twilight, intent on evil. How the early outcry of priests and worshippers, whose object is to protect the god, passes into the later hymn of praise, shout of thanks, or church-bell or muezzin call to prayer, is shewn by the following order issued in connection with the new Ilâhî religion started by the emperor Akbar in A. D. 1572: — "Let the governor see to the beating of a kettle-drum at sunrise and at mid-night which is the birth of sunrise, and during the progress of the great majestic light from station to station let him order small and great guns to be fired, that all men may be called to offer thanks to God."[59]

From the tangled maze of instances that noise scares spirits the following somewhat unclassified and haphazard examples have been chosen. All over Western India, during the Hôḷi or Spring festival, outcries, drum beatings and shouts broken by striking the mouth with the right palm are believed to scare the evil spirit called Dhûṇḍhâ Râkshasî.[60] At the Ratnâgiri Marâṭhâ wedding, when the lucky moment comes, the priest shouts "Take care," the guests clap hands, and when the people outside hear the clapping they fire guns. The reason why they fire guns is to keep off Kâl, that is, Time. If they did not frighten Kâl, he would seize the bride and bride-groom or their fathers and mothers. Whom Kâl seizes falls senseless or in a fit.[61] In Bombay, in a Prabhu family, on the fifth night after a birth, servants are made to sing and beat drums all night to keep off the spirit Satthî or Mother Sixth.[62] The first thing a Prabhu looks at when he rises in the morning is a drum.[63] In Ratnâgiri, a man, whose funeral had been performed on a false rumour of his death and who came back, had to pass through a drum before he was allowed to come into his village. The Pârsîs say that a cock crows to scare evil spirits. As they also say that a crowing cock is a drum, it follows that, in their opinion, a drum scares spirits.[64] At a Pârsî wedding, when the bride and bridegroom throw rice on each other, the guests clap their hands.[65] At the lucky moment, in a Chitpâvan thread-girding, the musicians raise a blast of music.[66] In Poona, music is played two hours morning and evening for four days when a Chitpâvan girl comes of age.[67] The musicians in the Chitpâvan weddings claim the *ôvâlnî*, or guardian fee.[68] Among

[57] Pottinger's *Beluchistan*, p. 29.

[58] Frazer's *Khorâsân*, p. 604.

[59] *Dabistân*, Vol. III. p. 132.

[60] *Vividha Dnyâna Vistâr Magazine*, Vol. X. p. 1875.

[61] Information from the peon Bâbâji. Owing to excitement and anxiety, nervous seizures are common at Hindu weddings. This experience keeps fresh the belief that weddings are among the chief spirit-times. With Hindus as with Europeans Time and Death are one.

[62] K. Raghunath's *Pâtâne Prabhus.*

[63] K. Raghunath's *Pâtânê Prabhus.*

[64] *Dabistân*, Vol. I. p. 324.

[65] Mr. Dosabhai Framji's *The Pârsîs*, Vol. I. p. 179.

[66] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 117.

[67] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 140.

[68] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 138.

all classes of Hindus, at their weddings, women sing marriage songs. Beni-Isra'îl women sing Hebrew songs when a boy is being circumcised.[69] Dekhan Châmbhârs, when the wedding screen is taken aside, clap their hands.[70] Dekhan Râmôsîs, when a boy is born, beat a metal plate.[71] At a Konkanî Kolî wedding in Poona, at the lucky moment, the guests clap their hands.[72] At a Dekhan Uchliâ's marriage, when the bride and bridegroom are being rubbed with turmeric, a Holar beats a drum and women sing songs.[73] Among the Nâmdêv Shimpîs of Ahmadnagar, during the wedding, when the bridegroom goes out in the morning, he is accompanied by music and friends.[74] The Ahmadnagar Mhârs, when a child is born, sprinkle it with water, and with a nail beat a metal plate close to its ear.[75] In Kalâdgî, when a Kurubâru, or shepherd, is possessed, he is taken before the house-image of the guardian Birâppa. A noise of drums, gongs, flutes, cymbals, and bells is raised, and lemons and cocoanuts are waved round the patient's head.[76] The Bîjâpur Raddîs clap their hands when the mourner kindles the pyre.[77] The Liṅgâyat funeral is headed by a band of musicians.[78] A worshipper going into a Hindu temple should ring a bell; if no bell is available he should beat an iron ring; if no iron ring is at hand he should rattle the iron door-chain.[79] In North India, after a snake-bite, evil spirits are kept away by drumming on a brass plate.[80] At a Gujarât funeral, the Brâhmaṇ who conducts the rites, stamps thrice on the ground, that the noise may drive away spirits.[81] On the sixth day after a birth, among South Indian Musalmâns, the day is spent in listening to music.[82] **The rattle of chains has strong scaring power.** Ringed and disked chains are dragged through a pierced wooden bar as the noise is believed to distract the Evil Eye.[83] At all child-rites Indian Musalmân women beat the *dhôl* drum and clash cymbals.[84] Indian Musalmâns believe that no spirit can stay within five miles of the place where the flat kettle drums, called *tashas*, are beaten.[85] In Western India, the Titêrî Kumbîs of Bassein and Pâlgad fire guns during an eclipse.[86] If a Hindu has to go out in the dark he sings and bawls to keep his spirits up, that is, to keep off evil spirits.[87] One of the earliest forms of music was beating sticks together. The rhythmic clashing of sticks is the accompaniment to one of the stick dances, so great a favourite among the Bhîls, the pastoral tribes, and the Kṛishṇa-worshipping castes of Gujarât and Rajpûtânâ. In the Central Provinces, in 1832, epidemics were cured by driving a scape-buffaloe into the wilderness with an appalling firing of guns and beating of metal pots.[88] Among the Golls, a wandering tribe of Belgaum, the Liṅgâyat priest purifies mourners by ringing a bell and blowing a conch in the house of mourning.[89] Among the Kômtîs of Shôlâpur, when a child is born, a metal plate is beaten near it, and the child is sprinkled with water.[90] In 1808, the Musalmâns in the Marâṭhâ camp fired cannon at the new moon, sounded trumpets, and saluted each other.[91] When a Khond patriarch dies, gongs and drums are beaten.[92] A gun is fired when a boy is born in a Coorg family, and guns are fired when a Coorg dies.[93] In South India, trumpets and shells are sounded at low-caste funerals.[94] In South India, when a boy is being girt with the holy thread, women sing, musicians play, bells ring, and brass-plates are beaten.[95] Perhaps one of the earliest forms of music is the Hindu patting his right cheek with his fingers and beating his sides with his arms in worshipping Śiva.[96] According to Hindu religious books, music of

[69] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 528.
[70] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 328.
[71] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 415.
[72] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 392.
[73] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 472.
[74] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 126.
[75] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 175.
[76] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 123.
[77] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 155.
[78] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 237.
[79] Information from Mr. Himatlâl.
[80] *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 36.
[81] Information from Mr. Manibhai.
[82] Herklot's *Quanuni Islâm*, p. 35.
[83] Information from Mr. Fazl Lutfallah.
[84] Herklot's *Quanuni Islâm*, p. 34.
[85] Information from Mr. Fazl Lutfallah.
[86] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[87] Compare Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 39.
[88] Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, Vol. I. pp. 214, 215.
[89] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI. p. 167.
[90] *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 55.
[91] *Letters from a Marâṭhâ Camp*, p. 46.
[92] Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 56.
[93] Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. pp. 239, 240.
[94] Dubois, Vol. II. p. 223.
[95] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 225.
[96] Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 33.

all kinds should be used at a Brâhmaṇ's funeral.[97] The feeling is widespread in India that the decline of the power of spirits during the present century has been due to the sound of the **British drum.** The Ṭhag Dôrghâ said to Capt. (Sir W.) Sleeman (A. D. 1832): "So great is the Company's fortune that, before the sound of their drums, sorcerers, witches, demons, even Ṭhags flee."[98] So in Gujarât, the decline of the number and power of evil spirits is believed to be due to the sound of the British drum. Its pig-skin end scares Musalmân spirits; its cow-skin end scares Hindu spirits.[99] The Ceylon fiend-priests generally belong to the drummer class.[100] According to a Persian belief the evil spirit is kept at a distance by the outcry of a three-year old cock, an ass, and a righteous man.[1] At Karirun, near Maskât, in 1821, guns were fired and a great noise was made to drive off cholera.[2] At Baghdâd, on an eclipse of the moon, the people get on their house-tops and clatter pots, pans and other kitchen dishes, howl and let off firearms to frighten the Jinn who has seized the moon.[3] In Central Asia, at the time of the great Changêz Khâṅ, the Mongols made an outcry to scare the evil spirits who cause eclipses.[4] The practice still prevails.[5]

The Lâmâs of Tibet use dead men's thigh-bones as trumpets to call to prayer, and their skulls as drinking cups. The young Lâmâs go about dancing to the sound of bells and other noisy music, and at the beginning of every month they make a procession with black flags and figures of clay attended with drums and music, which they believe chases the devil.[6] Lâmâ physicians cure certain cases of spirit possession by sounding music, of which evil spirits are afraid.[7] Drums are beaten to drive away the evil spirits which annoy the Buddhist hermits.[8] Among Tibetan Buddhists cymbals are one of the eight essential offerings or sacrifices.[9] The noise of drums, cymbals, trumpets and horns at Lâmâ ceremonies is notable.[10] The received opinion is that this noise is to attract the attention of the demon guardian, not to scare him. This belief is due to the changing of the demon king into a guardian whose influence is friendly, not hostile. To drive away the death demon, Lâmâs loudly beat a large drum, clash cymbals, and blow a pair of thigh-bone trumpets. The laymen shout, cut the air with their weapons, and cry "Begone."[11] In a Tibet funeral a Lâmâ goes in front of the body, blowing a thigh-bone trumpet and rattling a hand-drum. He holds the end of a white scarf which is fastened to the corpse.[12] The voice of the sea-conch summons the Tibetan to prayer.[13] The Burmese carts have groaning wheels which can be heard miles off. The louder the noise the more the cart is prized. Every bullock has a bell to keep off tigers.[14] At a Burman funeral musicians attend to play dirges, and monks come to keep evil spirits away.[15] The Karens of Burma sell their children to buy hollow metal drums which drive off evil.[16] The Burmese executioner dances round a victim, makes feints with his sword, and bursts into wild laughter or yells.[17] A Red Karen chief in the East Burmah hill lands cured his daughter of bowel disease by firing a gun over her twice at midnight.[18] The Maṇipûrîs of North-West Burmah sing at their festivals, in carrying loads, and in other hand-work. It is a compliment to a person to raise a song in his honour.[19] In 1542, the Siamese had a yearly festival in which the king in his barge with many boats churned the waters with great noise and shouting.[20] The accession of the king of Siam is accompanied with a tremendous noise of gongs, drums and conch-shells.[21] The

97 Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 156.

98 Sleeman's *Ramasiana*, p. 158; *History and Practice of the Ṭhags*, p. 104.

99 The late Mr. Vaikuntram's MS. Notes.

100 *Journal*, Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1865, p. 12.

1 West's *Pahlvi Texts*, 1880, p. 113.

2 Frazer's *Khorâsân*, p. 63.

3 *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. VIII. p. 414.

4 Howorth's *Changiz Khan*, p. 143.

5 *Reville Les Religions des Peuples Non Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 191.

6 Faria in Kerr's *Voyages*, Vol. VII. p. 15; Schlagintweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 229.

7 Schlagintweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*, pp. 267, 268.

8 *Op. cit.* p. 163.

9 Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 425.

10 *Op. cit.* pp. 431, 432.

11 *Op. cit.* p. 495.

12 *Op. cit.* p. 104.

13 *Huc and Gabet*, Vol. I. p. 88.

14 Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 98.

15 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 347.

16 Fytche's *Burmah*, Vol. I. p. 339.

17 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 149.

18 *Government of India Selections*, Vol. XXIV. p. 39.

19 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXVII. p. 51.

20 Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 422.

21 Jones' *Crowns*, p. 437.

Cambodians beat drums and shout to drive off the demon who causes eclipses. So do the Sumâtrans and the Chinese.[22] Both by day and night the Steins of Cambodia make insupportable noises to relieve the sick from evil influences.[23] When the king of Cambodia has his hair cut the Brâhmaṇs keep up a noisy music to scare evil influences.[24] At the yearly purifying festival in Cambodia, and also in Siam and in Tonquin, all the artillery and muskets are discharged that by their most terrible noise the devils may be driven away.[25] When any one has an audience of the Chinese emperor, when the person presented salutes, music plays. The evening before the empress is to be crowned musical instruments are hung in the doors through which she has to pass. Bands play as she drives to the throne-room and as she mounts the throne.[26] The Chinese put a drum in the thunder god's temple. They used to leave a drum on a hill-top with a little boy as sacrifice. The Japanese give thunder gods five drums. The Chinese and Japanese beat drums and gongs to scatter water-spirits.[27] At an eclipse, to prevent the moon or sun being eaten by a dog the Chinese beat gongs and drums.[28] In the leading boat at the dragon-boat procession in China, a man keeps blowing a conch-shell.[29] In China, the night inspector beats an official brass drum.[30] Before the Corean or North-East Chinaman goes to bed he offers prayers and music.[31] Round the bed of the dying Corean no sound is allowed, apparently in case noise should frighten away the dying man's spirit. When the patient is dead wailing is allowed, but it must not be loud, for the dying man's spirit might be coming back and be scared.[32] The people of Fooyn (A. D. 300), when travelling, always sang.[33] The gods of the Canton river are worshipped with an accompaniment of hundreds of fire crackers.[34] When (about A. D. 1880), the new Chinese burying ground was opened in Bombay, it was cleared of evil spirits by a liberal discharge of crackers. During the whole of dinner-time at a Chinese house in Canton ear-splitting music is played.[35] In Canton, at the close of the procession in honor of Paaktaoi, a number of fire-works are let off to scare evil spirits.[36] In China, in the worship of Confucius, old stringed instruments are played and old bells are rung.[37] In China, if an old man dies, neighbours come to the house and beat gongs, tom-toms, and drums. At three in the morning all the decorations of the house are pulled down and burnt with howling.[38] At a Chinese funeral two men walk with lanterns, two men with gongs and sixteen musicians with flags and red boards.[39] In China, when a house is haunted by evil spirits, the owner loses no time in procuring the services of an exorcist. When the exorcist comes, he orders his attendants to beat gongs, drums, and tom-toms. In the midst of the appalling din he shouts: — "Evil spirits from the east I send back to the east, evil spirits from the west I send back to the west, those from the north I send back to the north, and those from the south I send back to the south, and those from the centre of the world I send back thither. Let all evil spirits return to the points of the compass to which they belong. Let them all immediately vanish."[40] When the Chinaman is put in his coffin one of the body-cleaners beats the floor with a large hammer to terrify evil spirits.[41] The Chinese at an eclipse in April, 1688, made most hideous yellings and horrid noises to drive off the dragon.[42] The Chinese Lâmâs in their churches blow horns and shells.[43] The Chinese beat tom-toms and make noises to frighten the heavenly dogs from eating the sun and the moon on eclipse days.[44] A queer wild plaintive song sung by women is one of the few signs of mourning in Japan.[45]

[22] Balfour's *Hindus*, Vol. V. p. 58.
[23] Black's *Folk-Medicine*, p. 18.
[24] *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 197.
[25] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 178.
[26] Kidd's *China*, pp. 239-241.
[27] Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 83.
[28] Kidd's *China*, p. 301.
[29] Mrs. Gray's *Fourteen Months in Canton*, p. 146.
[30] *Huc and Gabet*, Vol. I. p. 18.
[31] Ross's *Corea*, p. 358.
[32] *Op. cit.* p. 320.
[33] *Op. cit.* p. 22.
[34] Mrs. Gray's *Fourteen Months in Canton*, p. 120.
[35] *Op. cit.* p. 174.
[36] *Op. cit.* p. 41.
[37] *Op. cit.* p. 258.
[38] Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 299.
[39] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 300-303.
[40] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 19, 20.
[41] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 280.
[42] Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 294.
[43] Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 134.
[44] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 268.
[45] *St. John's Japan*, p. 220.

In the Nicobar islands, when ghosts grow troublesome, the priest brings a boat under the houses which are built on poles in the water, and with noise, helped by the people, drives the ghosts into the boat, and sends the boat, and its devil-cargo to sea.[46] The Nicobar physician drives out the disease-spirit by howling, yelling and whistling frantically.[47] It would be pleasant travelling in a Malay chief's boat, but for the ceaseless tom-tom accompaniment.[48] The wild tribes of Perâk, in the Malay Peninsula, accompany their dances by striking together pieces of bamboo.[49] During an eclipse the people of Sumatra make a loud noise to prevent one luminary devouring the other.[50] Among the people of Neas Island, to the west of Sumatra, if a disease-spirit will not go, the women are sent out and all openings are shut except one in the roof. The men brandish their weapons, and with drums and gongs raise such a din that the spirit flies out through the hole in the roof.[51] On the eves of Galungan, of fast days, and of eclipses, the people of Bali to the south of Java make a terrible noise with their rice blocks and other instruments to drive away evil spirits.[52] In the island of Buro, when sickness comes, the people rush about, beating gongs and drums to frighten the demons.[53] The Papuans, or people of New Guinea, have feastings and music at funerals and weddings.[54] If a Papuan is killed, the villagers assemble and raise the most frightful howling to drive the ghost away, if he should attempt to return to his former home.[55] Almost any event, joyful or sorrowful, gives the Papuan an excuse for singing and dancing. The great feasts are the completing of a Korowar or divine nine-pin or the successive steps in the carving of one of the great images of the idol house of the Mon or ancestors. In the big feasts dancing and singing go on the whole night. A barn is built on the shore. The men sit apart from the women, decked with coloured leaves and scarlet hibiscus in their armlets, necklaces and hair. Wooden drums are beaten without stopping. The drumming and dancing, which is so violent as nearly to shake the house down, produce a terrific noise pleasing to a Papuan, as he knows it is most effective in guarding him against the evil influence of the Manuen or demons.[56] The Fijians clap their hands and shout 'Ho Ho' when they visit a chief or a god.[57] The people of the Leper Islands in Melanesia blow conches to drive away the mischief of a comet.[58] In Melanesia, when the moon is eclipsed, conches are blown and house roofs are beaten.[59] The bull-roarer or *buro* of Florida is used in the Banks Islands to drive away ghosts.[60] On the fifth day after a death the spirit is driven away by shouts and by the voices of the conch and of the bull-roarer.[61] In Tasmania, the medicine-man drives out the evil spirit from a sick man by springing a rattle.[62] The Australians, to frighten the storm-fiend, howl, stamp and curse.[63] The Australians thought it risky to whistle at night, as the demon Karingpe was attracted by the sound.[64] In Madagascar, while the neighbours move round clapping hands, a woman of rank dances, and a second woman beats an old spade with a hatchet close to the sick person's ear, to drive out the spirit of sickness.[65]

In East Africa, when any one is possessed, the drum is beaten and the devil is enticed by a medicine-man into a stool. The stool is then carried about from place to place till the devil is unable to find his way back.[66] The Waniks of East Africa have a wonderful drum which they worship.[67] Drums of hollow trees are common all over Africa.[68] The clapping of hands is a necessary part of the dances of West African negroes.[69]

[46] Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 235; Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. p. 249.
[47] Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. p. 249.
[48] *The Cruise of the Marchesa*, Vol. II. p. 233.
[49] *Straits Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, December 1879.
[50] Hardwick's *Traditions*, p. 44.
[51] Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. p. 360.
[52] *Essays regarding Indo-China*, Second Series, Vol. II. p. 198.
[53] *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 187.
[54] Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 457.
[55] Featherman's *Social History of Mankind*, Second Division, p. 42.
[56] *The Cruise of the Marchesa*, Vol. II. p. 286.
[57] Pritchard's *Polynesian Remains*, p. 364.
[58] Codrington's *Melanesians*, p. 348.
[59] *Op. cit.* p. 348.
[60] *Op. cit.* p. 342.
[61] *Op. cit.* pp. 267, 271.
[62] Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. p. 109.
[63] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 171.
[64] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 174.
[65] Sibree in *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. II. p. 46.
[66] Thomson's *Central Africa*, Vol. I. p. 144.
[67] News' *East Africa*, p. 118.
[68] Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 41.
[69] Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 278.

Some Africans salute by clapping hands.[70] In some parts of Africa subjects must clap hands before speaking to the chief.[71] When the Sultân of the Wajîjîs of East Africa appears among his subjects he claps his hands, to which all answer by clapping their hands.[72] So, when the king of Dahomey on a ceremony drinks a health, the ministers bend to the ground and clap their hands.[73] According to Stanley,[74] Utesa, the emperor of Uganda (East Africa) went to battle with about fifty great war-drums and a hundred pipes. His men shook gourds, with pebbles and made charms against evil. Among them, before a battle, it is customary to carry charms to propitiate spirits unfriendly to the monarch. The charms are dead lizards, bits of wood, nails of dead people, claws of animals, and beaks of birds. During the battle the witches and wizards chant incantations and produce the charms in front of the foe, while the gourd and pebble bearers sound a hideous alarm. The men appear in full war-dress, ostrich plumes, leopard skins, and lances adorned with feathers and rings of white monkey-skin.[75] When a north African Shêkh is on the war-path he has near him a timbrel or drum carrier fantastically dressed in a straw hat and ostrich feathers. To lose the drum in battle is the greatest misfortune and disgrace.[76] The Balondas of South Africa clap their hands before and after food.[77] At Benguella, in West Africa, the sorcerer's attendants ring bells and clap hands.[78] In West Africa at coronations, Old Calabar people keep up a hideous and continual noise by tapping their mouths with the palms of their hands.[79] The Monbottos of Central Africa crack fingers when they meet one another.[80] The Hindu cracks his fingers in front of his open mouth when yawning, either to scare his soul from flying out or evil spirits from flying in. The Nubians believe that a new-moon day is a great spirit-day, and fire guns to drive off spirits.[81] In Abyssinian churches, a rattle is used to accompany the chants.[82] Arab and Egyptian women utter peculiar cries accompanied by a strange rattle of the tongue called *zagharîb*.[83] An English traveller says of the Moors of Africa:— "When the sun's eclipse was at its height we saw the people running about as if mad and firing their rifles at the sun to frighten the monster who they supposed was wishing to devour the orb of day."[84] In the seventeenth century the Moors of Barbary thought water-spouts were dragons or evil spirits. To drive them away they fired cannon at them, shouted at them, beat the deck, and crossed swords.[85] The firing of cannon at water-spouts is mentioned both in Camoen's *Lysiad* (A. D. 1510) and in Falconer's *Shipwreck* (A. D. 1780). Basset[86] says:—" Doubtless, at first cannon were fired, gongs beaten, and swords were clashed not to break the water-spout but to scare the fiend. When the moon is eclipsed, the Eskimos hide all their belongings. They think the moon leaves the sky and comes to spoil their houses, and so make a noise to drive her back to the sky.[87] In Nova Scotia, demons are charmed into quiet by the beating of a drum.[88] Beating a drum saves the Nova Scotian youth from the magician disguised as a beaver.[89] During eclipses of the moon, Greenlanders carry boxes and kettles to the roofs of their houses, and beat them as hard as they can.[90] In Canada, among the Mic-Mac Indians of the Bay of Chalewi, New Brunswick, who are Roman Catholics, on their great yearly festival the women all go to church. On either side of the road to the church artificial bushes are planted at intervals, and behind the first bush on either side a band of youths hide themselves with muskets loaded with powder. As the women come opposite the bush the lads fire into the air and rush to the next bush, so firing a volley when the women reach each bush till they get to the church door. The Indians say that they fire the

[70] Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 274.
[71] Burton's *Central Africa*, Vol. II. p. 69.
[72] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 69.
[73] Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 245.
[74] *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. I. p. 326.
[75] Stanley's *Dark Continent*, Vol. I. p. 327.
[76] Denham's *Africa*, Vol. I. p. 361.
[77] Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 304.
[78] Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. II. p. 218.
[79] Jones' *Crowns*, p. 448.
[80] Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 461.
[81] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 91.
[82] *Notes and Queries*, Vol. IX. p. 4.
[83] Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 163, 166.
[84] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1170.
[85] Basset's *Sea Legends*, p. 30.
[86] *Op. cit.* p. 34.
[87] *Reville Les Religions des Peuples Non Civilisés*, Vol. I. p. 191.
[88] Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 104.
[89] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 391.
[90] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 707.

guns to keep away evil spirits.[91] The Indians of Alaska beat drums close to the sick. After beating the biggest drum to pieces, if the patient is no better, they strangle him.[92] From one end of America to the other the clapper is the typical tool of sorcery.[93] The North American sorcerer, by the help of his clapper, and the South American, by the help of his rattle, work themselves into a fit.[94] The Abipones of Central South America, when a man is sick, raise a deafening din about him to scare the evil spirit that has entered into him.[95] The Central American Yucatans (1650), during an eclipse, pinch their dogs to make them howl, and beat their tables, benches and doors.[96] The Guiana Indians wake at 4 a. m., sing songs, drum and issue at day-light, greeting the morn.[97] The South American Patagonians treat sorcerers with respect, for, after death, they may come as terrible spirits. They believe that spirits cause disease and that they can be scared by noise.[98] The wild Brazil tribes believe that spirits go into certain objects, roots, stones, teeth and bones. Their chief spirit-home is the magic gourd closed by a holed board and having inside stones, dried fruit, and kernels. In dancing the owner shakes the gourd and makes its contents rattle. The owner blows tobacco smoke on his holy gourd, chats with it, calls it his child, and offers it to eat. At certain festivals its spirit-scaring power is renewed by enchantments.[99] The Indians of Brazil blow horns to frighten sea-monsters.[100] At sowing festivals, in Peru, a great noise of arms was made to prevent the disease attacking the plants.[1] The Mexicans began battle with a most horrid noise of warlike instruments, shouting and whistling, which struck terror in those not accustomed to hear it.[2] Fighting in ancient Mexico (A. D. 1300) consisted of singing, dancing, shrieking and whistling.[3] Before they were Christians the Mexicans used to scare evil spirits by springing a rattle. The use of the rattle is continued on Holy Thursday in Mexican churches.[4] On the Saturday of Holy Week (1842) the clang of bells is incessant, the air is full of the smoke of myriads of crackers, called Judases and Heretics, stretched on ropes across the street.[5] During an earthquake at Florida, in 1886, the Floridans held a camp meeting, and yelled and shrieked all night.[6] Kalmuks fire guns at the storm demons.[7] The Pueblos of America make a great howling and a tremendous uproar when death comes,[8] and the Creek Indians of Florida in North America keep up a death-howl for four days.[9] Once a year the Queensland tribes beat the air in a mock fight to scare the yearly army of souls, and the North American Indians lash the air with sticks and beat the walls of houses to force out the ghosts.[10] The Patagonians strike a drum at the beds of the sick to drive out diseases.[11] Other tribes of Americans make a noise at the grave to scare the evil one who waits for the soul.[12]

Among Egyptians Jews and Greeks, music had great spirit-scaring and religious virtue. The Egyptians disliked the trumpet because its sound was as the noise of an evil genius.[13] The sound of the Egyptian *sistrum* was supposed to frighten the evil spirit Typhon.[14] So, in Egyptian pictures of sacrifices, the queen stands behind the king shaking the *sistrum* and beating the drum to dispel evil influences.[15] Clapping of hands was common at Egyptian festivals.[16] The Egyptians sang at their work.[17] Egyptian servants kept up a doleful dirge so long as funeral rites were in hand.[18] The toil of dragging great weights was lightened by a call or chant led by a master.[19] Among the Jews, when the Lord left Saul and removed to

91 Capt. Dixon's *Elephanta*, 15-11-83.
92 Black's *Folk-Medicine*, p. 19.
93 Reville *Les Religions des Peuples Non Civilisés*, Vol. I. p. 393.
94 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 174.
95 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 385.
96 *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. II. p. 40.
97 *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. I. p. 130.
98 Reville *Les Religions des Peuples Non Civilisés*, Vol. I. p. 935.
99 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 371.
100 Burton's *Brazil*, Vol. II. p. 5.
1 *Descriptive Sociology*, 2, "Ancient Peru."
2 *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. II. pp. 13-17.
3 *Descriptive Sociology*, (2) Table "Ancient Mexicans."
4 Mayer's *Mexico*, p. 152.
5 *Op. cit.* p. 155.
6 From MS. Note.
7 Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 45.
8 *First Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, p. 102.
9 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 95.
10 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 154.
11 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 129.
12 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 523.
13 Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, Second Series, Vol. II. p. 263.
14 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 323; Plutarch in Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, Vol. II. p. 745.
15 Maspero's *Egyptian Archæology*, p. 95.
16 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 303.
17 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 326.
18 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 253.
19 Wagner's *Manners*, p. 35.

David, evil spirits came upon Saul, causing suffocations that nearly choked him. The physicians ordered that some one skilled in the harp should be ready, and when the evil spirits came upon Saul the player should play and sing hymns.[20] It was the music, not less than the words of the *carmen* or song, that made it a charm with power to draw the guardian gods out of a city, to ruin armies, to raise the dead, to bind gods and men, to drag the moon out of heaven.[21] That by David's harping the evil spirit departed from Saul is an example of the religious importance of music among the Hebrews. Music by clearing evil influences enabled the youthful Saul to prophesy: it was through the same power that Elisha and others prophesied. The music at battles, at marriages, at funerals: the song of the wine-presser, of the women at the mill; the blare of the Jubilee trumpets, the din as of battle round the golden calf, the blowing of trumpets and piping of pipes when Solomon was anointed king, the bands of musicians at the banquets in the palace and in the temple, seem all to have their origin in the experience of the Jews that music scares evil influences.[22] Tophet, near Jerusalem, was said to take its name from *toph*, a drum, because drums used to be beaten there in honour of Moloch.[23] The Jews considered thunder to be the voice of the guardian Javeh.[24] In 1894, to keep off cholera, the Jews of a town of Poland put on helmets and cuirasses of paste-board and, taking wooden javelins, marched forth, clashing cymbals and shouting a dissonant dirge.[25]

Among the ancient Greeks music played a not less important healing and religious part than among the Jews. Pythagoras (B. C 600) employed music to cure diseases, both of the body and of the mind.[26] Aesculapius said that music, songs and farces cured madness. Like David, Greek singers to the harp quieted the spirit-haunted.[27] Like the Australian bull-roarer and the rattle of Buddhist and Christian religious ceremonies, the Greeks had an instrument called *rombos* which was used in mysteries and magic.[28] The youth who brought the Tempic laurel to Delphi was always attended by a player on the flute.[29] At their feasts the Homeric Greeks sang healing, that is, spirit-scaring, songs or pæans in praise of their gods.[30] Among the later Greeks, music at feasts prevented drunkenness.[31] The Corybantes cured madness by beating cymbals round their patient.[32] In Cybele's honour trumpets were blown for a whole day.[33] Among the early Greeks, when an animal was sacrificed, the women wailed or cried aloud. In later times flutes were played, as music and songs charmed the spirits of the air.[34] The spirit-scaring rites of Bacchus were full of noisy shoutings and drummings.[35] Every Greek ship had its musician who played to the rowers to keep off thought of fatigue.[36] At eclipses of the moon the Greeks beat drums and kettles and sounded trumpets and haut-boys to drown the voices of the magicians and make all their charms of no effect. When the soul was leaving a dying Greek, brazen kettles were beaten, because the airy forms of evil phantasms, who might have carried the dead to torment, could not endure so harsh a sound.[37] At their funerals the Greeks sang and played Phrygian flutes, which frightened the ghosts and the faeries from the soul of the dead.[38] Among the Romans the Salii or dancing priests at the old March New-Year clashed their swords against their shields, apparently to drive out demons.[39] The Romans, like the Greeks, considered lightning an evil spirit, and hissed when they saw it.[40] The coarse and abusive fescennine songs of early Italy were sung at weddings and triumphs to avert the Evil Eye and the envy of the

20 Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, Vol. I. p. 378.
21 Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I. p. 551.
22 Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, "Music"; Jones' *Crowns*, p. 387.
23 Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 63.
24 Compare Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III. p. 1494.
25 Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 438.
26 Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, Second Series, Vol. II. p. 248, note *.
27 Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 39.
28 Compare Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 907.
29 Plutarch quoted in Moore's *Poems*, Routledge's edition, p. 170, n. 1.
30 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 249.
31 Plutarch in Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, Second Series, Vol. II. p. 399.
32 Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 298.
33 Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, Vol. II. p. 380.
34 Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 584; Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 273.
35 Brown's *Great Dionysiak Myth*, Vol. II. pp. 94, 95.
36 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. pp. 149, 150.
37 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 179.
38 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 205, 206.
39 Compare *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 210, n. 1.
40 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 384. Potter quotes Aristophanes, B. C. 400, and Pliny, A. D. 70.

gods.[41] The ancient Romans thought the eclipsed moon was enchanted, and tried to help her by the dissonant ringing of basins.[42] According to Pliny the Romans played the flute at sacrifices that no other sound might be heard.[43] Ovid's spirit-haunted householder beats a brass vessel and asks the shade to leave his roof.[44] Varro says, bees can be collected, that is, the spirit of unrest that maddens the swarming bees can be driven out of them, by beating cymbals and working rattles.[45] The Romans had shouting and trumpet blowing called *conclamatio* in lamentation for the dead.[46] The early Christians in many practices continued the belief in noise as a scarer. Tertullian (A. D. 176) refers to the din at Christian festivals and to the uproar at Christian banquets.[47] In their funerals the early Christians marched chanting hymns.[48]

Though the scientific explanation of eclipses was known in Pliny's time (A. D. 70) and through the Middle Ages, the people clung to the venerable pity for the moon in trouble, and to help her and themselves they raised an outcry.[49] In England, during the eighth century, cries and sorceries were believed to help the moon at the time of an eclipse.[50] Noise remained a leading feature in country festivals. Posterli, the Swiss scape, who, dressed as a witch, a goat or an ass, took on himself the sins of the people, was driven out with a deafening din of horns, clarionets, bells and whips.[51] The uproar of Royal and other salutes, as the name salute like the name pæan shews, is healing or wholesome, that is, it guards the person honoured from the attacks of evil influences. In Rome, cannon are fired in honour of many festivals and many saints. Salutes are specially frequent on the accession of a new Pope.[52] The Calabrian minstrels in Rome salute the shrines of the Virgin Mother with their wild music to soothe her till the birth-time of her infant.[53] At noon, on the Saturday of Easter Week, in Rome, in 1817, when the rule of the power of darkness comes to an end, the guardian influence is re-introduced and the evil spirits are scared by the firing of cannon, the blowing of trumpets, and the ringing of bells which, since Thursday morning, have been tied up, lest the devil should get into them.[54] The modern Romans ring bells at a death and at an eclipse.[55] At an eclipse the Romans beat pots and pans.[56] In Europe, in 1620, music was considered a cure for sadness, and soothed people affected by the dancing madness.[57] When the Czar of Russia is anointed there is a salute of cannon, a braying of trumpets, and a beating of drums.[58] In Russia, like the Corsican vociferators, the Greek myrologists, and the Irish keeners, professional wailers are employed at funerals.[59] In Germany, on the first of May, Walpurgis night, spirits are driven out by the crack of a whip and the blast of a horn;[60] and in Switzerland and the Tyrol, by the barking of dogs, the ringing of bells, the clashing of pots and pans, and an universal outcry. In Mecklenberg, in Germany, in the fifteenth century, the Wends walked round the budding corn with loud cries.[61] Loud cries scare the eclipse fiend.[62] So in the German story, to scare the devil, the woman claps her hands and crows like a cock.[63] Clapping of hands is useful in enchantments.[64] In France, on Midsummer Eve, brazen vessels are beaten with sticks to make a noise.[65]

---

41 Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 839. 42 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book ii. Chap. 12.

43 *Op. cit.* Book xxviii. Chaps. 2, 11. 44 Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 288. 45 *Op. cit.* p. 370.

46 Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 889. Compare: "The cry at a death, the Roman *conclamatio*, the *walwâlî* of the Turk, Egyptian and Arab, the scream of the Jew, the howl of the North American Indian, the kreen and wail of the Welsh, the Irish, and the Scottish Highlander, seem all to have the same object to scare the flocking spirits of corruption." Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II. p. 438.

47 Hislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 133. 48 Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 253.

49 *Op. cit.* p. 1544. 50 *Op. cit.* pp. 811, 1545. 51 *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 199.

52 Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 140. 53 Hone's *Everyday Book*, Vol. I. p. 1595.

54 Hislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 226. 55 Hone's *Table Talk*, Vol. II. p. 27.

56 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 152. In Rome, during the Tenebræ or Darkness Service, when even the altar lights are put out, the congregation rap loudly on their prayer books. Wagner's *Manners*, p. 207. That this rapping is to keep off evil influences is illustrated by the German rapping on the table when he has said something boastful and dreads retribution.

57 Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 90. 58 Jones' *Crowns*, p. 383. 59 Ralston's *Folk-Tales*, p. 21.

60 *Enc. Brit.* Vol. IX. p. 63, "Demonology;" *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 182.

61 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 65. 62 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 245. 63 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 226.

64 Stallybrass in Grimm, Vol. III. p. 1026. 65 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 316.

At the Druids' festivals, in England, the cries of victims were drowned in shouts and music.[66] In England, all work used to have a song accompaniment — cow-milking, cobbling, road-making, sowing, and reaping, each had its song. Day-labourers had their pipers.[67] The sailors' 'Heave-Ho' is almost the last of toil songs.

Two of the leading branches of music are represented by the regimental band and the church choir. That church singing started in the belief in the scaring power of noise into which the name of God enters, seems probable from the Bedfordshire custom of curing sick bees by singing a psalm in front of the hive. The bees being guardian spirits are specially apt to suffer from fiend attacks.[68] In Wales, till 1769, there was a custom of laying down the corpse at all cross-roads, called resting places, where prayers were offered and a little bell was rung in front of the corpse.[69] As late as 1633 the custom prevailed in England of tolling the "passing bell" or "soul bell" at the time of death.[70] Douce is inclined to think that the passing bell was originally intended to drive away the demon that might take possession of the soul of the deceased.[71] In 1795, in Sussex, on New Year's Eve, boys used to go to apple trees and encircling them shouted aloud that they might bear a good crop.[72] The custom of singing to the apple trees in early spring, that the orchards may bear good crops, is still kept up in Somerset. The singers come round to each orchard and sing a rhyme, part of which is that a cup of good cider can do no harm, a hint which always brings out a canfull.[73] In a wild Yorkshire wedding, the party gallop round the bride and bridegroom, firing guns and shouting and making every one pledge the new couple.[74] In Durham, the bridal party is escorted to church by men armed with guns, which they fire close to the bride and bridegroom. In Cleveland, guns are fired over the head of the newly married couple.[75] Formerly, in rural England, the people resented ill-assorted marriages by serenading the couple with the beating of old tinpots, pans and kettles, apparently to scare the ill-luck which must attend such marriages.[76] Gun firing at funerals remains in the three vollies fired over the grave in a British Military funeral. In North England, to find a sunk body, a loaf of bread with a candle stuck in it is set floating on the water near where the person was drowned. When the candle stops over the sunk body a gun is fired. On hearing the gun the demon who has seized the body lets go in a fright and the body comes to the surface.[77] Similarly, on the Thames it is believed (1878) that to fire a gun brings a drowned body to the surface.[78] In 1606, King James I. of England feasted on board the Danish ship Admiral. At each toast drums, trumpets and cannon were sounded.[79] The early Germans believed eclipses to be caused by wolves eating the sun or moon. To help the attacked sun or moon the people uttered loud cries.[80] The sorcerer who is dragging the moon out of the sky is stopped by the beating of brass vessels.[81] In Worcestershire (1850), a donkey braying is a sign of rain. Here probably the later sign of rain represents an earlier cause of rain. The bray of the holy or guardian ass puts to flight the demon of drought, and so allows the kindly rain to fall.[82] In Oxford (1680), during the whole night, before the great spirit and witch festival of May Day, boys blew cow-horns and hollow canes.[83] In Yorkshire (1790), at Ripon, every night at nine, a man blows a large horn at the market cross and at the Mayor's door.[84] In Suffolk (1867), two old women thought their bed was haunted by a fairy. They seized the warming pan and made a loud din, satisfied that the noise would drive the Pharisee, that is, the fairy, away.[85]

In Brittany, people sing songs about the plague, a white-robed woman. When she hears

66 Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. VI p. 128.
67 *Temple Bar*, December 1883, p. 518.
68 Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 123.
69 *Op. cit.* p. 285.
70 *Op. cit.* p. 320.
71 *Op. cit.* p. 203.
72 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 9.
73 Jefferies in the *English Magazine*, October 1887.
74 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 37.
75 *Op. cit.* p. 33.
76 Wagner's *Manners*, p. 107.
77 Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 46.
78 *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, Vol. X. p. 276.
79 *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, Vol. IV. p. 223.
80 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 245.
81 Tibullus' *Elegy* I. line 21.
82 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 134.
83 Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 18.
84 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 4.
85 *Op. cit.* p. 123.

herself called by her name Mother Plague withdraws.[86] In Normandy and in the Tyrol, cannon are fired to put a stop to excessive rain.[87] The sense of this gun firing is shewn by a similar practice in Carinthia, where the people shoot at a storm to scare the evil spirits, who hold counsel in storms.[88] Disturbing demons by uproar is universal. Exorcists yell, roll drums, clash cymbals and ring bells, all with the object of dislodging spirits.[89] In Foula, to the south-west of Shetland, if a cow is sick, wounded by the trows or spirits, the wound is daubed with tar and gunpowder is lighted and blown off near the cow's horns.[90] In England, on May Day morning (1600), horns used to be blown.[91] In Scotland, church bells were believed to drive away the faeries. So in Sweden, the troll would have lived at Botna Hill were it not for the sound of the plaguey bell: also in Zealand, the troll had to leave because of the eternal ringing and dinging.[92] So in Coleridge's *Christabel*,[93] Bracy the bard "vowed with music loud to clear the wood from things unblest, and with music strong and saintly song to wander through the forest bare lest ought unholy loitered there." So, again, Coleridge[94] says: "A melody dwells in thee which doth enchant the soul. Such a voice will drive away from me the evil demon that beats his black wings close above my head." It is an old German belief that to slap the knee loudly scares the devil.[95] Compare the English slapping the leg under the influence of a joke. Perhaps, this slapping was, originally, a form of applause, and therefore a guarding rite. The shouting at health-drinking, whether the German 'Hoch' or the English 'Hurrah,' has its sense in scaring evil influences from the honoured Health. The practice seems to pass back to the old northern nations who hallooed when they drank in honour of their rural deities.[96] In Spain, at Christmas (1828), carols were sung to the sound of the *zambomba*, a shoot of the reed *Arundo donax*, fixed in the centre of a piece of parchment so as not to pass through the skin. The parchment is softened by wet and tied like a drumhead round the mouth of an earthen jar. As the parchment tightens, the place where the reed point peaks the skin is rubbed with wax, and the clenched hand is drawn across the wax, making a deep hollow sound.[97] In Constantinople, in an eclipse, guns are fired to keep Satan from harming the moon.[98] In 1680, Aubrey notes that the wild Irish and Welsh run about during eclipses, beating pans. They think the noise helps the orb.[99] In the West Highlands of Scotland, in the Island of Inishail, the bagpipes used to be played at funerals.[100] The Welsh and Irish had music at meals.[1] In Ireland, the harper, and in the Highlands of Scotland, the piper, used to play at dinners.. All over Europe, state or ceremonial dinners have an accompaniment of music.[2] In (1758) the Welsh are described as like the Greeks entertaining their reapers with music, and using music at funerals and weddings.[3] In the packet boats between Grimsby and Hull the whistling for a wind (1833) was a direct invocation of the

86 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1185.

87 Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 45.

88 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1088.

89 Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 612.

90 Sands in *Kirkwall Paper*, 7th January 1888.

91 *Notes and Queries*, Vol. VII. p. 430.

92 *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 135. Jurandus (Wagner's *Manners*, p. 114) says: — "The evil spirits in the region of the air fear much when they hear bells ringing. This is the cause why the bells be ringing when it thundereth to the end that the foul fiends should be abashed and flee and cease from moving of the temple." The bell fastened to the Russian carriage is like the bell in other countries to scare evil influences. Of the objections taken to this explanation by a recent writer in *Blackwood* (December 1895, p. 812) the chief is that so strong is the Russian belief that noise attracts instead of scaring evil spirits, that when out at night, if they have to be out, they never speak above a whisper. The case is an example of the law that the scarer is also the home. On Holy Thursday, in Catholic countries, so great is the power of the devil that the bells which in happier times he dares not listen to (see Longfellow's *Golden Legend*) have to be muffled to keep him from housing in them. At a Roman rite silence was the rule, lest an unlucky word might wake evil influences. In the case of the sad liquor-sodden Russian, who finds life mainly devil-ruled, it seems natural that all but the cheeriest of them should favour the gods by keeping silent both their own tongues and the tongues of their bells.

93 Moxon's Ed. 1870, p. 187.

94 *Death of Wallenstein*, Act I. Scene 4.

95 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1026.

96 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 22.

97 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 102.

98 Moncure Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 48.

99 Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 37.

100 Cumming's *In the Hebrides*, p. 110.

1 Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 27.

2 *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 102.

3 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 42.

prince of the power of the air to exert himself in the whistler's behalf.[4] Behind this there was probably the older belief that the friendly wind would blow if an evil spirit had not stifled it, and that whistling would scare the evil spirit and the kindly breeze would be able to blow. Compare the practice of whistling in passing through a church-yard at night to scare spirits. "Oft have I seen," writes Blair, "in the lone church-yard by glimpse of moon-shine the school-boy whistling to keep his spirits up."[5] Before sunrise, on Good Friday, the Bohemian goes into his garden, and, falling on his knees before a green tree, says: "I pray, O Green Tree, God may make thee good." A formula, says Ralston,[6] probably under the influence of Christianity, changed from a prayer direct to the tree itself (or rather to the guardian in the tree). At night the Bohemians run about the garden crying: — "Bud, tree, bud, or I'll flog thee," apparently forgetting that tree-flogging was not a punishment but a treatment to scare the evil spirit of barrenness. On Saturday, in Holy Week, the Bohemians shake the trees, ring church bells, and clash keys. The more noise, they say, the more fruit, the sense being the more fruit because the noise drives out of the tree the evil spirit of barrenness. **A form of noise much in use to scare fiends is cheering.** Cheering when a health is proposed, cheers in the battle-field, cheers at a ship launching or a stone laying, cheers in honour of some favourite of the people, cheers at the beginning, at the completion and at the burning of the antique North-East Scotland *clavie* or fire wheel.[7] These examples of cheering suggest the general subject of signs of public approval and disapproval. The Younger Pliny (A. D. 100) speaks of **clapping as the music of the stage.**[8] That hand-clapping keeps off evil spirits is shewn above by many examples. That the practice of clapping hands in sign of applause was in use at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa* (A. D. 100-300?) is shewn by the couplet: "From beaten palms loud answer rung as glad applauders clapped their hands."[9] Clapping forms a part of Hindu religious rites. A Sannyâsî, seated in the hot weather among 84 cow-dung fires on the bank of the Narbadâ, clapped his hands at each text he repeated, to scare evil influences.[10] The pre-Muhammadan Arabs went naked round the Kaaba, whistling and clapping hands.[11] On this evidence it seems safe to suppose that the music of the theatre had as its object the scaring of evil spirits. The sense of the clapping would then be the same as the sense of the cheers and of the bouquets, namely, to scare evil spirits and prevent them molesting the honoured actor. Conversely, the hiss of disapproval, like the Greek and Roman hiss to turn aside the fiend lightning, would have the same object as most terms and signs of abuse, namely, to shew that the person abused is, or is possessed by, an evil spirit, and that the sign or word of abuse is required to scare the evil spirit out of the possessed.

This note may end with the following example of **music played with the object of tempting into the player the spirit of his special guardian or saint.** The Sîdî or part Sîdî, that is African, religious beggars, who are known as Kalandars from the name of their chief saint and as Malaṅgâs from the musical bow of that name which they use in their religious dances, shew more clearly than any natives of Western India that a leading aim and result of music is to be inspired by the guardian. Among the Malaṅgâs the *Vâhân* or Bearer of the Spirit is the special bow, *malaṅgâ*, of bamboo, four to six feet long and two to three inches round, slightly bent by a goat-gut string, which is kept in place by a bridge or tightener. To the back of the bow, resting on a small round fender of red cloth, is tightly tied a dry hollow gourd whose outer end is sliced off, leaving a circular opening four to six inches across. The tip of the bow is adorned with a bunch of peacock feathers and a swallow-tailed streamer of red cloth, whose evil-scaring power is increased by a glass bangle, a metal charm-cylinder, a few glass beads, brass bells, red rags and peacock "eyes" and, perhaps, a small paper packet of incense. With the bow go an arrow-like stick to beat the bow-string and, hid in a hanging veil of bright cloth and cotton netting, a handled cocoa-shell rattle noisy with pebbles. The

4 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstition," p. 118.

5 *The Grave*, p. 59.

6 *Russian Songs*, p. 219.

7 Mitchell's *Past in the Present*, pp. 257-259.

8 Pliny's *Letters*, Book II. Letter XIV.

9 Griffith's *Râmâyaṇa*, Vol. II. p. 257.

10 MS. Note, 26th April 1895.

11 Sale's *Kuraan*, Book I. p. 211.

musicians, who generally travel in bands of three or four, are of pure or of part-negro blood. They wear a somewhat slack and heavy head-dress of twisted orange cloth, a tight cotton jacket and a loose waist cloth hanging to the knee. Round their shoulders are slung a wallet or two, and under the left arm hangs a pair of fire tongs. Their feet are bare. The music begins by the twanging of the bow-strings and the shaking of the rattles, while the musicians move slowly in a circle, bending, almost crouching, as with loose knees they sway from foot to foot. All are intent looking upwards with a strained gaze, as, in prayer for his coming, they murmur "*Kalandar, Kalandar.*" Each holds the bow in his left hand, a few inches above the gourd, and presses the open end of the gourd against his chest as he keeps up a soft hum by working the bow-string with the raised knuckle of his first left finger. In his right hand, between the thumb and first finger, he grasps the handle of the rattle, and under the doubled third and fourth fingers, resting on the palm he fixes one end of the arrow shaft. With a quick turn of the right wrist, as he murmurs "*Kalandar,*" he springs his rattle, and with the end of the arrow shaft deals a sharp blow either above or below the tightener. As he rattles, beats the bow-string with the arrow, and rubs a humming accompaniment with his knuckle, the musician murmurs "*Kalandar, Kalandar,*" moving round slowly with loose knees, swinging from foot to foot, his elbows close pressed to his sides. As the motion, the music, and the longing for Kalandar excite the players, the performance divides into well-marked alternate fierce and soft passages, the musicians falling into pairs, one pair taking up the fierce passage as the other pair finishes it. The musician in high excitement shakes his rattle, bangs his bow-string, and, with frantic hopping from side to side, calls loudly on his saint. Then, to a gentle knuckle-worked hum of the bow-string, with knees bent almost double, he sways slowly from foot to foot, his strained shut-eyed face raised to heaven or drooping on his chest while he murmurs "*Kalandar, Kalandar.*" The slow still time is the time of longing and prayer: the fierce noisy time is the time of possession. With face, either raised or bowed in prayer, to a gentle hum of the bow-string and a slow swaying from foot to foot, he gasps in coaxing tones "*Âv Kalandar, Kalandar,* Come Lord, Come." Then, with sudden nervous jerks, whirling from foot to foot, tossing his head and loose heavy turban, he bangs the bow-string and springs the rattle, shouting in triumph "*Jultâ, jultâ.* He sways me, He sways me;" "*Jultâ Kalandar, jultâ Kalandar,* the Lord sways me, the Lord sways me." The fit is over: the spirit has blown where it listed. The musician stills his rattle and stays his arrow shaft, beads of sweat running down his bowed quivering face as he pants in deep chest notes tearful with longing "*Âv Kalandar, Kalandar,* Come Lord, Come."

(*To be continued.*)

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 2. — *The Loving Sister.*[1]

ONCE upon a time there lived a king, who had by way of issue, a son and a daughter by his first wife. The mother of the prince and princess died when they were quite young; and to add to their grief, the queen, whom their father married after the death of their loving mother, persecuted them with a hatred that rendered their position well nigh unbearable. The sun could not go down without the lodgment by the step-mother with the king of some report or other against the juveniles, for no fault of their own, except their existence on this earth in general; and not being satisfied with what she thought were probably minor complaints, the cruel persecutor spoke thus to her husband one day:—

"My Lord, it seems to me that your daughter is a bad character. Look, she has the appearance of pregnancy."

The king heard the calumny and nodded his head as much as to say "yes," and thus afforded a fresh opportunity for the further persecution of the prince and princess: so immersed

[1] Narrated by the writer's sister, the late P. Uttutamma.

was he in his new love and entangled in the wiles of his plotting wife. Far different was the case with the prince when he heard that the character of his sister, notwithstanding her tender years, was calumniated by the step-mother, for this so exasperated him that he, taking his sister with him, left the palace of his father, who had now become a tool in the hands of the queen.

Having left the palace the prince and the princess did not remain long in their father's territory, but repaired to a distant country, being afraid of falling again into the clutches of their obdurate step-mother. There they lived without being persecuted, the prince given to the pleasures of the chase and leading the life of an independent country gentleman. On returning one day from one of his hunting expeditions the prince saw **a snake,** after having regaled itself, **about to enter the mouth of his sleeping sister. He at once cut short its career** by a stroke of the scimitar, which hung by his waist-belt, and without awakening his sister and telling her of what had happened, he threw away the dead reptile and thought within himself thus :—

"Ah! I now understand that this is the repulsive creature that made my little sister appear pregnant and thus furnished a ground to our step-mother for **calumniating the innocent girl,** notwithstanding her tender years. This is the reptile that created an inordinate hunger in my sister, as if she was a glutton; and a glutton, I know, she is not."

It chanced that the remains of **the dead snake** fell into one of the upper rooms of the mansion, and **they grew into beautiful lilies** of sweet fragrance. The prince came to where these were one day, and was very much surprised that the plants had grown in such a place spontaneously without being planted by him; and **inferring that some evil might befall him** or his sister **by reason of** his having in his possession **this unwished for** botanical **treasure, probably surcharged with mischief,** he always kept the room padlocked, keeping the key with him. But one day he left the key at home, and **curiosity led the princess** to open the door of this very room, where to her extreme joy she found lilies of the first magnitude blossoming with flowers, with which she thought within herself to decorate the head of her brother.

It was the wont of the princess to comb the hair of her brother occasionally, and one day, when the prince was taking his siesta, she combed his hair, oiled it, and thinking that something was wanting to impart beauty to the beautiful glossy jet black hair, the delectable lilies with their sweet scented flowers stood before her mind's eye. On this without a second thought she stole away, without making any noise or awakening her brother, to the room where the plants were, and fetched one flower. Hardly had the beautiful lily been put into the hair of **the prince** than he **turned into a huge snake** and in this strange form wriggled out of the room. Very much troubled in spirit on account of the strange transformation of her brother due to the lily, the princess began to lament bitterly, and crying, "Brother! brother," followed the snake wherever it went.

The snake very soon entered a dense forest, and thither, too, the sister, unmindful of herself, followed. Hard by the forest was a mound of earth, which the reptile entered through one of the holes. The grief of the princess at this juncture was at its height, and her cries were heard for miles around.

It so happened that a neighbouring king was then hunting in the forest, when his ears caught the cries of distress. Without losing a minute he summoned one of his servants and spoke to him thus :—

"I hear the lamentation of a woman in distress from that direction. Go and ascertain the cause of it."

The servant repaired to the spot, whence the lamentation came, approached the distracted fair lady, and respectfully enquired into the cause of her grief; but eliciting no reply — so

much was she under the power of the paroxysms of her grief — he went back to his master and reported the unsuccessful result of his errand.

Thereupon the king himself, who was of a tender heart, went to where the princess was, consoled her, and assuaged her grief to a considerable extent; yet his attempts to ascertain the cause of the grief were as futile as his servant's, owing to the bewildered state of the mind of the princess, caused by extreme anguish at the loss to her of her brother, thus metamorphosed. But he took her to his dominions, where, under his kind treatment and after the lapse of time, her poignant grief subsided to some extent, when the king, finding her to be an accomplished lady and of royal blood, married her. What the grief was she did not disclose, for a considerable time, to her husband, much less to others; and it was only when she became a mother that she narrated to the king in detail the great misfortune of the loss of her only brother. On this the affectionate husband, who was very much affected by the recital, resolved within himself to relieve the anxiety of his beloved wife, and repaired, followed by the queen, to the mound in the forest, and had it dug up, reaching the very bowels of the earth, when veritably a snake appeared. On the appearance of this reptile the sister with a significance, and as if by instinct, threw on it the lily, which she had treasured up all the long years since it fell off the head of her transformed brother on that never-to-be-forgotten day. In a moment the prince, her brother, stood before her to her infinite joy, equally shared by her royal husband. Great was the rejoicing in the city, when the rumour spread that the queen's brother, who had been metamorphosed into a snake and for whom the queen had been stricken with grief, for so long had again taken human form.

No. 3. — The Taming of the Blue-stocking.[1]

ONCE upon a time, in a certain country, there lived a king who had an only daughter. Her he loved passionately, for she was his only hope, as he had no son to continue the royal line. So to make up for the want of a son, the king deviated from the general rule and put his daughter to school as soon as she began to understand, and spared neither labour nor money in getting for her, as she progressed in her studies and her mind expanded with age till she could understand abtruse subjects, teachers from distant countries who were eminent in all the departments of knowledge. In course of time, under the instruction of these teachers, the princess became proficient, or seemed to be so, in all the departments of knowledge. But in the domain of poetry she had shewn an aptitude rivalling that of her teachers in versification. By the time her education might be said to be complete, she advanced towards womanhood, and, with the consent of her royal father, she issued a proclamation to the effect that she would bestow her affections, irrespective of rank or caste, on any one who would recite one *ślôka* composed by himself at each step of the flight of thirty steps leading to the princess' palace, and five *ślôkas* at the place where the steps came to an end, with the stipulation that the theme of the last five *ślôkas* should be original, *i. e.*, that the subject of them was not to be met with in the books.

Many were the princes and plebeians who tried their luck in metrical composition in order to obtain the princess in marriage and failed. There was not a single exception, and so there was formed an impression in the mind of the princess that man is a useless being and quite inferior to the fair sex in point of intellectual attainment. To strengthen the impression it chanced that one day, when she was pulling off the skin of a plantain, a poor boy who was passing the palace took up the plaintain skin and ate it, evidently with the view of checking the pangs of hunger. At this the princess exclaimed:—

"What! Is the worth of man, who is said to make a great noise in the world, only such that he will eat the skin of a plaintain thrown away by a woman?"

[1] Narrated by the writer's mother-in-law, M. Nârâyaṇamma.

A bold maid, who had seen life, and had been in the service of the princess for a number of years, said at once in reply to the exclamation :—

"Oh! Princess, man should not be slightingly spoken of, and, who knows, the very boy you talk so lightly of might become your husband."

The overbearing princess replied to the servant-maid that the realization of her hope was impossible, though it might be within the bounds of possibility.

This conversation was overheard by the poor boy, who had then been the laughing-stock of the princess, as being in her opinion typical of man as apart from woman.

The boy, who was impressionable and intelligent, notwithstanding his extreme poverty, revolved in his mind the conversation he had heard, and at once made his way to an adjacent hermitage, and narrated the incident to the well-disposed *gôsâîns* living there, who heard it with wrapt attention. In the end, he asked them what should be done to raise himself to such a pitch in intellectual attainment as to recite the stipulated thirty-five stanzas, and to marry the very princess who had despised him, so that he might shew the fallacy in the princess' argument that man is inferior to woman.

Being pleased with the boy's simple narrative, and still more so with the ambition displayed under his rags and tatters, the *gôsâîns*, to the best of their ability, gave the boy a sound liberal education, in which prominence was given to metrical composition. On the completion of this education, this favored *protégé* of the *gôsâîns* studied the best models of poetry, in order to effectually tame the princess' pride by rivalling her in poesy, marriage with her being regarded as of secondary importance.

Fortified thus by knowledge, the lad composed thirty-five stanzas, into the last five of which he skilfully introduced words signifying pepper, aniseed, various seeds, mustard and *dûb* grass (*Agrostis linearis*), to impart originality to them, as required in the royal proclamation. So one day, followed by his friends the *gôsâîns*, he went to the royal court, announced his business, recited one stanza at each of the flight of thirty steps approaching the princess' palace, and five on an original theme at the place where the approaches ended. Thus was won the princess — to the great joy of all who regarded her as invincible in her special line.

In accordance with the promise made in the proclamation, the marriage of the princess with the ripe scholar who had won her by his own abilities, was celebrated in due time, and when the princess was about to be led to the nuptial couch the bold maid-servant, who was an advocate of the superiority of man, as we have already seen, pointed out to her mistress that the very boy whom she had despised had now become her husband.

On this the imperious pedant committed suicide by falling on a sword.

No. 4. — "Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die."[1]

ONCE upon a time in a certain country there lived a king who had an able minister. The minister managed the affairs of the State so well, and was so just in his doings as a public man that none dare cast reflections or heap reproaches upon him. Afraid of his popularity, his royal master sought an occasion to find fault with the minister, so that he might destroy his reputation and even himself.

Accordingly the king summoned his minister one day and gave him a pearl of great price for safe custody, stipulating that the minister should return the valuable pearl whenever his royal master desired it. In giving the pearl into the minister's keeping the king entertained the hope of getting it back furtively, and thus gaining the opportunity for finding fault with him that he sought.

[1] Narrated by Mr. Tulsiram Motiram, a Rajput gentleman of Lascarline, Nagpur, C. P.

The minister took the pearl and **gave it to his wife**, asking her to keep it carefully, but in the meantime the king employed every means, false or foul, to become possessed of the pearl. For this purpose he made **a serving-woman** get herself engaged under the minister's wife. In course of time this serving-woman ingratiated herself into the favour of the minister's wife, and one day asked her mistress to array herself in all her paraphernalia, for she said she was very anxious to see how her mistress looked when thus bedecked.

The minister's wife, though vain, was ignorant of the tricks of the world; so she dressed herself in her best robes and adorned her person with very valuable trinkets of exquisite workmanship and shewed herself to the deceitful servant-woman. The woman, on looking at the minister's wife, at once said :—

"Madam, you look beautiful in the apparel and ornaments you now wear, but an additional beauty would be imparted to you, if you would ornament your person with the pearl belonging to the king, which you have now in your keeping."

Flattered thus, the vain lady at once unlocked a casket and out of it took the pearl that was reposing there, and with it further adorned her already much-adorned person. On this she received a profusion of praise from the serving-woman, and exulting in the praises lavished on her, she became unmindful of her personal adornments. This gave the serving-woman the opportunity she wanted to **carry off the pearl to the palace.**

The Râjâ, on receiving the pearl, had it thrown into the deep waters of the blue sea, and the next day **called upon his minister to return the object of great price entrusted to him for safe keeping**. The minister went to his mansion and asked his wife to bring the pearl, which he had given her to keep. She searched amongst the caskets of her jewellery, and in the thousand and one folds of her robes, but all to no purpose; for how could she get what had been removed from her without her knowledge and by sheer craft?

Not blaming his wife, but cursing his own fate, **the minister reported the disappearance of the pearl to the king**, who, expecting as much, **gave him a week's time for the production of the pearl**, failing which the minister was to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. **The minister** feeling that it was not possible to find the lost pearl, and that in consequence his end had approached, sold off his vast landed estates, and with the proceeds of these and with the money he had in hand **gave grand feasts** and magnificent boisterous dances,[2] enjoying himself greatly, though fully knowing that he was soon to die.

On the last of the seven days' time given him, he called his wife and said :—"My love, I am now going to the sea-shore with fishing tackle to fish, and you must cook the fish I shall bring. For, before I die to-morrow, I wish to eat a fish dish specially prepared by your loving hands." With these words **the minister** went to the sea-shore and in due time returned **with only one fish.** This he gave to his wife and went off to enjoy the company of his friends for the last time.

His wife, heavy at heart for her husband who was to die on the morrow, ripped open the belly of the fish in order to dress it, when to her amazement she **found a pearl.** She recognized it to be the one which her husband had given her and she had lost, for which the minister was to suffer capital punishment the next day. As soon as the preparation of the dish was over, she dressed herself in her best garments, decked herself in all her silver and gold ornaments, and anxiously awaited her husband.

In due course the minister returned. Struck with the change in his wife — a beaming face and noble attire as contrasted with her rueful countenance and careless dress since her husband's doom — he said in an angry and sarcastic tone (for in a moment of weakness like this the

[2] *Raṅg* is the vernacular expression. It refers to the red colour used at the Hôḷî, or the feast of Hôḷikâ, which is also called Wassant Pañchamî. To give *raṅg*, then, means to give a boisterous feast, one at which the colour d at the Hôḷî is used. To give a *nâch*, or dance, implies a much more decorous entertainment.

thought of his approaching end rather unmanned him, though he had tried to banish in pleasure the terrors of death) :—

"I am to be taken to the gallows to-morrow, and you are jubilant in spirit? Your happy countenance, your dress and ornaments, are visible signs of it — as if I were to remain with you for many a long year and not for a day only."

"Oh dear lord," she cried, "do not be sorrowful. There is now no cause for sorrow, for God has removed it from us. Take your meal and satisfy yourself, and I shall explain all." So replied the wife, and after ministering to her husband's wants, she told him how she had in a miraculous manner come by the pearl. She shewed it to him. He was overjoyed and thanked God.

On the last day for the production of the pearl, the Râjâ's servants came to the minister's mansion with the message that his presence was required at court. The minister, however, was in no hurry, but about four o'clock in the afternoon, after taking a nap and a light meal, he went to court, and on the king's asking for the pearl, "Here it is," said the minister, producing the valuable shell. He then left the court abruptly to the great chagrin of the bad-hearted king, and not only that, he left the kingdom to seek his fortune elsewhere.

MISCELLANEA.

DATES OF THE KOLLAM OR KOLAMBA ERA.

Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai of Trivandrum has asked me to test the dates of the inscriptions, contained in his pamphlet on *Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore*, and has sent me for examination a number of other dates from inscriptions which he is preparing for publication. I have the more readily complied with his request, because all these dates belong to **the Kollam or Kôlamba era**, of which few dates with sufficient details for verification have been hitherto available; and I publish the results of my calculations, because they tend to shew that the materials, so zealously collected by Mr. Pillai, may be confidently used for historical purposes.

My knowledge of **the Kollam âṇḍu or Kôlamba varsha** is chiefly derived from a Trivandrum calendar for the year 1069, kindly furnished to me by the Dewan of Travancore, and a Calicut calendar for the year 1065, for which I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch. These calendars shew that the Kollam year is a solar year, the twelve months of which are named after the signs of the Zodiac.[1] According to both calendars, a new month begins with the day on which the sun enters a sign of the Zodiac, whenever this *saṁkrânti* takes place, according to the Ârya-siddhânta, within about 7 h. 20 m. (or about 18 *ghaṭikâs*) after mean sunrise;[2] but when the *saṁkrânti* takes place later in the day, the new month only commences with the following day. According to the Trivandrum calendar, the year 1069 of which comprises the time from the 15th August A. D. 1893 to the 15th August A. D. 1894 (both days inclusive), the year begins with the month of Siṁha (the solar Bhâdrapada); but according to the Calicut calendar, the year 1065 of which corresponds to the period from the 15th September A. D. 1889 to the 15th September A. D. 1890 (both days inclusive), it begins with the month of Kanyâ (the solar Âśvina).[3] The calendars thus shew that when, for purposes of calculation, we have to convert a given year of the Kollam era into an expired year of the Kaliyuga, we must add 3925 for the months from Siṁha to Mîna (or, according to the Calicut calendar, from Kanyâ to Mîna), and 3926 for the remaining months; that, for converting a Kollam year into an expired Śaka year, the corresponding figures are 746 and 747;

[1] This is actually the case in all the dates given below except the date No. 8.

[2] In the Trivandrum calendar a day on which the *saṁkrânti* takes place 6 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise is counted as the first day of the month, and another day on which the *saṁkrânti* takes place 8 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise is counted as the last day of the preceding month. Similarly, in the Calicut calendar a day on which the *saṁkrânti* takes place 6 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise is counted as the first day of the month, and a day on which the *saṁkrânti* takes place 7 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise is counted as the last day of the preceding month. In the date No. 8, below (the same date in which the month is called by the Tamiḻ name *Tai*), a day, on which the *saṁkrânti* took place 8 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, has been counted as the first day of the month (in accordance with the practice of the Tamiḻ calendars, by which a day is reckoned as the first day of the month, when the *saṁkrânti* takes place within 12 hours after mean sunrise).

[3] Compare Dr. Buchanan's *Journey through Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 355.

and that, roughly speaking, a Kollam year may be converted into a year A. D. by the addition of 824-25.[4] With these equations, the dates in Mr. Pillai's pamphlet which contain details for exact verification work out as follows: —

1. — P. 19, No. 3. A Puravachêri inscription of the time of Vîra-Ravivarman of Vêṇâḍ is dated in the year 336 after the appearance of Kollam, with the sun six days old[5] in the sign of Vṛishabha, **Saturday, Mṛigasirsha** *nakshatra.* — In Saka-Saṁvat 336 + 747 = 1083 expired the Vṛishabha-saṁkrânti took place (by the Ârya-siddhânta) 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of the 24th April A. D. 1161; and the 6th day of the month of Vṛishabha therefore was **Saturday**, the 29th April A. D. 1161, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Mṛigasirsha** for 20 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

2. — P. 56, No. 13. A Varkkalai inscription of the time of Vîra-Padmanâbha-Mârtaṇḍavarman of Vêṇâḍ is dated in the Kollam year 427, with Jupiter entering into **Mêsha**, and the sun 21 days old in Vṛishabha, **Wednesday, the 5th lunar day after new-moon.** — In Saka-Saṁvat 427 + 747 = 1174 expired the Vṛishabha-saṁkrânti took place 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of the 24th April A. D. 1252; and the 21st day of the month of Vṛishabha therefore was **Wednesday**, the 15th May A. D. 1252, when **the 5th tithi of the bright half** ended 10 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise, and when Jupiter was in the sign **Mêsha** which it had entered on the 17th March A. D. 1252.

3. — P. 46, No. 11. A Kaḍinamkuḷam inscription of the time of Vîra-Râma-Kêraḷavarman of Vêṇâḍ is dated in the Kollam year 389, with Jupiter in **Kumbha,** and the sun 18 days old in Mîna, **Thursday, Pushya** *nakshatra,* **the 10th lunar day.** — By our equation the year 389 should correspond here to Saka-Saṁvat 389 + 746 = 1135 expired; but in reality the date fell in Saka-Saṁvat 1136 expired. In that year the Mîna-saṁkrânti took place 23 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of the 22nd February A. D. 1215; and the 18th day of the month of Mîna therefore was **Thursday,** the 12th March A. D. 1215, when the **10th tithi** of the bright half ended 13 h. 2 m. and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** for 11 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. Besides, Jupiter was in the sign **Kumbha** which it had entered on the 25th August A. D. 1214.

4. — P. 25, No. 6. A Tiruvaṭṭar inscription of the time of Vîra-Udaiya-Mârtaṇḍavarman of Vêṇâḍ is dated in the Kollam year 348, with Jupiter in **Karkaṭaka,** and the sun . . days old in Mîna, **Thursday, Anurâdhâ** *nakshatra.* — Here the year 348 should correspond to Saka-Saṁvat 348 + 746 = 1094 expired; but the date really fell in Saka-Saṁvat 1093 expired. In that year the Mîna-saṁkrânti took place 20 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise of the 22nd February A. D. 1172; and during the month of Mîna the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Anurâdhâ** on **Thursday,** the 16th March A. D. 1172, which was the 23rd of the month. On this 16th March Jupiter, as required, was in the sign **Karkaṭaka** which it had entered on the 23rd February A. D. 1172.

I am not at present prepared to say that the figures 389 and 348 of the dates 3 and 4 must necessarily both be considered as incorrect, but it is clear that at least one of them must be wrong. Similarly to what is the case in many Saka dates which quote wrong years, the position of Jupiter is given correctly in both dates,[6] and there is not the slightest doubt about the proper European equivalent of either date.

The other dates in Mr. Pillai's pamphlet do not admit of exact verification. But the dates of the inscriptions 7,[7] 9 and 10, on pp. 28, 38 and 42 may be looked upon as correct, because in the years quoted by the dates Jupiter really was in the positions assigned to it. On the other hand, the dates of the inscriptions 2 and 8 on pp. 15 and 36 are quite incorrect. And in the date of the inscription 12 on p. 49 one would at any rate have expected the year to be 411 instead of 410.

The following dates are from inscriptions which have not yet been published: —

5. — The year 428, the 8th day of Mîna, **Sunday, Rêvatî** *nakshatra.* — In Saka-Saṁvat 428 + 746 = 1174 expired the Mîna-saṁkrânti took place 19 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise of the 22nd February A. D. 1253; and the 8th day of the month of Mîna therefore was **Sunday,** the 2nd

[4] It will be seen from the above that, omitting hundreds, a Kollam year, for the months from Siṁha (or Kanyâ) to Mîna, is exactly the same year of the Saptarshi era (*ante,* Vol. XX. p. 151). Thus the year 428 of the date No. 5, below, would be *Saptarshi-Saṁvat* 4328, or simply *Saṁvat* 28.

[5] This simply means 'the 6th,' and not 'the 7th.'

[6] In all the above dates the position of Jupiter is given in accordance with the mean-sign system. In the date of an inscription in *Archæol. Surv. of South. India,* Vol. IV. p. 112, the Kollam year 775 is rightly described as Sarvarin according to the southern luni-solar system.

[7] This inscription has not been translated correctly by Mr. Pillai. The original indicates that Jupiter was in *Dhanus* in the Kollam year 365 (expressed by the word *Mârtaṇḍa*) = A. D. 1189-90; and Jupiter *was* in *Dhanus* from the 12th December A. D. 1188 to the 8th December A. D. 1189.

March A. D. 1253, when the *nakshatra* was **Rêvati** from 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

6. — The year 42[8], the 17th day of Mîna, **Tuesday, the 10th lunar day, Pushya** *nakshatra.* — The year and month being the same as in the preceding date, the 17th day of the month of Mîna was **Tuesday**, the 11th March A. D. 1253, when **the 10th tithi** of the bright half ended 12 h. 10 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** for 12 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

7. — The year 440, the 23rd day of Karkaṭaka, **Sunday, the 5th lunar day of the bright half, Hasta** *nakshatra.* — In Śaka-Saṁvat 440 + 747 = 1187 expired the Karkaṭaka-saṁkrânti took place 4 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June A. D. 1265; and the 23rd day of the month of Karkaṭaka therefore was **Sunday**, the 19th July A. D. 1265, when **the 5th tithi of the bright half** ended 2 h. 8 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Hasta** for 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

8. — The year 663, the 28th day of Tai (Makara), **Thursday, the 11th lunar day of the bright half, Mṛigasîrsha** *nakshatra,* **Vaidhṛiti** (?) *yôga.* — In Śaka-Saṁvat 663 + 746 = 1409 expired the Makara-saṁkrânti took place 8 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th December A. D. 1487, which, according to the practice of the Trivandrum and Calicut calendars, should have been counted as the last day of the month of Dhanus. But it was apparently here counted as the first day of the month of Makara, and the 28th day of this month therefore was **Thursday**, the 24th January A. D. 1488, when **the 11th tithi of the bright half** *commenced* 4 h. 2 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Mṛigasîrsha** for 21 h. 1 m., and the *yôga* **Vaidhṛiti** for 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

9. — The year 749, the 1st day of Karkaṭaka, **Wednesday, the 12th lunar day of the bright half, Anurâdhâ** *nakshatra.* — In Śaka-Saṁvat 749 + 747 = 1496 expired the Karkaṭaka-saṁkrânti took place 2 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday**, the 30th June A. D. 1574, which therefore was the 1st day of the month of Karkaṭaka. On this day **the 12th tithi of the bright half** ended 21 h. 16 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Anurâdhâ** for 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

10. — The year 779, Kaliyuga 4704, the 26th day of Mithuna, **Saturday, the 7th lunar day of the bright half, Hasta** *nakshatra,* Jupiter in **Dhanus.** — In Śaka-Saṁvat 779 + 747 = 1526 = Kaliyuga 4705 (*not* 4704)[8] expired the Mithuna-saṁkrânti took place 6 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of the 29th May A. D. 1604; and the 26th day of the month of Mithuna therefore was **Saturday**, the 23rd June A. D. 1604, when **the 7th tithi of the bright half** ended 21 h. 36 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal-space system from 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta from 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise. Jupiter, as required, was in **Dhanus**, which it had entered on the 3rd February A. D. 1604.

11. — The year 685, the 6th day of Tulâ, **Friday, the 8th lunar day of the dark half, Punarvasu** *nakshatra.* — In Śaka-Saṁvat 685 + 746 = 1431 expired the Tulâ-saṁkrânti took place 6 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th September A. D. 1509; and the 6th day of the month of Tulâ therefore was **Friday**, the 5th October A. D. 1509, when **the 8th tithi of the dark half** *commenced* 9 h. 47 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** for 17 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

12. — The year 720, the 26th day of Makara, **Friday, the 12th lunar day of the bright half, Mṛigasîrsha** *nakshatra.* — In Śaka-Saṁvat 720 + 746 = 1466 expired the Makara-saṁkrânti took place 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th December A. D. 1544, and the day intended by the date clearly is **Friday**, the 23rd January A. D. 1545, when the *nakshatra* was **Mṛigasîrsha** for 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. This, however, was the 27th (*not* the 26th) day of the month of Makara, and on it the 11th (*not* the 12th) *tithi* of the bright half ended, 14 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

13. — The year 757, the 12th day of Vṛiśchika, **Saturday, the 1st lunar day of the dark half, Rôhiṇî** *nakshatra,* Jupiter in **Dhanus.** — In Śaka-Saṁvat 757 + 746 = 1503 expired the Vṛiśchika-saṁkrânti took place 19 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th October A. D. 1581; and the 12th day of the month of Vṛiśchika therefore was **Saturday**, the 11th November A. D. 1581, when **the 1st tithi of the dark half** ended 14 h. 36 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî** for 13 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. But Jupiter was no longer in the sign Dhanus, having left that sign already on the 11th May A. D. 1581.

14. — The year 778, Kaliyuga 4704, the 7th day of Mêsha, **Monday, Rôhiṇî** *nakshatra,* **Gaṇḍa** *yôga,* Jupiter in **Vṛischika.** — In Śaka-Saṁvat 778 + 747 = 1525 = Kaliyuga 4704 expired the Mêsha-saṁkrânti took place 16 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th March A. D. 1603, and the 7th day of the month of Mêsha therefore was **Monday**, the 4th April A. D. 1603. On this day the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî**, by the Brahma siddhânta from sunrise, and by the equal-space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise; but the *yôga*

[8] Compare the date No. 14, below.

was Saubhâgya (4), *not* Gaṇḍa (10). Jupiter, as required, was in **Vṛischika**, having entered that sign on the 7th February A. D. 1603.

To these dates from Mr. Pillai's inscriptions I add here the date of a short inscription from Suchîndram, published *ante*, Vol. II. p. 361, the only date of the Kôlamba era in this Journal which furnishes details for verification : —

15. — The Kôlamba year 654 (expressed by the word *viśati*), Jupiter in **Vṛishabha**, the sun at the end of Tulâ, the *nakshatra* **Anurâdhâ**, **Monday, the first lunar day.** — In Saka-Saṁvat 654 + 746 = 1400 expired the Tulâ-saṁkrânti took place 6 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th September A. D. 1478, and the day of the date is **Monday**, the 26th October A. D. 1478, which was the 27th day of the month of Tulâ, and on which **the first tithi** of the bright half ended 19 h. 29 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Anurâdhâ** (by the Brahma-siddhânta) from 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise. On the same day Jupiter was in the sign **Vṛishabha** which it had entered on the 24th July A. D. 1478.[9]

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD AMONGST THE ANDAMANESE.

A SHORT description of the Andamanese method of disposing of their dead may be of interest.

The corpses are either put up in aërial platforms built in trees, buried or thrown into the sea; the former being the most honourable form of interment, and the latter being only done to the bodies of enemies.

Should an Andamanese die among his own people, and especially if many are in camp, and he is a man of importance and property (*ôtyûburda*), his corpse would be tied up in a wrapper of leaves, and then wrapped round with his sleeping mat. A platform would be constructed in a tree, at some considerable distance from the ground, and the corpse would be placed on it. Plumes of cane leaves would be fastened at conspicuous points near by, in order that people might know that a corpse was there.

Should the man die almost alone, or be a youth of no importance, or be residing at the time of his death with a friendly tribe among whom he had no relations, his corpse would be similarly wrapped up and buried in a hole about four feet deep.

Should an enemy be killed in fight, or a total stranger die among the Andamanese, they would, if on the coast, throw his body into the sea, or, if in the interior, either bury or burn it. The latter practice among the North Andaman tribes possibly assisted in giving rise to the idea of their being cannibals.

The Ôngés sometimes place the corpses of their deceased relations in big wooden buckets, and leave these in the buttressed roots of certain trees.

The above remarks apply to women as well as men, and babies are generally buried under the floor of their parents' hut.

The relations, friends, and tribesmen of the deceased coat their heads with a thick mass of white clay, called *ôgda*, and are considered to be *âkaôgda*, or mourners, for a period of about two months, during which time they do not dance, though they may be present at a dance and join in the singing.

At the expiry of this period the bones of the deceased are taken by his nearest relatives, and washed and broken up into pieces.

These are then distributed, the skull being given to the nearest relation, and are made up into ornaments. The mourners now have a feast and dance, preceded by a washing of the white clay off their heads, and again coat themselves with *koiôbda* (red ochre and turtle oil), which during the period of mourning they have had to abandon.

M. V. PORTMAN.

Port Blair, Andaman Islands.

SOME HOUSE WARMING-CUSTOMS OF THE NORTHERN MUHAMMADANS.

WHEN a Musalmân starts the foundation of a house he gets an auspicious day fixed — as often as not by a Brâhmaṇ —, and the ordinary Hinduised Musalmâns of the eastern districts of the Pañjâb will entertain Brâhmaṇs at a dinner. A strict Musalmân will get a *mullah* (priest), or a respectable man of weight and character, to lay the first brick, and will distribute *guṛ* (molasses) to the poor, and give a dinner. When the house is finished he gives an *'inâm* (reward — gift) of a shawl, or turban, or money, to the *mistrî* (master-mason).

J. L. KIPLING in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.[1]

[9] [With these notes compare Dr. Schram's article, *ante*, p. 9 ff., on the same subject. The comparison will be found, not only to be valuable, but exceedingly interesting. — ED.]

[1] [See also *Journal*, Society of Arts, 1883, p. 738. — Ed.]

ASSAMESE LITERATURE.

COMMUNICATED BY GEO. A. GRIERSON, PH.D., C.I.E.

SO little is known about **Assamese Literature** that I make no apology for giving the following second hand and somewhat antiquated information. It deserves better preservation than that afforded by a fugitive pamphlet long out of print.

In the early fifties a discussion arose as to whether Bengali or Assamese should be the official language of Assam. It was contended by some that the latter was merely a corrupt dialect of the former. Others, principally patriotic inhabitants of the country, urged the claims of Assamese as a separate language, and eventually carried their point. For years the **Assamese** language has been officially recognized, and now it can be proved that it is, in its grammar, much **more nearly connected with Bihârî than with standard Bengali.**

The discussion seems to have been lively, and one of its products was a pamphlet entitled,[1] 'A few remarks | on the | Assamese Language, | and on Vernacular Education | in Assam. | By a Native. | Sibsagar, Asam | . Printed at the American Baptist Mission Press, | 1855 | .' As may be gathered from its name, the book strongly defends Assamese as a separate language. The author commences by shewing how little Bengali is used in that country. He next institutes an elaborate comparison between the two languages, and shews clearly that Assamese, far from being an uncultivated dialect is capable of expressing the most abstract ideas of Science or Law. He finally compares the **Literary History of Assam** with that of Bengal, much to the advantage of the former, and as this is, at the present day, the most valuable portion of the pamphlet, I give it here in full. Owing to the peculiarities of Assamese spelling (especially, the pronunciation of *s* as *ḥ*, and of *ô* as *u*) I give here and there (in parenthesis) the Saṅskṛit spelling of such *tatsama* words as will not be easily recognized.

'**The Bengali** can scarcely be said to have existed as a written language until the beginning of the present century, when the Missionaries of Serampore first moulded it into a form, Rajah Râm Mohun Roy wrote his Bengali Grammar, and other Native gentlemen, educated and trained in the sciences and literature of Europe, reared up, during the last few years, a distinct literature, by the publication chiefly of translations from English works on different branches of learning. The Bengali translation of the Saṅskṛit *Mahâbhârata* by Kâśî Dâs, and that of the *Râmâyaṇa* by Kîrtti-bâs, executed about a century and a half ago, may be said to be the only works of any importance in Bengali, that existed before the present Bengali literature sprung out from the efforts of Missionaries and educated Natives. Now, we beg to affirm, that **the Literature of Assam was in the year 1800 A. D. more extensive and varied than that of Bengal.** The *Mahâbhârata* and *Râmâyaṇa* were translated into the Assamese language by Râmsaraswatî and Śrî Ḥonkor (Śaṅkar) nearly 400 years ago long before Kîrtti-bâs or Kâśî Dâs published their Bengali translations. The *Śrî Bhâgawata* and the *Bhâgavat Gîtâ* were translated into Assamese, both in prose and verse, by different authors nearly at the same time; and not only were other principal Saṅskṛit works relating to Religion, Medicine, History, Drama and other subjects, translated by successive authors, but a considerable collection of historical works of considerable authenticity, composed in original Assamese, and styled **Bûrañjis,** had, it appears, existed since the Thirteenth Century of the Christian era.

'In support of these facts, we subjoin the following catalogue of original books and translations from the Saṅskṛit, written in the Assamese language :—

Catalogue of Assamese Books, Hindu Religious Works, and Purâns.

The Śrîmat Bhâgawat, translated from the Saṅskṛit in verse by Śrî Ḥonkor.[2]

The Śrîmat Bhâgawat, translated from the Saṅskṛit in prose by Kabi Ratna.

---

1 I owe my acquaintance with this pamphlet to the kindness of Mr. E. A. Gait, I. C. S.

2 Śrî Ḥonkor (Śaṅkar) the founder of the Mahâ Puruḥiâ sect of Vaishṇavas in Assam, who flourished (in the reign of Rajah Nara-nârâyaṇa) about 400 years ago, and his contemporaries Râmasaraswatî *alias* Ananta Kondoli

The Mahâbhârata, translated from Sanskṛit by Râmsaraswati *alias* Ananta Kondoli.
The Râmâyaṇa, translated from Sanskṛit by Râmsaraswati *alias* Ananta Kondoli.
Gôvinda Miśra's translation in verse of the *Bhâgawat Gîtâ*.
Kabi Ratna's translation in prose of the *Bhâgawat Gîtâ*.
Gîta Guṇamâlâ.
The Kîrtan of Śrî Ḥonkor.
Daḥam (*Daśam*, or tenth book of the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*) of Śrî Ḥonkor.
Bhakti Ratnâwali, by Mâdhab.
Bhakti Premâwali, by Purosattam.
Ratnâkar, in prose.
Ratnâkar Ṭîkâ, by Madhab Dêb.
Bhakti Pradîp, by Ḥonkor.
Vaishṇavâmṛit.
Gûpta Sintâmani (*Chintâmaṇi*).
Amulya Ratna.
Guṇa Mâlâ, by Śrî Ḥonkor.
Lîlâ Mâlâ.
Bhaṭimâ.
Chapai Totai.
Hâzâri Ghôḥâ.
Nô Ghôḥâ.
Kathâ Ghôḥâ.
Dîpikâ Sanda (*Chanda*).
Naba Ḥidha (*Siddha*).
Anâdi Patan.
Udhawa Ḥambâd (*Saṁvâda*).
Janma Nirnai.
Janma Rahasya.
Ḥânta (*Sânta*) *Nirnai*.
Kân Khôâ.
Prahlâd Saritra (*Charitra*).
Bhîma Saritra.
Shyamanta Haran.
Rukmiṇî Haran.
Ū-â (*Ushâ*) *Haran*.
Kumar Haran.
Râm Kîrtan.
Râm Guṇa Mâlâ.
Bhîm Saritra.
Mâdhab Saritra.
Ḥonkor Saritra, by Kaṇṭhâbhûshan.
Ḥonkor Saritra, by Dotyârî Ṭhâkur.
Dêb Gôpâl Saritra.
Bura Bhasya.
Deka Bhasya.
Nâma Mâlikâ.
Bijai Daḥam.
Harivangsḥa, by Bhâwânanda.
Kriyôg Sâhara Vishnu, by Dêb Gôswâmi.

and Mâdhab appear to have been the earliest writers in the Assamese language. The greater portions of the religious works mentioned in this catalogue were written by them, though the works of Kabi Ratna, Aniruddha, and others are also numerous.

Biswa Harî Âkhyân.
Brahma Vaivarta Purân, by Shûbhanâth ('Sôbhânâth).
Dharma Purân.
Bâmana Purân.
Utkal Khaṇḍa.
Markandêya Purân.
Itihâs Purân.
Bhavishyat Purân, by Sharobhauma Bhaṭacharjya.
Nâradîya Purân.
Brahmâṇḍa Purân, by Ramgovinda.
Vishṇu Purân, by Ramgovinda.
Kâlikâ Purân, by Brajanath.
Kûrma Purân.
Adhyâtmâ Râmâyan.
Harisandra (*Hariśchandra*) *Âkhyân.*

History.

'**In no department of literature do the Assamese appear to have been more successful than in history.** Remnants of historical works that treat of the times of Bhagadatta, a contemporary with Râjâ Yudhishṭhira, are still in existence. The chains of historical events, however, since the last 600 years, has been carefully preserved, and their authenticity can be relied upon. It would be difficult to name all the historical works, or as they are styled by the Assamese, **Bûrañjis.** They are numerous and voluminous. According to the customs of the country, a knowledge of the Bûrañjis was an indispensable qualification in an Assamese gentleman; and every family of distinction, and especially the Government and the public officers, kept the most minute records of historical events prepared by the learned Paṇḍits of the country.

'These histories were therefore, very numerous, and generally agree with each other in their relation of events. A large number is still to be found in the possession of the ancient families.

'In 1829, Haliram Dhekial Phukan printed and published, in the Bengali language, a brief compilation from the Bûrañjis; and in 1844, Râdhânâth Bor Baruâ and Kâsinâth Tâmûli Phukan published at the American Mission Press, a somewhat more comprehensive work on the history of Assam in Assamese. A portion of the History of Kâmrûp has been also since published by the Missionaries in the *Orunudoi* (*Aruṇôdaya*) Magazine.

Medicine.

'The Hindu system of medicine was professionally studied in Assam by numerous families of distinction; and many of the officers in the courts of the Ahom kings were professed physicians. Some knowledge of medicine constituted one of the chief accomplishments of a well-bred Assamese gentleman. The learned physicians translated into plain Assamese almost all the principal Sanskṛit works on medicine, as they were known in Assam. The Sanskṛit Medical Dictionary, the *Chikitsârṇava* and the *Nidân* have been rendered into Assamese. In fact, the text books of learned physicians were often translated into their mother tongue for the use of beginners as a preparatory course for entering into the study of the original works. We have seen several works of the kind, though we cannot now quote their names from memory.

Dramatic Works.

'The Assamese seem to be zealously devoted to theatrical amusements; and scarcely a month passes in the villages in which some of the dramas composed in Assamese are not performed in the public **Nâmghors.** The dramatic works having for their subjects chiefly some

historical events treated of in the *Mahâbhârata*, *Râmâyaṇa* or *Srîmat Bhâgawata*, are purely original productions, written principally by Ḥonkor, Mâdhab and their followers. The following list will suffice to shew their nature :—

Kangḥa (Kaṁsa) Badh.
Bali Salan (Chhalan).
Parijât Haran.
Kâli Daman.
Râḥ.
Sîta Shayambar.
Bhôjan Byabahâr.
Râjsûya.
Dadhi Mathan.
Patnî Praḥâd (prasâda).
Bastra Haran.
Kumâr Haran.
Piparâ Gûsûâ.
Rukmiṇi Haran.
Shyamânta Haraṇ.
Sîtâ Haran.
Amṛita Mathan.
Hara Môhan.
Sîtâ Pâtâl.
Râmâswamêdh.
Gôvardhana Jâtrâ.
Nriḥingha (Nṛisiṁha) Jâtrâ.
Tâl Bhañjan.
Durbâḥâ (Darvâsâ) Bhôjan.
Grâḥa Gajindra.
Pûtanâ Badh.
Chakrabât Badh.
Kêḥi (Kêśî) Badh.
Jaraḥandha Badh.
Byamba Badh.
Pralamba Badh.
Baka Badh.
Aghâḥura (Aghâsura) Badh.
Mahirâwana Badh.
Râwana Badh.
Kulâsal Badh.
Râdhâ Kṛishṇa Ḥambâd.
Bhûmi Lotoâ.
Gûâli Pârâ.
Ajâmil Pakhya.
Kṛishṇa Nirjân.
Bhishma Nirjân.

Arithmetic.

'One Bakul Kaistha appears to have been the earliest and most popular writer on arithmetic. He writes in verse, and gives important rules on surveying. He also translated into Assamese portions of the Saṅskṛit *Lîlâvatî.*

* * * *

Dictionaries.

'Jadurâm's Bengali and Assamese Dictionary. This is a voluminous work, supposed to contain almost all the important Assamese words. It was written by Jadurâm Deka Baruâ in 1839 for Colonel Jenkins, and by him presented to the American Baptist Mission.

'Mrs. Cutter's Vocabulary and Phrases, in English and Assamese, — Mission Press, 1840, pp. 251.

* * * *

Assamese Works published by the Serampore Missionaries.

'The whole of the Bible was translated and published in the Assamese language by the Serampore Missionaries with the aid of Atmâram Shorma, an Assamese Paṇḍit, in the year 1813. A second edition was issued from the Serampore Press in 1833.

'St. Luke's Gospel revised by Messrs. Robinson and Rae. Robinson's Assamese Grammar, 1840.

Assamese Works published by the American Baptist Mission in Assam.

[Most of these are omitted. They are educational works, and Missionary tracts and translations of the *Pilgrim's Progress.* A few important ones only are given.]

Miscellaneous.

Brown's Grammatical Notices — English and Assamese.
The Orunudoi — A monthly magazine, continued from 1846 to the present time.

Scriptures.

New Testament (3rd edition).
Life and Gospel of Christ.
A part of the Psalms of David.

'Assamese being the medium of communication with the hill tribes of Assam, the following books have been prepared with corresponding Assamese columns, or separate Assamese translations :—

Spelling Book and Vocabulary, in English, Assamese, and Shyan or Khamti.
Do. in English, Assamese, Singpho and Naga Catechism in Shyan.
History of the Creation, in Shyan.
Catechism, in Naga.
Worcester's Primer, in Naga.
Phrases, in English and Naga.
Do. in English and Singpho.

'In view of the above catalogue of Assamese books, embracing such an extended variety, what shall we say of the statement, that the Assamese is merely a provincial speech, like the Yorkshire or Wiltshire patois in England; and that it is an unfit medium for communicating knowledge to the masses?

'A large number of works, both original and translations, have not reached us, and a great many appear to have been so much scattered over the country, that they have never come to our notice.

'The number of works, especially those of a historical character, that were lost during the late Burmese war, and the Muttuck insurrection, when the whole country was in a state of revolution with incredible loss of lives and property, must ever be a deep source of regret. But the list, above given, however small, wholly refutes the notion that the Assamese have no distinct literature of their own.'

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV., page 272.*)

BURNELL MSS. No. 16.

THE SONG OF KALKUḌA.

Original, in the Kanarese character, occupies, text and translation, leaves 230 to 232 inclusive of the Burnell MSS. Transliteration by Dr. Männer: translation from Burnell's MS., checked by Dr. Männer.

Text.

Kalkuḍa Paḍdana.

"Nîrṳ pattṳ niwâḷḷa! Pêrṳ pattṳ jajâlla! Babipula-naḷḷere kallâṇa! Malpiñchitti pâli kênla! Maṅgalûru sârâḷṳ paṇpi pâri kinla! Mulki ormbamâgane paṇpi pâri kênla! Baṇṭerṳ sâra sîme paṇpi pâri kênla! Maṇeḷṳ hobali paṇpi pâri kênla jêwâdye! Mugerṳ' munnûdâḷṳ paṇpi pâri kênla, yê!"

Âpagâne nânâ putti nâḍunḍu **Kella Puche Mâṇtrâḍi**, appe uḷḷoḷu **Kâḷabairi**, amme uḷḷena **Sûwa Kalkuḍe**. Âkuḷegṳ puṭṭi magaḷuḷḷolu **Durgamma**. Âtena samayogu eiyeregṳ worti sangaḍi. Wori Kalkuḍe chembaṭṭaluda bêle benpenô; nana wori Yellûra Kalkuḍe kañchi kadumuṭṭuda bêle benpenô; nana wori ullenô marata bêle benpenô; Narna Kalkuḍe-âye chitrada bêle benpendenô.

"Yânu pôpe **Belgulagu**."

Belguladu Gummada Sâmi bêle benpenô ande. "Bêle bentarâ Kalkudâ mullâtu mune bâru, dâtu kôredânte bêle benodu?" andudu ammagu pande. "Balada bhâgodu Gummadadu woñji kappe woñji sire nîru undu."

Andudu pande mage:—"Yânu bendi bêlegu wori ûna pantuji" andudu bolli katti bêsatte dettonde. Tana jîwogu tânu ûunondenâ 'Sûwa Kalkude. "Eiyaya ammerê mage bêle tûwere battenê-nina jîwa îkalewondanê." Andudu panpe **Sambu Kalkude.** Ammanu silettu pâdudenê manta bêle benpe Sambu Kalkude. **Kârla** saralu barperu Gummadanu tûwere; yenkulegu jeñkulegu bêle benpâwodundu panderu. Belguludu mây âye Sambu Kalkude Kârladu jôgâyenâ. Kârladu woñji Kôludda hecha bendenâ Kalkudeyê.

Yênûra sûrâlu baruweru Kârlagu tanukulegula añchenê nâ tâwodundu. Âkulu barpinenu tûye nâdâde Gummadani sarûta malte mayakâye âpaganê. Âtena samayodu yênûrudu jôga bende (undaye) Yênûrudu yêlêlu wottu padinâlu billuddo bêle hecha bende. Einu tûyeiu Bairana Sûderu kei woñji, kâru woñji deppâderu yê.

('Sambu Kalkudanau), "panawudu mêlu jâtidu hina." Bâirana Sûderu yê-n ana-ula dumbuda" charyonde 'Sambu Kalkude.

Woñji keitu Gummandanu milpudiyenâ mâya ayenâ. Mâyâyîdêwadê **Kâriñjadu** bêle benpende. Kâriñjadu bêle bennaga **Hirta Addyandâru Mitta Addyandâru** tûwere batteru.

"Woñji kârudâ woñji keitâ dêwastâno raddu kattudu pullyakelogu bali," japudanâ andudu kênderu.

"Bali îgaligegu," japudende Sambu Kalkude.

"Îgaligegu malpunâye îyô," andudu mône gubbiyeru. Âkulu pôperu dêwastâna kattiyenâ gôpura hirdiyenâ; kalla pañchâñga pâgara angana sutta malten jalakogu kere malte; weipere têru malte-mitta dêwastâna kattude; hirtadêwastânogu battenâ bunâdi pâdiye, âye dêwastâna raddulâ pullyâwandi ulaiji kattiyenâ. Pullyada balinâye pidâda yenâ Hirta Addandâru Mitta Addandâru kêndudu pâru bannaga, dêwere appane ându dâneadanda. "Angana jappande madelu muttandendudu woñji târaida nîru wode mutta barpundo ade mutta jâgu, âde mutta jâgu dêweregu kolpundâ dêwastânogu baroli andudu panderu."

Woñji târaidanîru nûtra (120 mudi) mudi kandogu suttu battunddu. Dêweregu sûwatti koriyeru. Dâre yerôderu ganda purusado dettonderu.

"Yânu pôpe (Sambu Kalkude) tenukâyi Gange miyere." Ubârudu Ubâra Tîrta mîyenâye.

"Badakâyi Bâlu Sêneru pôti râj ogu Gange mîyere pôpende yê-adegu." Pôye Gange mîyenâ

Translation.

"Take away the Bhûta in the water, O god! Offer milk! Help thy servants! Hear advice! Hear the advice of a thousand people of Mangalûr. Hear the advice of the people of nine Mâgnes at Mulki. Hear the advice of a thousand people of the Bants. Hear the advice of the people of Manel. Hear the advice of three hundred inhabitants of Mugêr."

Now there is a village called **Kella Puchchye Mântrâdi, where Kalkuda was born.** His mother was one **Kâla Bairi,** and his father one **Siva Kalkuda.** Their daughter's name was **Durgamma.** To five brothers there was one sister. One son was a copper-smith; another, Yellûr Kalkuda, was a bell-metal smith; another a carpenter; another, Nârna Kalkuda, was a carver.

"I will go to Belgula," said he (Tambu Kalkuda).

His father was making an idol of Gummata at Belgula. "Have you finished Gummata without making a fault as large as a thistle-thorn or as a grain of rice?" said he to his father. "There is a frog and handful of water on the right side of Gummata."

"No one has yet found any fault in my work," said his father, and took a knife with a silver handle and killed himself.

"O my father, your son came to see your work only, but you have killed yourself!" said Sambu Kalkuḍa.

He buried his father and began to work in his place. Then a thousand people of **Kârkaḷ** came to see the Gummata, and said they wanted one like it; so Sambu Kalkuḍa disappeared from Belguḷa and appeared at Kârkaḷ, where he made a Gummata two cubits higher (than that at Belguḷa).

A thousand people of **Yênûr** came to see the Gummata at Kârkaḷ, and said that they also wanted to establish one like it, and in the same way. When he saw them coming, he raised the Gummata straight up and disappeared immediately, going to Yênûr. He made a Gummata, seven and seven, altogether fourteen, *kôls*[18] higher (than that at Kârkaḷ). One Bairana Sûḍa saw this and broke one of his legs and a hand.

"Bairana Sûḍa, you are rich and of a mean caste. You will see what happens hereafter,' said Sambu Kalkuḍa.

He raised the Gummata straight up by only one hand, and disappeared, going on to **Kâriñja**, where he said that he would work at something. While he was working there **Hitta Adyandâr** and **Mitta Adyandâr** came to see his work.

"Can you build two temples with only one hand and one leg? And will you go early in the morning all round the temple?" asked they.

"I shall make a round of the temple at once," said Sambu Kalkuḍa.

"Are you the man to finish such a work at once?" said they, and spat in his face, and went away.

He built one temple and a high building in front of it. He made a stone wall around the temple. He made a tank for bathing. He made a car, in which to draw the god. In this manner he built the temple on the higher ground and came to the lower ground. He laid a foundation for the second temple and built on it. He built two temples before the morning and made the god to turn over the temple in the morning. When Hirta Adyandar and Mitta (Milla) Adyandar heard this and came running, the god ordered them not to touch the walls and not to come into the yard.

"If so much ground as the water in a cocoanut will surround is presented to me you may enter the temple!" said the god.

Then it turned out that the water in a cocoanut was sufficient to pour around a place sowing a hundred and twenty *muras* of paddy! This place was presented to the god, and they received sandal and flowers.

"I go to bathe in the Gaṅgâ in the south!" Śambu Kalkuḍa bathed in pure water at the **Ubâra Tîrta at Ubâra.**

"I will go to bathe in the Gaṅgâ in the north, whither Bâḷu Sênava has gone." He went and bathed there, too.

BURNELL MSS. No. 17.

PÔSA MAHÂRÂYE.

Original, in the Kanarese character, occupies, text and translation, leaves 233 and 234 of the Burnell MSS. Translation according to the Burnell MSS.

---

[18] Two cubits = 1 *kôl*.

Translation.

There were four *kambalas* (large paddy fields) on four sides of the palace at **Poṅkulê.** The *kambalas* were ploughed at noon, and when this happened the Bhûta **Pôsa Mahârâye** was feasted in the evening with a thousand young cocoanuts, a *kalasê* of boiled rice,[19] and a thousand *sêrs* of rice flour. In this manner **Aitha Sêṭṭivâḷ**, the richest man in the place, performed the feast, bringing out ancient ornaments of bell-metal kept at Peralâ. He presented sufficient gold and silver ornaments and built a *matam*, and he presented the Bhûta with a head-ornament, rings for his ears, ornaments for his neck, a large ring for the arms and a jewelled bangle for his wrist, another for his neck, a cover for his back, and a bench to sit on. Then the Bhûta told him that he wanted the honors that are given to a god, *viz.*, a bell and a sword, such as are given to Brahmâ. Then he was presented with two drums. He also wanted a piece of land and a fire burning at his stone.[20] He further wanted a *matam* where a feast to him was to be performed.

He went to **Kuredal Barke** and had a feast at **Kuyela Barike.** A flag was raised at noon and a feast was performed in the evening for him. Then he went to a place called **Muli Botti Guttu.** There he asked for a feast in the evening and a flag to be raised at noon. Kitna Naika at Beldâ made a feast for him. Paduma Śeṭṭivâḷ performed a feast at his new house. Rama Parbu at Nayî performed a feast. Kittappa Naika at Parârî Guttu performed a feast. Kuttappa Naika at Lower Pañja performed a feast. Vâjî Naika at Upper Pañja performed a feast. Aitha Śêṭṭivâḷ performed a feast. Chinnaya Śêṭṭivâḷ at Middle Pañja performed a feast for him. Gerappa Kaiyar in a lower part of Pañja performed a feast for him. Śaṅku Baidya in Upper Pañja performed a feast. Duma Baidya at a hut by an oil-mill performed a feast for him. Kôṭi Baidya at Alke Bail performed a feast. Basâva Baidya at Guri Kanda performed a feast.

Some persons from **Kuvvidal Barke** were going to bespeak a marriage at **Muli Botti Guttu,** where there were some girls who were very beautiful. The mother's name of one was Abbayê, and of another Dârâ. **Kâna Sêṭṭivâḷ arranged to be married to Saṇḍâ Kamboli** at Kuvvidal Barke. He saw the girl on a Tuesday, and promised to send neck jewels by the next Tuesday. On the next Tuesday [the girl was brought to Kuvvidal Barke, and the marriage was performed on Wednesday. The girl came to her maturity as soon as the marriage was over. She bathed once or twice on the next days, and bathed on the fourth day; but there was no water for bathing on the fifth day. So a well was dug in a *kambala* where two *pikottas* were put up. Her husband told her to take her dirty cloths and to go to the well to bathe. When she went there, there was no water. Then she went towards Muli Botti Guttu. When she had passed two *kambalas* on the road, she reached Daiyaṅgule Mana, where she was concealed by the **Bhûta Pôsa Mahârâye.** He made her to disappear from Aṅkronda Adda to this place. Kâna Śêṭṭivâḷ prayed to him and promised that he would perform a feast if he would bring back the girl. The girl answered the call, but did not appear.

Then Pôsa Mahârâye went to Êruvâil Paramêśvarî and stood on her right side.

"You are a god and may stay in the temple: I will remain in the *matam*," said he.

BURNELL MSS. No. 18.

KAṆṆALÂYE.

Original, in the Kanarese character, occupies, text and translation, leaves 235 to 239 inclusive of the Burnell MSS.[21] Translation according to Burnell MSS.

[19] One *kalasê* = 14 *sêrs*.

[20] It is usual for Bhûtas to have a particular stone attached to them.

[21] Leaves 237, 238 and 239 are blank.

Translation.

There was a mother named **Soyiramma Taiyar,** a father named **Guru Sarapoli Naika,** and an uncle named **Bâbe Sênava. Guru Sarapoli had four children.** One of them was called Aru Adana Śêṭṭi; another Unnappa Śêṭṭi; another Darama Śêṭṭi; another Sundaram Śêṭṭi. For those four children he built a building on the sea-shore. He brought some sand for them to write on. He put up a sloping table for them. Then the children began by writing on the sand, and when they could write on boards their father brought some leaves of a palm-tree, put them in the morning sun and heaped them together in the evening sun. He cut off both the ends of the leaves, and trimmed the edges. He put turmeric on the leaves. The children wrote on a bundle of such leaves and tied them to a tree in the street.

Then they took ink saying, **"We will hereafter write in English.'** " They wrote superior writings on stamped papers and kept them safe in their house.

"We have become clever, and so now let us build four shops on the sea-shore," said they. They put curry-stuffs into one shop, wheat and Bengal gram into another; into anther a kind of rice called *samê :* into another clothes. In this way, they had separate things in four shops.

Then they left off this trade and began to deal in bullocks. At **Karmin Salê** on the Ghâṭs there was one **Yellappu Ganda.** They went to him and said :—

"Yellappu Ganda, we want a pair of bullocks. Tell us the price and give us the bullocks quickly and the straw for them! Give us a superior kind of bullocks."

He brought bullocks differing in the colours of their four legs. Brown was the colour of their tails; white the colour of their heads and white were their tongues! He sold them with the straw for them. They paid three hundred rupees, and then they brought them to the *châvaḍi* of a woman named **Saminandêdi.** They called her and asked her a foot's length of ground on which to cook.

"We give food to those who take it, and fruit to those who will not take food; but our ancestors never gave a place for cooking, and we will not give it now," said she.

Then she asked their caste and supplied them with water.

Then **Kaṇṇalâye** caused Saminandêdî to disappear and he went to his *maṭam.*

BURNELL MSS. No. 19.

THE WANDERINGS OF JUMÂḌI.

Original, in the Kanarese character, occupies, text and translation, leaf 240 and part of leaf 241 of the Burnell MSS. Translation according to the Burnell MSS.

Translation.

He came from Sârasîme in Mugêrnâḍ. He passed the pleasure-garden in Baṇṭwâḷ. He came to Aiyyandâlpaṭṭa in Ambadâḍi. There he entered the *guḍi* of Brahmâ served by five Bhûtas. After this, he passed the banyan tree in Pachhanâḍka. He ascended the hill in Beñjaṇa. In Amuñje he saw Brahmâ of Âdibeṭṭu. He passed the jack-tree in Poiyye and the banyan tree in Poḍikâra. He visited the goddess Paramêśvarî of Purâḷa. The three thousand men of Purâḷa assembled, and he was offered sacrifice at the gate of Purâḷa. He required a *sthâna,* and took possession of the *sthâna* in Uripâḍe. He said that he intended to walk a long distance, and crossed the river at Aḍḍanda. He passed the village of Iṭṭe. He passed Kâḷiboḷûr, and visited the Bhûta Muṇḍitâya of Muḷûr. He passed the Sâla Ferry and visited Baṇṇâkuḷa of Aṇaje. He took possession of the *sthâna* on the hill in Ballammole. He visited the god Amṛitêśvara, and required that a sacrifice should be offered him in the yard of the temple, and it was offered accordingly. He took possession of the *sthâna* in Paḍavoḍi and

received sacrifice in Pâḷatikaṭṭe. He passed by Doṇiñje and Kallamugêr. He came to Aiyyandâḷpaṭṭa, and thence passed on to the *bîḍu* in Sampiñja. He visited the Kartu, **Sarakuḷḷâya.**

He sent small-pox and sharp pain into Samujâḍ. The *praśna*-book was brought out to discover the cause of this sudden disaster. They found that a Bhûta equal to a god had come into the kingdom, and they asked him to tell them what he wanted. He required a swinging cot set with pearls to be put up for him in the *bîḍu* in Tampiñjâl; the dagger used by the Ballâḷ of Aiyyandâḷ; the *sthâna* in Muḍâr to be consecrated to him; a flag to be raised to him, and to be drawn in a car. The god in that place was called the Eternal God, and this Bhûta became known as the Eternal Jumâḍi.[22]

BURNELL MSS. No. 20.

THE STORY OF JÂRANTÂYA.

Original, in the Kanarese character, text and translation, occupies part of leaf 241 and leaf 242 of the Burnell MSS. Translation according to the Burnell MSS.

Translation.

A *bhaṭṭa* of **Bârebail** and a magician of **Dêrebail,** together with four other *bhaṭṭas* had seed enough for sowing and a field to cultivate, but had no bull-buffaloes for ploughing. A certain man had brought four thousand bull-buffaloes to **Buḷeribuddyoṭṭu.** They heard the news and passed Poiyye and a house in Nîrmârga, and came to Buḷeribuddyoṭṭu. Then they saw the four-thousand bull-buffaloes, and asked the owner to tell them the price of two bull-buffaloes.

"One thousand pagodas for the fore-legs and one thousand for the hind-legs," said he.

They then prayed to **Jârantâya** saying: "If you make our minds and the bull-buffaloes to agree with each other, we will make you our family-god. We will worship you at the right-hand of our god in our house at Maiyya, both in the time of prosperity and in the time of distress."

He made their minds and the bull-buffaloes to agree with each other! And the *bhaṭṭas* returned home, taking the two bull-buffaloes with them. They returned by way of Poiyye and passed the house in Nîrmârga.

They had worshipped the Bhûta for about six months, one year or two years, when, after a short time, famine appeared. Then he required that a dagger should be placed in his *sâna.*

He took possession of the *sthâna* in Maṇiyâḷ, requiring that the flag should be raised and that he should be drawn in a car. On leaving the *sthânas* in Poiyye, Nîrmârga, and Maṇiyâḷ he settled himself in Sâira. He required that the *sthâna* in Vañjare should be given to him. He next made himself known as the **"Three Bhûtas of Sâira."** He ascended the hill in Aḍḍanda, and visited the god Mañjunâtha at Kadri, the god Śarva, Brahmâ of Aḷake and fourteen other Bhûtas. He took possession of two *mathas,* known as the Kariyâne and the Boḷiyâne. He entered the *mathas* and kept a numerous guard in them.

The soothsayer was questioned as to the cause of this disaster.[23]

"If you give me half of the land belonging to the *matha,* I will relieve you from the disaster that has befallen you," said Jârantâya.

Half of the land belonging to the *matha* was given to Jârantâya. The man relieved by the Bhûta was one **Dêvu Baidya.** The Bhûta said that that he wanted a dagger in his *sâna,* and Dêvu Baidya caused a *sâna* to be built for him in Boḷûr, after which the Bhûta became known as the umbrella (guardian) of the hundreds of families in the four quarters.

[22] [The native artist in illustrating him, however, calls him Foolish Jumâḍi! — ED.]

[23] [A gap in the legend here. — ED.]





IV.—The Devil Worship of the Tuḷuvas.

Fig. 1. Attaver Daiyongulu. Fig. 2. Foolish Jumâdi.

BURNELL MSS. No. 21.

PERAR BOLANDI.

The original text, in the Kanarese character, occupies leaf 243 of the Burnell MSS. There is no translation of this short tale given in the Burnell MSS.

BURNELL MSS. No. 22.

SOME ACCOUNT OF MIJÂR[24] KOḌAMAṆATÂYA.

Original, in the Kanarese character, occupies, text and translation, leaf 244 of the Burnell MSS. Translation according to the Burnell MSS.

Translation.

He came to the temple of the god Irvail, and required that a feast should be celebrated for him in the yard of the temple. On leaving it he passed the village of Daraṇa in the East, and the *guḍi* of the goddess Mahâmâhî. He passed the hill named Boḷakallu (white stones), and came to **Irandâlpṭṭa.** He visited the Bâragas of Irandâlpaṭṭa, and required that a sacrifice should be offered him in **Kukki Kaṭṭe.**

"The sacrifice is sufficient; now I want a *sâna,*" said he. "I want the daggers of Irandâlpaṭṭa, Kukki Kaṭṭe and the *sthâna* in **Kemrâje.**"

He said also that he would make himself known as the umbrella (guardian) of **Kemmulajebeṭṭu, Mijârguttu** and Irandâl.

BURNELL MSS. No. 23.

THE ACTS OF KÂNTUNEKRI BHÛTA.

Original, in the Kanarese character, occupies, text and translation, leaves 245 and 246 of the Burnell MSS. Translation according to Burnell MSS.

Translation.

A sudden disaster came upon the world. It reached **the Sthâna in Paṇambûr.** The thousand men of Paṇambur assembled in the *bîḍu,* and tried to find out the cause of the calamity. After finding it out, **they put the calamity in a magic-box** and had the box taken to the *bîḍu* in Paṇambûr, placing it in the centre of the *bîḍu.* They opened the box;—whoever looked into it became blind; whoever heard of it became deaf.

The hero (the Bhûta) entered the person of a woman named **Kâverî of Paṇambûr.** The people referred to the *praśna-book* to ascertain the cause of the calamity. They found that a Bhûta, who was as agreeable as the gold worn on the body to Bannâkuḷa of Gujjer, and who might well be the crown of a family, had come to the *bîḍu* of Paṇambûr in an invisible shape. The Bhûta required that his *sâna* should be furnished with a dagger, and caused the *sâna* to be built behind the *bîḍu,* and dwelt in it.

On leaving Sâḷapaṭṭa in Paṇambûr, he crossed the river at Aḍḍanda, and came to the hill in Pirya-paiyyar. On leaving Ainûḍâḷapaṭṭa, he settled himself in Sâira, and contracted friendship with the god Mañjunâtha, the god Śarva, Brahmâ of Aḷake and fourteen Bhûtas. He made himself known as one of the Five Bhûtas of Sâira, and said that he wanted the dagger of Sâira, and a dagger for his *sâna* at Poḍâyibeṭṭu. He made himself known as one of the five Bhûtas, and as **the umbrella (guardian) of Sâira.**

BURNELL MSS. No. 24.

THE ACTS OF MAGRANDAYA.

Original, in the Kanarese character, occupies, text and translation, leaves 247 to 252 inclusive of the Burnell MSS.[25] Transliteration by Dr. Männer: translation from the Burnell

[24] This word is misprinted Miyâr at Vol. XXIII., p. 2, *ante.*

[25] Leaf 251 is blank and leaf 252 is missing.

MSS. checked by Dr. Männer. An autograph note states that Burnell procured this tale from the Pombaḍa Kânta, at Mangalore, in February 1874.

MAGRANDÂYA PÂḌDANA.

Pañjipâḍida barke-auḷu woñji appegu̥
Nâlu̥ jana baleḷuge-âkuḷe pudaru̥
Kâmarei Bhaṭṭerandu̥du̥ woñji, Rañgapparei
Bhaṭṭerandu̥du̥ wori, Ujappurei Bhaṭṭerandu̥du̥ woñ,
Nandappurei Bhaṭṭerandu̥du̥ wori. Âkuḷu auḷu
Woñji bûḍuḍuitteru̥. Magrana kâla meggyagu̥lâ
Palayagu̥lâ nyâya battu̥nḍu̥. Meggye panḍeru̥
Îrega yeṅka woñji bûḍu sallandu̥.
Woñji karaṭṭu̥ bawana sallandu̥ andu̥du̥ panḍeru̥.
Woñji guweḷu̥da nîru̥ sallandu̥.
Yânu̥ dêsântrogu pôpe andu̥du̥ megye panḍeru̥.
Naḍîru̥daga boḷḷi kudreḍu̥ kuḷderu̥, âru̥.
Boḷḷida (bolpu) sattye pattâyeru̥.
Naḍa dîṭige (pañchadîṭige) pâttayeru̥.
Pañjipâḍida barke kaḍateru̥. Mâyudamake kaḍateru̥.
Aḍḍada padâwu pattiyeru̥.
Mugeru̥nâḍu̥ sîme kaḍateru̥.
Pânemugeru̥ poyye kaḍateru̥. Ambaḍâḍi Aindâḷe
Paṭṭa (mâgane) kaḍateru̥. Yêryada gôli
Kadateru̥. Pilipâñjara kaḍateru̥.
Kallu̥majalu̥ Kalkâru̥ kaḍateru̥.
Nugra kambuḷa kaḍateru̥.
Piryôḍi dêwere ḍêwastandâuḷe
Bannaga nâlweru̥ piriweḍidâru̥ brâneru̥.
Kudigrâma sâyirola ḍêwastânoḍu kûḍuderu̥.
Imberenu̥ tûyinâkuḷu
Bonḍada kânige konḍu batteru̥.
Konḍatti kânigenu̥ gettonḍeru̥
Baṭṭa Ballaye yeṅkuḷe jâtida nyâya kênḍu̥
Koroḍandu Pirwoḍidâru̥lâ Kudigrâmamâganelâ
Kênḍeru̥. Yânu̥ **Mañglûrugu** pôdu barpe
Aiḍu̥du bokkanikuḷe nyâya kênḍu̥du̥ korpe
Andu̥du̥ battêru̥ uḷlâye panḍeru̥.
Peryoḍi dêwere dêwastâna kaḍateru̥.
Tumbê Uḷaûru kaḍateru̥ Kîlaḍibannâḷe
Barke kaḍateru̥. Varadêśwara dêwere
Staḷa kaḍateru̥. Aḍḍyâra mâgane kaḍateru̥,
Gaḍḍeda châwaḍi kaḍateru̥.
Gujjarakêdu kaḍateru̥.
Mañglûru samstânogu batteru̥.
Mañglûru arasuḷenu̥ tûyeru̥.
Kei muggyeru̥-woḷtu Batta, woḍegu̥ pôpa
Andu̥du̥ Mañglûru arasuḷe appane ânḍu̥.
Aiku̥ Pañjipâḍida barikeḍu̥.
Worti appegu̥ nâlweru̥ bâleḷu itta
Meggyâgu̥lâ palayâgu̥lâ wotra kalau
Battu̥nḍu̥. Yânu̥ dêsantrogu pôpe
Andu̥du̥ battini,

Îre arike malpere batte andu̥du̥
Baṭṭa Baḷḷâye panḍeru̥.
Aiku̥ arasuḷa î desântro pôwoḍji
Î Kudigrâma maganeḍu̥
Kañchigâra Kêriḍu̥du̥ pattinau Arkula târu̥
Muṭṭa yena hêlikeḍu̥ adhikâra paḍewonu̥duppula.
Andu̥du̥ arasuḷu panḍeru̥
Mâganeda adhikâra koriyeru̥
Mâganeda gaḍi pattieru̥.
Uḷa ûru aramane kaṭṭâyeru̥ — Bhaṭṭa Ballaye
Kaṭṭu̥du̥ wokkelâyeru̥.
Bhaṭṭeru̥ ullâya marmâlu̥ Toipergaḍedâru̥ andu̥du̥.
Âregu̥ wartamâna ânḍu̥
Uḷaûruḍu tana tammale bûḍu kaṭṭiyeru̥ andu̥du̥
Marmâlu̥ Pañjipâḍida barkeḍu̥du̥ jattu̥du̥ batteru̥.
Âreḍoppa Magranḍâye Pañjipâḍida barkeḍu̥du̥
beriye batte.
Marmâlu̥ **Uḷaûra** aramanegu̥ batteru̥.
Batti galigegu̥ tammale marmâlenu̥ tûdu
Santôśa maltonḍeru̥.
Marmâlu̥ battalu̥ andu̥du̥ âni râtredu̥ Magranḍâye
Bhatteru̥ ullayagu̥ swapnodu tôjiye
Îre marmâle beri pattonudu batte.
Îru̥ santôśoḍu̥ iḷḷaru̥.
Îre râjoḍu yenkuḷegu̥ woñji mâḍa âwoda andu̥du̥
Swapnoḍu tôjyinḍu̥.
Manadâni **Kudigrâma mâganenu̥** Ulaûra aramaneḍu̥
Bhatteru̥ ullâye kûḍayeru̥.
Kûḍâdu̥ yenkuḷe janana kaṭṭaḷeda Bhûta (kula bhûta)
Pañjipâḍi barikeḍu̥du̥ baude.
Âyagu̥ îrâjjyoḍu woñji mâḍa âwoḍu̥ndu̥du̥
Swapna ânḍu̥.
Nikuḷu maganedâkulu dâse panparu̥ andu̥du̥
Bhaṭṭa Ballâye maganeḍa kênḍeru̥.
Aiku̥ mâganedâkuḷu panḍini îre appaṇegu̥
Yenkuḷu mirayo.
Îre appaṇe yeñcha âpunḍa ancha naḍapuwa anderu̥.
Bhaṭṭeru̥ ullâyelâ mâgenelâ **Kaṇapâḍḍu̥**
Mâḍa kâṭṭayeru̥. Mâḍa kattâdu̥ bhanḍi ânḍu̥.
Koḍi yêru̥nḍu̥, nêma ânḍu̥, ânêma tûwere baṭṭeru̥.
Arkula bûḍuda Dêwu Nâyikeru̥ Seṭṭi nêma tûyeru̥.
Âreru̥ â Bhûta tûnḍu. Singârada purpa lettu̥du̥
Korpâyeru̥. Âre beriye batte. **Kaṇâpaḍidâye**
Battu̥du̥ mûlu (Dêwunâyikere illaḍu̥) saṅkaḍodu.
Konḍu pâḍiye balimeḍu̥ kênderu̥.
Kanapaḍi dâye îre beri pattonudu batte.
Âyagu̥ îre jâgu̥du̥ sâna âwoḍandu̥du̥
Tôjidu̥ barpundu̥ andu̥du̥ nimityada bhaṭṭeru̥ panḍeru̥.
Tana wokkelu̥nu̥ kûḍâyeru Dêwunâyike
Kûḍâdu̥ yânu̥ Kanapâḍi âyana tûweṛe pôye.
Aḷtu̥ yena beri pattonudu â Bhûta battu̥nḍu̥....
Baḷime kêṇnaga âyagu̥ mûḷu sânalâ âwoḍandu̥du̥

Tôji battu̥nḍu̥.
Nikuḷu dâne paṇparu̥ andu̥ḍu̥ Dêwunâyikeru̥
Tana wokkelu̥nu̥ kênḍeru̥.
Wokkelu̥ panḍeru̥ îre appaṇe mîraya.
Îregu̥ yeñchânḍâ uñchenê yeṅkuḷegu̥ andu̥du̥.
Dêwunâyikerlâ wokkelu̥lâ
Gummâḍu̥ Durgada mâḍa kattâyeru̥.
Auḷu koḍi yêru̥nḍu̥. Âyana anḍu̥.
Âuḷu pudaru̥ leppâyeru̥, **Bhûta Magrandâye andu̥du̥**
Nâḍadu̥ koḍi yêru̥du̥ bandi âdu̥ nêma âyi magrana.
Kâla Magrandâya Banṭe aḷtu̥ pidâḍiye.
Kâdre Mañjunâtha dewere staloku batte.
Âre bhêṭimaḷte. Âre appaṇe ânḍu̥.
Yeyyâḍiḍu̥ Jârandâya sâna unḍu, âḍegu̥ pôla andu̥du̥
Yeyyâḍigu̥ pôye.
Jârandâyanu̥ andu̥ maltonḍe.
Jârandâya sâna horatu̥du̥ bête sânoñji kaṭṭânwonḍe.
Jârandâya nêmoḍudu bokka âyagu̥lâ nêma ânḍu̥.
Aḷtu̥ lakkiye Maṅgalûru pênṭeḍu̥.
Kâlama dêwerenu̥ tûye. Âre bheṭi maltonḍe.
Âchâriḷenu̥ nâlu̥ ûru andu̥du̥ panu̥punḍu.
Âkuḷenu andu̥ maltonḍe.
Âkâlamma dêwere dêwastânada bâkilu̥du̥
Nêma gettonḍe
Anchenê â nêma ini muṭṭalê naḍatu̥du̥ barpuḍu.

Translation.

A mother had four children at Pañjapâḍi, whose names were Kâmarâya Battaḷe,[26] Raṅgapparâya Battaḷe, Ujjappurâya Battaḷe, and fourth Nandappurâya Battaḷe. They lived in a *bîḍu*. In the second year quarrels arose between the elder and the youngest brothers.

The youngest brother said to the elder: "We cannot live in one house; we cannot take rice boiled in one pot. We cannot drink water from the same well: so I go to a foreign country."

The youngest brother mounted a white horse at midnight, and made one servant hold a white umbrella, and another hold torches; and thus he left Pañjapâḍi. He crossed the river Mayî and passed over a plain at Aḍḍâ. He came to Mugernâḍ. He then passed by a sand-bank at Panimugêr, and by a place called Aidâlepaṭṭa at Ambaḍâḍi; by a Banian-tree at the village of Erya; by a place called Pilipâñjara; by the places called Kalmajel and Kalkâr; and by the *kambala* at the village of Nuṅgra.

When he came to the temple of the god at **Periyoḍi,** four Brâhmaṇs of Periyoḍi and a thousand men of **Kudigrâma** were gathered together at the temple. They saw him and gave him tender cocoanuts. The **Battaḷḷâya** took the tender cocoanuts brought by them, and the inhabitants of Periyoḍi and of Kudigrâma Mâgne asked him to settle quarrels among them about their caste.

"I must go to **Maṅgalûr,** but will return back again, and settle your quarrels," said the Battaḷe.

He passed by a temple at Periyoḍi; by the villages of Tumbê and Uḷaûr, and by a place called Kîlaḍibannâkuḷu. He passed by the temple of Varadêśvara, and the Mâgne of

26 [That is, apparently, Bhaṭṭa. — ED.]

Aḍyâr; the *châvaḍi* of the village of Gaḍḍe; the tank called Gujjarakêdu, and came to Mañgalûr. He visited the **King of Mañgalûr,** and saluted him.

"From where do you come? And where are you going?" asked the King of Mañgalûr.

"We were born four children to one mother at Pañjapâḍi. Quarrels arose berween us brothers, and I left with the intention of going to a foreign country, and also to inform you of this matter," said the Battaḷḷe.

"Do not go to a foreign country. It is better that you remain here under my authority, cultivating lands which lie between the Kañchigâra Kêri in this village of Kudigrâma and the stream at the village called Arkula," said the king.

Authority over the Mâgne was given to him and a boundary was made. The Battaḷḷe made his people build a palace at the village called Uḷaûr and entered the palace.

The Battaḷḷe had a niece named Toipergaḍethâr, who came to know that her uncle had now a palace at Uḷaûr. So she left Pañjapâḍi, and **Magrandâya the Bhûta followed her from Pañjapâḍi.** The girl came to the palace at **Uḷaûr,** and as soon as she came there, her uncle saw her and was glad that his niece had come to him. That night the Battaḷḷe saw Magrandâya in dream, who said: —

"I followed your niece, and you are now very happy: therefore, give me a *matham* in this your country."

Thus was the complaint heard by the Battaḷḷe in a dream. Next day the inhabitants of **Kudigrâma Mâgne** were called to the Uḷaûr palace by the Battaḷḷe, and he said to them: —

"A Bhûta, which is worshipped by my family, has arrived from Pañjapâḍi. I have had a dream that he wants a *matham* in this country. You people of the Mâgne, what do you say?"

Thus asked the Battaḷḷe of the people of the Mâgne.

"We do not disregard your order; we are ready to do what you order," said the people of the Mâgne.

The Battaḷḷe and the people of the Mâgne built a *matham* at the village called **Kaṇapâḍi,** after which a car was made for the Bhûta, a flag was raised, and a sumptuous entertainment given.

Dêvu Naika of Arkula Biḍu came to see that feast and the Bhûta saw him and called to him and gave him Areca-flowers. On his return the Bhûta followed him and went to his house, where he spread disease. Then Dêvu Naika made a Brâhmaṇ astrologer refer to the *praśna*-book.

"**Kaṇapâḍitâya the Bhûta** (*i. e.*, **Magrandâya**) has followed you, for he wants a *sânam* in your country," said the astrologer.

Dêvu Naika called his tenants and said: "I have been to a Bhûta feast at Kaṇapâḍi and the Bhûta has followed me; and now it is found by reference to the *praśna*-book that he wants a *sânam* here. What do you say?"

"We do not disregard your order: the duty lies on both you and us," said the tenants.

Dêvu Naika and his tenants built a *matham* at a place called Gummâḍa Durgâ, where a flag was raised, a festival was celebrated, and where **he was known by the name of Magrandâya.**

In the year after that feast, **Magrandâya's Bhaṇṭa** (attendant) left that place and came to a god named **Mañjunâtha at Kadri,** and visited him. **Mañjuntâya** ordered the Bhaṇṭa to go to the *sânam* of Jârantâya the Bhûta at the village of Aiyadi, and he went there. **He made friendship with Jârantâya,** and he got a separate *sânam* there. Festivals were

performed for him after those for Jârantâya. He then left that place and came to the goddess Kâḷamma in the town of Maṅgalûr and visited her. Her priests are known by the name of the people of the "Four Countries," and he made friendship with them, and a festival was performed for him at the gate of the temple of the goddess Kâḷamma. In the same manner the feast is performed to him there to this day.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 48.)

Metals. — To the evidence given under this heading *ante* Vol. XXIV., p. 57 ff. (Ch. I., i., 5 *c.*, Metals) in support of the view that, among spirit-scarers, metal holds a leading place, the following additions are offered. The bulk of this fresh material is connected with iron. It may be arranged under the following heads:—the simple virtue of cold iron, the virtue of iron to which is added the scaring quality of heat, the virtue of iron aided by the guardian power of the Tool, as the nail, the knife, the sword, the hatchet, the sickle, the ploughshare, the rake and the key; finally iron with which is associated the merit both of a lucky shape and of a close connection with a guardian part of a guardian animal, such as the horse-shoe.

Iron.—Among the Hindus of Gujarât, in Western India, the two chief articles that guard against the malign influence of the evil eye are iron articles and articles of a black colour.[12] In Eastern India, the performer of funeral rites touches cold iron to guard himself against any evil spirits he may have dislodged from the dead body.[13] In Gujarât, when a spirit refuses to leave the body of a possessed man, the exorcist catches the patient's hair, buffets him or beats him with an iron rod.[14] To guard against a return of spirit possession a Gujarât Hindu wears an iron wristlet.[15] In North India, a piece of iron is tied to the wrist or to the ankle to keep off the Evil Eye.[16] The door and the furniture of the Pârsî lying-in room are of iron.[17] In A. D. 570, when Zemarchus, the Byzantine ambassador, came near the camp of the Great Khân, he was met by Turks offering a piece of iron. They rang a bell, beat a drum, burned incense, and raged like maniacs driving off evil spirits.[18] The dress of the Siberian mediums or *shâmâns* described by Girchino was for the men on each shoulder two pointed iron horns, with iron rings, a saw-toothed plate of iron, and hanging Chinese locks. The women's dress was tasselled with iron discs and a rusty iron lock hung from a braid of hair.[19] When the Roumanian of South-East Austria hears the first thunder of the season, he knocks his head with a piece of iron and is free from headaches for the rest of the year.[20] In Germany and in England, in the seventeenth century, during a thunderstorm, iron or steel was laid on a beer barrel to keep the beer from turning sour.[21] The Middle Age Germans held that a were-wolf could be turned into a man by crossing its path with a knife, a sword, or a ploughshare,[22] the sense being that the sight of the iron scared the evil spirit out of the man who, without the inspiration of the evil spirit, fell back into the true likeness of a man. The Arab's shout, "Hadid, Hadid (Iron, Iron)," when he sees a spirit-ridden whirlwind, is oddly the same as the Scottish fisherman's shout, "Cauld Airan," if, as they are putting out to fish,[23] any of their number mentions an unlucky word, brags of his riches, of his wife's looks, or of his last take of fish, or takes God's name in vain. In both cases the sense is that the evil is turned aside by naming or touching the great scarer cold iron. The object of the Estonian custom of biting at cold iron before eating the first

[12] The late Mr. Vaikuntrâm's MS. Notes.

[13] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 223.

[14] The late Mr. Vaikuntrâm's MS. Notes.

[15] *Op. cit.*

[16] *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV., p. 136.

[17] MS. Notes on Pârsî Customs.

[18] Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. I., p. CLXIII.

[19] Howorth's *Changiz Khân*, p. 146.

[20] *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, No. 100, p. 136.

[21] Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 22.

[22] Moncure Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 314.

[23] Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 149; and MS. note from Mr. James Douglas of Bombay, dated 6th December, 1895.

bread of the new harvest[24] seems to be to drive out of the eater all evil before he partakes of what he considers sacramental or guardian-housed bread. In Cornwall, iron controls fiends,[25] and the Welsh faery wife disappears if touched by iron.[26] In Scotland, a piece of cold iron was laid close to a woman in child-bed to scare the faeries.[27]

With the added virtue of fire, iron becomes one of the great disease-scarers. Hindus use the actual cautery with a red-hot iron with great success in curing rheumatism.[28] The mere threat to brand an epileptic with a red-hot iron has so affected the patient that his fits have never come back.[29] In North Africa, the sovran Arab remedy for nearly every disorder is burning with a red-hot iron.[30] In Scotland, lumps on a cow's udder are cured by rubbing them with water heated by a red-hot iron.[31]

Tools.— Again, by shaping it into a tool the guardian virtue of iron is enhanced. The knife was one of the earliest of Hindu medical agencies. According to the medical books the healer who knows mineral cures is like a god, he who knows the virtues of herbs and roots is like a man, he who uses the knife and fire is like an evil spirit or Asur, he who knows charms and prayers is like a prophet.[32] In West Multân, when a Musalmân, Jaṭṭ, or Bilûch boy is born, a knife is struck in the ground, close to the mother's head, to keep off evil spirits or *jinns*.[33] The Arab belief, that the whirlwind is a devil who fears iron, is widespread in Europe. The Briton peasant throws his knife and fork at the devil who lifts up the hay in a whirlwind; the German peasant throws his knife or his hat at the witch in the whirlwind.[34] In Barbary, among the Moors in the seventeenth century, a black-handled knife tied to the end of a spar drove away the water spout.[35] The seventeenth century Italians had the same practice with the addition that crosses were made in the air with the black-handled knife, and at every cross the point of the knife was stuck into the side of the ship.[36] That the whirlwater like the whirlwind was considered a spirit, a passage in Thevenot's *Travels* (A. D. 1687)[37] shews: "The sailor with a black-handled knife cut the air toward the spirit or water-spout as if he would cut it." The sign of the cross would add scaring power, and, as among the Romans, in the Italian mind, *defigere* or to fix down the point of the knife in the ship's side would be to lay or house the spirit. The Mediterranean practice throws light on the becalmed Scottish sailor's cure when whistling for a wind fails, namely, driving the point of a knife into the main mast. The calm is a fiend which stifles the breeze, it is housed in the knife and imprisoned in the mast, and the fair wind is free to blow. So among Persians, if a man shoots badly or is unlucky in sport, he murmurs some texts or charms over a knife and drives the knife into the ground and his luck changes.[38] Here the ill-luck clings to the knife and is buried. The object of the Persian sportsman and of the Scottish sailor seems the same, to get rid of some influence which prevents the kindly intention of the guardian acting. In England, the best way to staunch blood was to lay a knife on the wound.[39] That in English nursery beliefs a knife scares or houses evil influences is shewn by Herrick (A. D. 1650).[40]

"Let the superstitious wife
Near the child's heart lay a knife,
Point be up and haft be down
While she gossips in the town;
This mongst other mystic charms
Keeps the sleeping child from harms."

For the scaring power of the sword, the home of a greater and more honoured guardian

[24] Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 71. [25] Basset's *Legends of the Sea*, p. 19.
[26] Lang's *Custom and Myth*, p. 82; Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 223.
[27] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 20, 29; Black's *Folk Medicine*, p. 178.
[28] Wise's *Hindu Medicine*, p. 258. [29] Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, pp. 91, 92.
[30] Denham and Clapperton's *North Africa* (1823), Vol. I. p. 157.
[31] Gregor's *Folk-lore of the North-East Scotland*, p. 193. [32] Wise's *Hindu Medicine*, p. 19.
[33] *Muzaffarghar Gazetteer*, p. 53. [34] Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 30.
[35] Bassett's *Legends of the Sea*, p. 30. [36] *Op. cit.* p. 32. [37] *Op. cit.* p. 32.
[38] Note from H. H. Âgha Khân, 5th December 1895. [39] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 71. [40] *Hesperides*, p. 305.

than the knife-spirit, a few examples may be added to those given in the former note. A recently found encyclopœdia of 13th century Syrian magic is called the *Sword of Moses*.[41] In the sword of the Cambodian fire-king lives a *yân* or spirit who guards it and works wonders with it.[42] In the Celebes, when a captured soul is being brought back to its owner, the priest who carries the soul in a cloth is followed by a man brandishing a sword to keep other souls from an attempted rescuer.[43] Gujarât Hindus set a light and a sword beside the basket in which they grow the lucky grain seedlings which are used at the Dasahra (September-October) festival.[44] To scare evil spirits and infection the Japanese bride takes to her husband's house a small sabre in a white sheath.[45] The Irish mother puts the first meat into her babe's mouth on the point of a sword.[46] Fire, sword and the blood-red banner are the three chief emblems borne by the Booth (Salvation) Armies in their campaigns against evil spirits.[47] Shears like the sword have a guardian influence. In Fowla, one of the Orkney Islands, a sick cow is cured by shaking over her back white money, a razor and a pair of shears.[48] So Herrick, in his *Charm for the Stable*:[49]

"Hang up hooks and shears to scare
Hence the Hag that rides the mare,
Till they all be over wet
With the mire and with the sweat:
This observed the manes shall be
Of your horses all knot free."

In Germany, apoplexy can be charmed by laying a hatchet on the threshold.[50] In the Bengal Sonthals, a sickle is laid under the pillow of a bewitched patient, because no witch can come near an iron sickle.[51] A coal-rake, combining the virtues of coal and iron, is used in Yorkshire (1887) to keep off night-mare.[52] A still stronger virtue lives in plough-irons. In Scotland (A. D. 1597), madness was cured by touching the patient with plough-irons and burying them between two laird's lands.[53] In Ireland, if milk is bewitched and the churn yields no butter, an iron plough-coulter is put in the fire and the spell is broken.[54]

Nails. — Perhaps from its use as a layer or fixer, special spirit-ruling or guardian virtue attaches to the nail. To guard a Gujarât Hindu against a second spirit-attack a nail is driven into the ground at each corner of the house and also into the threshold and into the door-post.[55] When a Gujarât exorcist enters a patient's house he drives a nail into the threshold, and leaps over the sick man or drinks water which has been waved round the sick man's head.[56] Or he ties a thread and sprinkles water round the house, drives a nail into the threshold, and entices or bullies the spirit into a copper coin.[57] The sense seems to be — the nail in the threshold frightens, and the thread and water rings prevent, any fresh spirit entering the house, and the spirit in the possessed passes into and is prisoned either in the copper-coin or in the scape-goat medium, when he leaps over the sick or when he drinks the water into which some of the spirit has passed. When a Gujarât exorcist has driven a haunting spirit into a lemon and the lemon is buried at the village border, a charmed two-inch long iron nail is driven at each corner of the cairn of stones that are piled over the lemon.[58] When a Gujarât exorcist wishes to secure a familiar, that is, a serf or slave-spirit, like Aladdin's slave or familiar of the lamp, he goes to a burying ground, unearths a corpse, makes a circle round the corpse, and outside of the circle drops charmed *adad* (*Phaseolus mungo*) beans scatters halves of lemons smeared with red lead, and drives nails into the ground. The beans the lemons and the nails strengthen the defence of the magic circle against any spirits who gather to prevent the taking into slavery of the corpse-spirit, so that the magician may undisturbed perform the rites which bring into himself or at least

41 *The Pioneer*, January 4th, 1893.
42 Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 55.
43 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 135.
44 The late Mr. Vaikuntram's MS. Notes.
45 Titsingh's *Japan*, p. 193.
46 Hone's *Table Talk*, Vol. II. p. 23.
47 Compare *Bombay Gazette* of 18th January 1887.
48 Letter in Kirkwall Paper.
49 *Poems*, Vol. II. p. 305, Ed. 1869.
50 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1166.
51 *Times of India* Newspaper, 12th February 1887.
52 *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. X. p. 266.
53 Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 190.
54 *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. IX. p. 4.
55 The late Mr. Vaikuntram's MS. Notes.
56 *Op. cit.*
57 *Op. cit.*
58 *Op. cit.*

into his power the spirit in the corpse. To guard a Gujarât lying-in woman from spirit-attacks a nail is driven into the floor of the room.[59] When the Pârsîs prepare to lay the foundations of a Tower of Silence, to peg down the place-spirits, they drive into the site a number of long nails.[60] Similarly, evil influences are nailed down by the Pârsî-Hindu driving of a silver nail into the keel of a vessel on the launch-day. So the Etruscan goddess Athrapa (or Atropos) is shewn with a nail and a hammer about to nail down the death, that is, the spirit of Meleager.[61] The Tarquins introduced into Rome the Etruscan yearly nailing.[62] It was the Roman belief that, by driving a nail into the temple of Janus, the Dictator stayed pestilence.[63] In Rome, a nail was driven into the spot when the man struck by the sacred or spirit caused disease of epilepsy fell.[64] According to Pliny scratching with a nail cured disease,[65] as the Middle-Age Scottish witch lost her power to work mischief, that is, had her familiar or slave spirit driven out of her, apparently through the top of her head, by scratching her "above the breath," that is, on her brow with an iron nail. So also the Roman broke the witch's spell by shouting "*Defige*,"[66] with the sense of "Nail her down." Nails have been found in Greek tombs, apparently to keep vampires from the dead.[67] The virtue of a nail was increased if it was taken from a shipwrecked vessel or from a cross where some one had hung, apparently with the sense that the spirit of the shipwrecked or of the crucified had gone into the nail and added to its virtue.[68] So Lucian (A. D. 150) makes one of his characters, Querates, boast that he is so accustomed to meet thousands of devils ranging about that he had to come to take no notice of them, more especially since one Abraham had given him a ring made out of the nails of a cross and taught him the charm made out of many names.[69] In Germany, gouty people wear on the ring finger of the right hand an iron ring made of nails on which people have hanged themselves.[70] In Middle-Age Europe, women wore nails from horse-shoes as love charms.[71] In eighteenth century France, nails were driven into walls to cure toothache.[72] In North-East Scotland, an iron nail is carried to throw at a cat,[73] and after a death a nail or a knitting needle is stuck into all the meal, butter, cheese, flesh and whisky that are in the house, to prevent Death passing into them.[74] The well-known nail-embossed and pence-plated tree-trunk in the Cathedral Square at Vienna, the prison or scape of the sickness and ill-luck of generations,[75] has its fellow in the oak at Loch Maree in North-West Scotland, into whose trunk are driven nails, holdfast buttons, holdfast buckles, pennies, and half-pennies, some fresh, some deep embedded in the trunk.[76] Among the Tibetans, a talisman, consisting of a demon head with two side and one under triangle, is known as *phurbon* or the nail. If a demon has got into a house the owner turns the nail point from side to side and passes through all the rooms to drive out the visitor.[77]

Key. — Another combination of the virtue of iron with the virtue of a tool is the key. Among Bengal Hindus, mourners wear iron or iron keys.[78] In Russia, a key is held in the hand to stop bleeding,[79] and in Scotland and Staffordshire, a key laid on the neck or put down the back stops bleeding at the nose.[80] In Scotland, in the seventeenth century, secrets were brought to light by turning a key.[81] In 1701, in Scotland, Margaret Sanders was accused of laying a key under a sick man's pillow to cure him.[82] The Roman and the Norseman bride was

---

[59] *Op. cit.* [60] *Thânâ Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. Part I.

[61] Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 453. [62] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 453.

[63] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 329. [64] Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 453.

[65] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 329. [66] *Op. cit.* p. 329. [67] *Op. cit.* p. 329.

[68] Compare *op. cit.* p. 329. [69] King's *Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Mediæval*, p. 242.

[70] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1169. [71] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 36.

[72] Dalyell's *Witchcraft*, p. 134. [73] *Folk-Lore of North-East Scotland*, p. 124.

[74] Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 176.

[75] Compare Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 21. The Stockam Eisen in Vienna, the sacred tree into which every apprentice drove a nail for luck before he started on his year of wandering.

[76] Mitchell's *Past in the Present*, p. 269. [77] Schlagintweit's Buddhism in Tibet, 258-9.

[78] Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 176. [79] Moncure Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 102.

[80] Black's *Folk Medicine*, p. 183; *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, Vol. VII. p. 91.

[81] Sharpe's *Witchcraft in Scotland*, p. 217. [82] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 414.

presented with keys at the wedding.[83] In A. D. 600 Gregory the Great sent to Childebert, king of the Franks, a golden key to be worn round the king's neck to guard him from evil.[84] Its guardian power was the probable root-reason why the key was chosen to adorn the gods Mithrâs[85] and Janus, the goddesses Cybele[86] and Ceres, the Jewish high priest,[87] and the Christian Pope. Its power of shutting and opening continues the key as a symbol of authority after the belief in its guardian virtue has passed. The same double power makes the key an emblem of learning and eloquence in Asiatic literature, and of silence among freemasons.[88]

Horse-shoe. — The piece of iron, the belief in whose guardian virtue is strongest and widest spread, is the horse-shoe. The horse-shoe, to the virtue of iron and of a lucky shape, adds the close association with a guardian part of a guardian animal. The luckiness of the horse-shoe form, as shewn in its popularity in Buddhist buildings and in rude stone monuments at Stonehenge and Avebury,[89] probably is partly owing to its adoption among phallic shapes.[90] That the hoof is in itself a scarer is shewn by the practice of burning hoof-parings to raise people out of swoons and by the belief in West Kent that ague is cured by drinking the dissolved inside of of a horse's hoof.[91] In the Indian Muḥarram, or Musalmân Carnival, one of the chief performers is the half-dazed man who runs carrying Lord Horse-shoe or Na'l-Sâḥib, who, for several days before, has been worshipped with lights and incense.[92] Aubrey, in 1680, notices the London practice of nailing horse-shoes to the threshold.[93] In 1800, Scottish cows, suffering from the sudden cramp known as elf-shot, were cured by passing a horse-shoe thrice under the stomach and over the back.[94] The belief is common to sailors in Scotland, in the west of England, in Roumania, in North Germany, and in America, that a horse-shoe, or even a nail driven into the deck, keeps off lightning.[95] In 1820, English sailors insisted that a horse-shoe should be nailed to the mainmast to keep off the evil one.[96] So also, in England, about the same time, if milk would not churn, country wenches dropped into the milk a heated horse-shoe to destroy the charm.[97] In Ireland, a horse-shoe ought to be nailed over the stable door to keep out the good people, that is, the faeries; otherwise your horses will be faery-ridden.[98] In Suffolk and Worcester, the practice remains of fastening a horse-shoe over a door to keep out a witch, or to a bedstead to keep off evil spirits.[99] An ass's shoe used in England (1770) to have the same restraining power over witches as a horse-shoe.[100] In Scotland, the shoes were twisted off an ass's feet before she foaled,[1] perhaps from the fear that the scaring power of the shoes would prevent the spirit coming into the unborn foal.

This introduces a curious point with regard to iron, namely, that its power is so great that, besides evil spirits, it scares spirits and influences that are harmless or even guardian. The Gold Coast Negroes remove all metal from their bodies when they go to consult their guardian.[2] No iron may touch the body of the king of Corea.[3] When iron was brought into the grove of the Bona Dea or Ops near Rome, the Fratres Arvales had to offer a sacrifice.[4] So iron tools are unsafe apparently because they are apt to scare the guardian influence. Medea cut herbs with a brass hook, and the Druids severed the mistletoe with a golden knife.[5] The Jews cut the balsam tree with a stone: the tree quaked as with fear if an iron knife was brought.[6] The Jewish circumcision knife was of stone, and the Nazarenes,

[83] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 899.
[84] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, Article "Eucolpion." [85] King's *Gnostics*, p. 63.
[86] Hislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 302. [87] Moncure Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 103.
[88] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. VII. p. 409; Greenland's *Masonic Lectures*, p. 74.
[89] Reginald Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 573.
[90] Inman's *Early Faiths*, Vol. I. p. 114. [91] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. I. p. 287.
[92] Compare Nelson's *Glossary*, "Nal-Saheb." [93] Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 27.
[94] Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 162. [95] Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 462. [96] *Op. cit.* p. 462.
[97] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 219. [98] *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 102.
[99] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," pp. 125, 134; *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. I. p. 24; *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 62. [100] Moore's *Oriental Fragments*, p. 455. [1] Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 161.
[2] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 220. [3] Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 172.
[4] Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 200; Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*, Vol. II. p. 199.
[5] Compare Evelyn's *Silva*, Vol. I. p. 10. [6] Tacitus quoted in Whitstone's *Josephus*, p. 654.

who were set apart as spirit-homes, would not let iron come near them.[7] The Roman Sabine priest was shaved by bronze, not by iron.[8] Among the Germans and Scottish, the need fire makers were careful to have no iron with them.[9] The hammer that made the *clavie* or fire-wheel of North-East Scotland must be of stone. The Code of Changêz Khân (A. D. 1250) made it penal to touch fire with a knife.[10] In China and in the Malay Peninsula, no iron tools, leather, or umbrellas may be brought into a mine for fear of annoying the spirits.[11] At Christmas time the smiths in the Isle of Man will not light a fire to temper iron.[12] In Durham (1876), the first cake taken from the oven must be broken not cut.[13] In Kent (1886), no hot-cross bun may be touched with a knife.[14] The gift of a knife is unlucky in Scotland, lest it may cut friendship. A gift of needles according to a Venetian proverb loses friendship, unless the giver and taker each pricks the other's finger.[15] So the reason given for the Mongol rule against touching fire with a knife or an axe was the fear that the fire might be beheaded,[16] and the Germans say: — "Don't set a knife edge up. It will cut the face of God and the Angels."[17] All of these are meaning-raising attempts to explain the strange early experience that the scaring power of iron is so great that it scares even the guardian. Two other examples of the **guardian-scaring power of iron** may be cited — in house or temple building and in Christian martyrdoms. The Râjâ of Vijâyanagar in South-East India would not allow iron to be used in any building. The use of iron brought small-pox and epidemics,[18] that is, the iron scared the guardian and evil influences were unchecked. So Moses, when he built the altar, suffered no metal tools to pass on it as iron polluted the altar,[19] apparently because the metal drove away the guardian and evil influences came in and defiled the altar. So when Solomon built the temple (B. C. 1001) no sound of iron was heard. When Judas Macabæus (B. C. 260) renewed the temple he built the altar of stones untouched by iron tools,[20] and again when (B. C. 30) Herod built a new temple, no iron tools touched the altar stones.[21] This Jewish belief in the guardian-scaring power of iron seems to explain how certain of the early Christian martrys, whom neither fire, water nor wild beasts could harm, were in the end slain by the sword. So St. Agnes was saved from death by burning in oil, only to die by the sword;[22] at Brescia, Sts. Faustino and Gionita (A. D. 119) were spared by beasts only to be beheaded;[23] St. Christina (A. D. 295), after escaping many forms of death, was shot by arrows;[24] St. Januarius, the patron saint of Naples, after being saved from wild beasts and fire, was beheaded;[25] St. Katharine survived the breaking on the wheel and Sts. Cyprian and Justina of Antioch (A. D. 304) the caldron of boiling pitch only to be slain by the sword.[26]

Gold. — The virtue of gold as a scarer and healer is little less important than the virtue of iron. According to Manu, before its navel cord is cut, the Hindu male infant should be fed with honey and butter from a golden spoon.[27] The Badagas, or husbandmen of the Nilgiri hills, place gold in the corpse's mouth.[28] They say the gold is to pay the heavenly gate-keeper, but the root-aim is either to keep the spirit of the dead from going out or to prevent outside spirits from coming in. The Ashantis of West Africa scare evil spirits by throwing gold dust and ground food into the air.[29] The Chibchâs of Central Africa hang gold plates at the entrance to their palaces.[30] The Finns placed gold, silver and precious stones near their idol

7 *Reville Les Religions des Peuples Non Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 189.
8 Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 172.
9 Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 220.
10 Howorth's *Changiz Khân*, p. 157; Howorth's *Mongols*, Vol. I. p. 111.
11 *Straits Journal*, June 1892, p. 10.
12 *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. X. p. 23.
13 *Op. cit.* Vol. VI. p. 397.
14 MS. Note of 27th April 1886.
15 *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. VIII. p. 325.
16 Howorth's *Changiz Khân*, p. 157.
17 Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 177.
18 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 174.
19 Compare *Exodus*, xx.
20 Josephus' *Antiquities*, Book xii. Chap. 7.
21 Smith's *Antiquities of the Bible*, Vol. I. p. 54.
22 Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. III. p. 603.
23 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 662.
24 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 603.
25 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 712.
26 Wagner's *Manners*, pp. 180, 189.
27 Burnell and Hopkins' *Ordinances of Manu*, p. 20.
28 Reche's *Primitive Folk-Lore*, p. 206.
29 *Reville Les Religions des Peuples Non Civilisés*, p. 76.
30 *Descriptive Sociology*, Book ii. Chap. 70.

Youmala.[31] The people of Peru buried gold in front of a tree which gave oracles.[32] In Egypt, on the seventh day after a birth, Muslim women place a handkerchief and a gold coin near the child.[33] The dishes are decked with gold-leaf at a Japan feast. On high days, the bills, legs and claws of the birds served are gilt.[34] A seven-branched golden candlestick stood in Moses' tabernacle,[35] and golden lamps hang in Christian Churches.[36] Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 200) notes that a gold ring marked with letters cured pain in the side.[37] That the Venetian practice of throwing a ring into the sea was not to wed the sea, but to scare storms, is shewn by the Provence practice of throwing a gold ring into the water and repeating verses to charm the water king.[38] In touching for the king's evil the English kings put a gold piece tied with a ribbon round the child's neck. In some cases the disease returned if the gold piece was lost.[39] In Northampton, a gold coin used to be put outside of the door on New Year's eve, and be taken in when the bells began to ring.[40] The sense seems to be the gold kept off evil intruders till the clash of the bells scared them. Potable gold was the famous Paracelsus' (A. D. 1500) elixir of life.[41] Gold in physic says the poet Chaucer (A. D. 1400) is a cordial.[42] Fine gold and some pearls were put into an old English stew taken to cure consumption.[43] Both in England and in Ireland, to rub the eye thrice with a wedding ring cured the inflammation of the eyelid known as a stye in the eye.[44]

Silver and Copper. — Of the healing power of silver the practice may be noted of the use in Worcestershire of a sacrament shilling made into a ring to keep away evil spirits and cure fits. In 1850, almost every man in Hartlepool, who was subject to fits, wore a sacrament ring.[45] In the North-West Provinces of India, the sick are cured by passing copper coins over their heads and giving the coins to a Brâhmaṇ.[46] In Gujarât, copper toe rings cure kidney disease and an iron anklet keeps off guinea worm.[47] In 1640, in England, metal seals were found sewn into the clothes of old soldiers to keep off wounds.[48]

Mirror. — The people of the Andaman Islands regard their reflections as their souls.[49] The Tulas will not look into a dark pool because a beast lives in the pool and takes away their reflections.[50] As the home of reflections or shadows the mirror is a great spirit haunt. In Gujarât, the ill-luck of an unlucky day may be avoided by looking into a mirror or by eating grains of rice or barley.[51] The sense seems to be that some of the spirits, whose uncontrolled activity makes the day unlucky, go into the person, and he is freed from them either by eating rice or barley which scares the spirits, or by looking into a mirror into which the spirits pass. The polished bronze mirrors for which Etruria was famous (B. C. 600) were laid in graves, either to house the spirit of the dead should it leave the corpse, or to prevent vampire or other grave spirits passing into the body.[52] In Anjâr, in Kachh, in a temple of Mother Bahuchara, the object of worship is a mirror into which the pious visitor looks and gains his wish.[53] The sense is that the evil spirit or bad luck in the looker passes into the mirror and is imprisoned in it. The Sati, whom in A. D. 1623 the traveller De la Valle saw on her way to the pyre in Ikeri in Kânara, carried a mirror in one hand and a lemon in the other.[54] She kept looking into the mirror. As she was in a position of high honour spirits crowded to enter into her. The lemon was to keep off the spirits. The constant looking into the mirror was to pass into the

[31] *Reville Les Religions des Peuples non Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 217.
[32] *Descriptive Sociology*, Book ii. Chap. 26.
[33] *Arab Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 188
[34] *Japanese Manners*, p. 186.
[35] Josephus' *Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 6.
[36] Middleton's *Conformity between Popery and Paganism*, p. 145.
[37] Black's *Folk Medicine*, p. 135.
[38] Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 188.
[39] Pettigrew's *Superstitions*, p. 144.
[40] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. V. p. 6.
[41] Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, p. 110.
[42] Pettigrew's *Superstitions*, p. 71.
[43] Black's *Folk Medicine*, p. 73.
[44] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. II. p. 184; Black's *Folk Medicine*, p. 173; *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. I. p. 45: Vol. IV. p. 105.
[45] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 134.
[46] *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 134.
[47] The late Mr. Vaikuntram's MS. Notes.
[48] Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 76.
[49] Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 145.
[50] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 145.
[51] The late Mr. Vaikuntrâm's MS. Notes.
[52] Manuscript note in Bologna Museum, 1886; *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, Article "Etruria."
[53] Burgess' *Kachh and Kathiawar*, p. 211.
[54] The Hakluyt Edition, Vol. II. p. 266.

mirror any evil spirit which might lodge in her. Another Sati is described as walking with a cocoanut in her right hand and a knife and mirror in her left.[55] The object in this case is the same as in the last. Among American Indians, during the Elk Mysteries, the performers wore pieces of mirror.[56] In the Eleusian mysteries and in processions in honour of Bacchus a mirror was carried.[57] A mirror is considered an emblem of the soul in Japan and a deity in the *Arabian Nights*.[58] Many English regard a mirror with reverence. The breaking of a mirror is unlucky.[59] In Spain, fragments of mirror were formerly worn to keep off evil spirits.[60] The Croatian peasant, doubtless originally with the same object, wears little mirrors fastened to her neck.[61] The use of the mirror necklace, like the use of the early skull or later precious stone necklace, is to house or scare evil influences. According to an English saying no child should be allowed to look into a mirror till he is a year old,[62] since the life or soul of the child is not yet firmly fixed in the child, and might pass from the child's body into the mirror. Similarly, mirrors in a sick room should be covered, since in sickness the soul is specially apt to leave the body.[63] And a mirror should be covered in a room where a corpse is lying, lest the dead should pass into the mirror and haunt the house.[64] For seven days, after a Jewish funeral, all mirrors are covered.[65] That the object is to prevent the dead haunting the mirror is in agreement with the Jewish rule against women and priests attending funerals.

Oil. — Is a medicine. Oil heals wounds; and, rubbed over the body, relieves cramps, seizures, and weariness. Oil is also both food and drink: it is a giver of light and a giver of heat. For all these reasons few spirit-scarers are either so powerful or so popular as oil.

The healing virtue of oil is recognised by Hindu physicians, who hold that anointing the head, ears and feet prevents cramp and headache, and increases happiness, sleep, life, strength and good fortune.[66] Sesamum seed and sesamum oil are a specific for keeping off evil spirits.[67] In Western India, before their wedding, the Hindu bride and bridegroom are generally rubbed with oil and turmeric. Among the Dekhan Chitpâvans, if a woman suffers greatly in child-birth, oil, in which *durva* or bent grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) has been dipped and over which charms have been said, is given her to drink and is rubbed over her body.[68] The Chitpâvan boy, before the thread-girding is rubbed with oil and sweet scents.[69] The Pâhâdîs, a class of Poona Marâṭhâ husbandmen, call the washerman to sprinkle the bridegroom with oil.[70] The Raddîs, a Telugu class in Poona, anoint the bride and bridegroom with sweet oil.[71] The Bârîs, a class of Poona husbandmen, on the tenth day after a death, dip a flower in clarified butter and draw it from the shoulder to the elbow of the men who carried the bier. They call this ceremony, *khândê utarnê*, or shoulder-lessening, that is, apparently, the removal of the uncleanliness, that is, of the unclean spirit which entered into the bearers' shoulders when they were carrying the bier.[72] The Kirâds, a middle class Upper Indian caste in Poona, at their marriages, anoint the bride and bridegroom from head to foot.[73] Among the Uchliâs or pick-pockets of Poona, for five days after child-birth, the midwife rubs the mother and child with turmeric, oil and cocoa kernel.[74] Among Kôṅkan Marâṭhâs the opening on the crown of the head of a new-born babe is kept soaked with oil till the covering hardens.[75] Shôlâpur Kômtîs rub the corpse's head with butter, and Shôlâpur Mudliârs anoint the dead body.[76] Among Bîjâpur Bêdars the new-born child is rubbed with oil for five days after birth.[77] When a Pârsî

55 *Percy Anecdotes*, Vol. IV. p. 393.
56 Emerson's *Masks, Heads and Faces*, p. 280.
57 De la Valle's *Travels*, Hakluyt Edition, Vol. II. p. 266, n. 1.
58 *Op. cit.*
59 *Op. cit.*; Wagner's *Manners*, p. 86.
60 Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 149.
61 *Unknown Hungary*, Vol. I. p. 145.
62 *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 48.
63 Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 147.
64 *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 73.
65 Wagner's *Manners*, pp. 122, 123.
66 Wise's *Hindu Medicine*, p. 93.
67 Dubois, Vol. I. p. 204.
68 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 112.
69 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 117.
70 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 312.
71 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 405.
72 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 283.
73 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 269.
74 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 470.
75 Information from the peon Bâbâjî.
76 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XX. pp. 47, 72.
77 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 94.

child is five months old, children are called and feasted, and have their heads rubbed with jessamine oil. The Dhârwâṛ Mâdhava Brâhmaṇs anoint their bodies on New Year's Day.[78] Among the Khândêsh Bhîls, and also among the Bhôîs or fishermen of Poona, on the third day after a death, one of the women of the mourning household rubs the shoulders of the pall-bearers with oil, milk and cowdung.[79] Among Gujarât Brâhmaṇs and Vânîs, mourners are anointed on the seventh day after a death. And a week later, from the house of mourning, oil is sent to relations, who use no oil till the mourners' oil is received. Anong the Kurs or Muâsîs of Western Bengal, the exorcist drives out spirits by gently anointing the patient with butter.[80] In Ceylon, a possessed man is cured by having his hair knotted and cocoanut oil smeared over his head, brow, temples, breast and nails.[81] In Gujarât, when an upper class Hindu child has small-pox, the mother does not dress or oil her hair. The reason seems to be that Sayid Kâkâ, by whom the child is possessed, is mainly a fiend whom the scent of oil will annoy and enrage. The reason why a Brâhmaṇ may not look at his wife when she is oiling her hair is perhaps the risk that the evil spirit scared by the oil may go into the looker.[82] So, to prevent spirits entering by their newly washed hair, Brâhmaṇ women oil their hair before washing it in water. Among the ingredients in Herrick's charm-song to affright and drive away the evil sprite are salt, sacred spittle and a little oil. The Oṛâoṅs and the Hôs and Mundâs of South-West Bengal anoint the dead.[83] The Moria Gonds anoint the bride and bridegroom.[84] At an Indian Musalmân wedding, oil jars are passed over the heads of the bride and bridegroom, and an arrow is dipped in oil and with its point the bride's knees, shoulders, temples, hair and brow are anointed.[85] Before a caste feast, the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât, dip their right finger-tips in oil and mark their brows. At Hindu visits sweet-scented oil or *'atar* is rubbed on the face and clothes of the parting guest.[86] In Maḷabâr (A. D. 1508), warm oil applied three times a day cured wounds.[87] Oil is poured by Hindus over Hanumân or Mâruti, over Sani or Saturn, and over the two Nodes, Kêtu and Rahu. Oil mixed with red lead is still more widely used in marking worshipful stones and images. On high festivals, when upper class Hindus apply scented oils to their own heads, they also pour some of the same oil over the heads of their household gods.[88] In the crowning of 'Sivâjî (A. D. 1674) the first of the sacred sprinklings or *abhiśêk* was the dropping through a dish drilled with holes of clarified butter over the seated Râjâ.[89] The Red Indians bathe and anoint themselves with cedar oil before praying to the Sun.[89a]

That its light-giving quality is one element in the worshipfulness of oil appears from the address in the Hindu midday *sandhya* or prayer to butter :—"You are the light, by you everything burns."[90] The Babylonian Beel-samen was the God of Oil. The body of the Babylonian Belus was kept floating in oil.[91] According to the ancient Persians the departed in heaven live on oil.[92] The ancient Ethiopians delighted in anointing the head, so that the oil ran down and made their shoulders shine.[93] The ancient Egyptians anointed guests, mummies, and the statues of the gods. The anointing was one of the chief ceremonies at the king's crowning.[94] At Egyptian parties, every guest's head-dress was bound with a chaplet of flowers, and ointment was put on the top of the wig as if it had been hair.[95] The Jews anointed the table and vessels the candlesticks, the altar of incense, and the altar of burnt offerings with sacred ointment.[96] They also anointed their hair and beards, and on festive days they anointed their bodies, especially the head and feet. Further, they anointed their dying, their dead, their kings, their high

[78] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 69.
[79] *Op. cit.* Vol. XII. p. 92.
[80] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 238.
[81] *Journal Asiatic Society*, Ceylon, 1865, p. 49.
[82] *Dâbistân*, II.
[83] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 202, 261.
[84] Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 23.
[85] Herklot's *Qânuni Islâm*, p. 123.
[86] Moore's *Fragments*, p. 149.
[87] *Commentaries of Albuquerque*, Vol. II. p. 79.
[88] Note from R. S. Gupte.
[89] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI. p. 370.
[89a] Emerson's Masks, Heads and Faces, 38.
[90] Dubois, Vol. I. p. 366.
[91] Hislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 241.
[92] West's *Pahlavi Texts*, p. 83; *Dabistân*, Vol. I. p. 290.
[93] Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, Vol. III. p. 380.
[94] Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, Second Series, Vol. II. pp. 279, 280, 282.
[95] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 356.
[96] *Exodus*, xxx. 22-29; Josephus' *Antiquities*, Vol. III. 9.

priests, and their guests.[97] Through the ceremonial anointing the guardian Jah or Jehovah passed into the Hebrew king. Even at his own request it was sacrilege to kill Saul.[98] Jacob oiled the holy dream-pillar, and the Jews brought oil as a sin-offering.[99] At Delphi, the stone which Chronos swallowed instead of Zeus, was anointed daily with oil.[100] About 1820, the Antiquarian Museum at Newcastle received the Irish Stone, an oiled and shining stone that kept away vermin.[1] The early Christians, when a new church was dedicated, anointed the altar.[2] Formerly, in England, the gods were anointed as a reward. If a straw figure brought good luck it was anointed: if bad, it was knocked to pieces.[3] In Scotland, to prevent cattle being bewitched, some drops of an Easter candle were dropped on their heads.[4] In North Africa, when overfatigued with desert travelling, the rubbing of a little oil or fat on the back, loins and neck, is the greatest comfort.[5] In seventeenth century Scotland, oil was one of the most widely used remedies.[6] At the close of the mysteries of Adonis the priest anointed the mouths of the initiated.[7] The ancient Negroes of the Upper Nile (B. C. 1500) worked grease and oil into their hair.[8] The people of Dahomey please the goddess Legba by unctions of palm oil.[9] Tityan, the guardian badge of the Siberian Ostjak, has its lips smeared with train oil or blood.[10] The Western Australians cover themselves with grease and ochre to keep off flies.[11] The Newfoundland Indians (1811) had their faces lacquered with oil and red ochre or red earth.[12] The Melanesian Mincopies rub themselves with turtle oil to keep off insects.[13] The South Africans are fond of rubbing the body with oil and butter.[14] In Morocco, boiling oil is used to stop bleeding,[15] and olive oil is considered a cure for typhus fever.[16] In Ceylon, an order in Vishṇu's name to bind the demon Rîri is breathed over oil. The charmed oil is sprinkled over the sick, and he is at once well. In Ceylon, headaches are cured by stirring with iron a mixture of cocoanut, ginjelly, *cohomba*, *mî*, and castor oil, and muttering a charm.[17] The Zulu medium brings on a trance by fasting, inhaling the smoke of herbs and drinking strange oils.[18] The Fuegians of South America cure diseases by rubbing the patient with oil.[19] The Hottentot going to fight a lion is oiled and sprinkled with sweet smelling *buchu* to encourage him.[20] This Hottentot oiling is perhaps with the object of making the champion wound proof, since, among the Hindu Śâktis, a man becomes wound proof, if, while muttering a charm, he smears a weapon with resin, marking nut, and cletoria oil.[21]

The freemasons have adopted the Hebrew saying: "Wine gladdens the heart, oil makes the face to shine, bread strengthens the heart, and scares evil spirits."[22] With this view of oil as a cheerer and gladdener compare Spencer's description of October[23]:—

"His head was full of joyous oil whose gentle gust
Made him so frolic and so full of lust."

---

97 *Exodus*, xxx.; Dubois, Vol. I. p. 381; Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I. p. 72: Vol. II. p. 596. Compare (Josephus' *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 377): "Samuel anointed David and whispered to him that God had made him king." Conway (*Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. II. p. 223) says the Jews had an extreme unction. Adam, dying, asked Seth to bring the oil of mercy from Paradise.

98 Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II. p. 18.

99 Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 384; Josephus' *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 219.

100 Pausanias in Lang's *Customs and Myth*, 223, Notes and p. 53; Hislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 437.

1 *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 41.

2 Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 429.

3 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 63.

4 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 54.

5 Denham and Clapperton's *Africa*, Vol. I, p. 167.

6 Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions*, pp. 115, 126, 153.

7 Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 9.

8 Eber's *Uarda*, Vol. I. p. 178.

9 Burton's *Mission to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 83.

10 Baring Gould's *Strange Survivals*, p. 145.

11 *Journal Anthrop. Institute*, Vol. V. p. 317; Featherman's *Social History of Mankind*, Vol. II. p. 122.

12 Barron's *Voyages into the Polar Regions*, p. 20.

13 Featherman's *Social History of Mankind*, Vol. II. p. 229.

14 Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 272; Harris' *South Africa*, p. 55.

15 Rohlf's *Morocco*, p. 91.

16 *Op. cit.* p. 84.

17 *Journal Asiatic Society*, Ceylon, 1835, pp. 64, 65.

18 *Ency. Brit.* Ninth Edition, "Apparitions."

19 *Descriptive Sociology*, 3, Table I.

20 Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 71.

21 K. Raghunatji's *Patânê Prabhus*.

22 Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 63.

23 *Fairie Queen*, Vol. VII. p. 739.

And Herrick —

"When the rose reigns and locks with ointments shine,
Let rigid Cato read these lines of mine."[24]

Vitizilonitti, king of Mexico, was anointed with the same divine ointment as the statues of the gods.[25] The Greeks offered oil to Pluto instead of wine.[26] In consecrating statues, the Greeks anointed them.[27] The Greeks made great use of oil as a medicine. Oiling after a hot bath prevented a chill.[28] Rubbing and oiling was the basis of the School of Physic which was founded by Prodicus.[29] Oiling was a remedy for strains, swellings and women's diseases.[30] The Greeks bathed and anointed before a meal and after a long journey.[31] In their games the Greeks had their joints rubbed, fomented and suppled with oil, whereby all strains were prevented.[32] Greek feasters oiled the breast, as the heart, like the brain, was refreshed by oil.[33] Greek drinkers anointed their heads: oil kept the brain cool and prevented fever.[34] When the Roman bride entered the bridegroom's house, she struck the door cheek with swine's grease.[35] The ancient Greeks had probably a similar practice, since, in modern Greece, the bridegroom's door is anointed with swine and wolf's fat.[36] Both the Romans and Greeks anointed their dead. And the Greeks washed the bones of the dead and anointed them with oil.[37]

Even more than Jews, Greeks or Egyptians, the early Christians gave oil the position of a holy and miraculous healer. The use of oil as a miraculous healer had the support both of the example and of the direction of the Apostles.[38] As late as A.D. 742, Pope Boniface advised his people to keep off fevers and other diseases, not by binding charms, but by unction.[39] Besides by the example of the Apostles, the early Christians, as worshippers of the Anointed, naturally believed in the special sanctity of oil. The sanctity of the Chrism, or holy unguent of oil and myrrh, was increased by the sameness of its monogram ☧, that is the Greek Ch and R, with the monogram of the name Christ, the famous finial added to the Roman standard about A. D. 320 by Constantine the Great.[40] The rapture of Christian enthusiasm is described as an unction. The face of the martyr shone as with oil.[41] This general worship of oil gave rise to several varieties of sacred unguent. At first the Oil of the Cross was supposed to be oil from a vessel that had lain on the cross. Later (A. D. 679) Cross Oil was held to be a special oil which, like resin, oozed from the wood of the cross. This Cross Oil had notable power over evil spirits. It cured the sick, it scared all the evil spirits from a devil-haunted hill, it prevented miscarriage, it healed a demoniac. These miraculous powers were (A. D. 641) equally inherent in oil set in vessels in the places hallowed by the birth, death, burial and resurrection of the Anointed. Oil taken from lamps that burned in holy places was also healing. The martyrs yielded healing oil from their relics, their tombs, their images, and the lamps at their shrines. The spirit power of the oil from the seat where St. Peter first sat was famous.[42] In A. D. 423, an evil spirit was prevented shooting Theoderet of Cyprus because he saw that the Lamb was guarded by bands of martyrs. These martyr bands were rows of vessels containing martyrs' oil.[43] Among its other miraculous powers, sacred oil had apparently the virtue of preventing excess in drinking causing drunkenness.[44] Oil in a lamp at the tomb of Nicetius in Lyons restored sight and withered limbs, and drove out devils: oil burnt at St. Servius' tomb cured epilepsy: St. Genevieve's oil cured blindness. According to St. Chrysostom (A. D. 398) oil

[24] Horne's *Hesperides*, p. 3.
[25] Jones' *Crowns*, p. 534; *Descriptive Sociology*, "Mexicans."
[26] Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 251.
[27] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 232: Vol. II. p. 213.
[28] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 368.
[29] Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxix. Chap. 1.
[30] *Op. cit.* Book xviii. Chap. 4.
[31] Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. pp. 364-366.
[32] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 499. The refining Ruskin (Queen of the Air, 51) says: The olive has a triple significance in symbolism from the use of oil in anointing, in strife, and in light. The prize of the Panathenaic games is a vial of oil.
[33] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 384.
[34] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 381.
[35] Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chap. 9.
[36] Story's *Castle of Saint Angelo*, p. 232.
[37] Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 183.
[38] *St. Mark's Gospel*, vi. 13; *The Epistle of St. James*, v. 14.
[39] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 992.
[40] Compare Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I. p. 671.
[41] Eusebius in Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 1214.
[42] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 611, 1455.
[43] *Op. cit.* p. 1454.
[44] *Op. cit.* p. 1455.

from church lamps dispelled diseases. Church lamp oil healed monks and laymen harassed with evil spirits.[45]

It was natural that the Church, the object of whose rites and ritual was to scare evil, should enlist into its service so powerful an ally as oil. To the inherent virtue of oil the Oil of Chrism had the added virtue of balsam and of being breathed upon by the Bishop, signed with the cross, and blessed.[46] Before the days of infant Baptism the first Christian rites administered were to the catechumens in preparation for Baptism. The object of the anointing of the catechumen is clearly stated to be to drive out of him the in-dwelling spirit of evil who is threatened, abused and ordered to depart.[47] In early Christian times, in North Africa, the oil used in Baptism, was hallowed at the altar.[48] After Baptism the baptised was anointed with myrrh or scented oil with the prayer: "Grant that this unguent may so effectually work in him that the sweet savour of Thy Anointed may abide in him fixed and firm.[49] In Baptism, besides the sealing with oil of the person baptised, in Western Europe, the water in the font was blessed or exorcised by a cross of oil poured on its surface.[50] And the Manicheans and other Persian Christians were baptised, not with water, but with oil.[51] Confirmation was specially the Sacrament of oil.[52] Candidates were also anointed with oil as a consecration for the priesthood.[53] When a heretic returned to the Christian faith, his eyes were anointed with the holy unguent called *muro*.[54] The Lyrian Christians mixed oil with the sacramental bread.[55] Holy oil, blessed by the Bishop or Deacon, was applied to the sick in the form of a cross with this prayer: "Lord of Hosts, giver of oil that cheers the face, give this oil virtue imparting health, expelling diseases, putting devils to flight, scattering evil designs."[56] Immediately before burial the early Christian body had oil poured over it, or the breast was anointed with the Chrism.[57] Even after burial precautions were taken to keep evil from trespassing in what had been the temple of the Holy Spirit. In Roman-British tombs, small bottles have been found which were formerly supposed to be tear bottles, but are now believed to have held unguents.[58] The benefits of anointing were not confined to men and women. Altars, the tombs of martyrs, the columns and balusters of churches, and church bells, were all anointed. In these anointings the oil was generally mixed with myrrh. It was applied by dipping the thumb into the ointment and with the end of the thumb marking the sign of the cross on the object to be anointed.[59]

Most Christian churches still accept and employ the virtues of oil. Every Russian church has a small bag of relics called *antimius* anointed with oil, without which no church can be used.[60] On Maundy Thursday, that is, on the day before Good Friday, the Pope blesses three oils, one to be used in Baptism, one to be used in Confirmation and in consecrating Church vessels and blessing bells, and one to be used in Extreme Unction, that is, in anointing the dying.[61] The Italians are (1874) more afraid of spilling oil than of spilling salt.[62] The Russian church has an oil specially consecrated by the Metropolitan. Persian Armenians get *meron* or holy oil from rose-leaves, praying round the leaves as they ferment in a vat. This holy oil is used at baptism, in cleaning the cross, in a house for luck, and to cleanse a dish licked by a dog.[62a] The Christian Abyssinians (A. D. 1814) have a holy oil which they call *meurion*.[63] At the churching or purification of women in the Ethiopian church, the mother and child have their brows anointed with holy oil.[64] In the Abyssinian church, the holy oil *meurion* is used in Baptism. In 1814, the traveller Salt was present when a convert from Islâm had each of his joints oiled ninety-six times.[65] Hungarian gypsies baptise their children by rubbing them with oil and holding them near a fire.[66] The Russian

[45] *Op. cit.* p. 1455. [46] *Op. cit.* pp. 355-356, 1161. [47] *Op. cit.* p. 652.
[48] *Op. cit.* pp. 255, 1425. [49] *Apostolic Constitutions* quoted in *Christian Antiquities*, p. 355.
[50] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 1456. [51] *Op. cit.* p. 1456. [52] *Op. cit.* p. 1831.
[53] *Op. cit.* p. 355. [54] *Op. cit.* p. 655. [55] *Op. cit.* p. 602. [56] *Op. cit.* p. 778.
[57] *Op. cit.* pp. 254, 607, 1433. [58] Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 303; Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 730.
[59] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 2000-2003; Potter s *Anti uities* Vol. I. p. 232.
[60] Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 85. [61] Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 412.
[62] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. I. p. 400. [62a] Bishop's *Journeys in Persia*, I. p. 277.
[63] Salt's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 391. [64] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 391.
[65] Salt's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, pp. 388, 389. [66] Victor Tissot's *Unknown Hungary*, Vol. II. p. 163.

Baptism is markedly a double anointing: the first as healing, and the second as the seal of the Spirit. In the second anointing, the priest dips a feather into a small bottle of holy oil specially prepared by the Metropolitan or Russian Pontiff, and signs the child in the form of a cross on the brow, eyes, nostrils, ears, lips, breast, hands, and feet, saying each time: "The seal of the Holy Ghost." If an adult is baptised into the Russian church, he is anointed on the forehead, over the eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands and feet or knees. At the Baptism of Clovis (A. D. 467-511) a white dove brought ointment or Chrism in a vase from heaven.[67] Among Catholic Christians, in Baptism, the child is anointed on the breasts and between the shoulders.[68]

All European kings are anointed on the coronation day. According to Mr. Jones, the anointing at the crowning of the kings seems to have been brought to Europe from Egypt. But the practice is not more in agreement with the Egyptian than with Greek and Jewish ideas.[69] Unction from the first was part of the Christian crowning. Charles the Great (A. D. 800) was anointed all over. In the Greek ritual, the king's head: according to the English practice the head, breast and arms; and, according to the French seven parts of the body are anointed.[70] At the Czar's crowning the Metropolitan dips a gold branch into the oil and anoints the emperor's forehead, eyelids, nostrils, ears, lips, and hands, both on the back and on the palm.[71] Oil from the statue of St. Cosmo in Italy cures sickness if rubbed on the diseased part.[72] In the Greek church, the sick are anointed with the *enchelaion*, or prayer-oil which seven priests have blessed.[73] In Russia, the dying are anointed with oil from a glass set on a little heap or layer of wheat grains into which seven stick ends are dipped and, where possible, each stick is applied by a different priest.[74] The Gnostics threw oil and water on the head of the dying to make them invisible to the powers of darkness.[75] The dying Roman Catholic receives Extreme Unction, the anointing with holy oil. The Greek Church goes further, sprinkling on the dead either oil from a church lamp or incense ash from a thurible.[76]

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SENDU BIR, THE WHISTLING SPIRIT OF KANGRA AND KASHMIR.

IT is a common belief among the people that Sendû Bîr[1] is generally to be seen in the form of a Gaddî (hill shepherd) with a long beard and a *kirô* (long basket for carrying milk, *ghî*, &c.) on his back. The spirit is also called **Dârîâlâ** from its beard, and **Kirôwâlâ** from the *kirô* or long basket. The main shrine of Sendû Bîr is at Basôlî, in the territory of Jammûn, and smaller ones are at Dhâr, Bhangôrî, and Gungthâ, in the Kângṛâ District. Nearly all the Hindu cultivators have a strong faith in this spirit, and at both harvests offer him *karâhî* (*i. e., halwa*, sweetmeat). Whenever a house, or a woman, or a man is declared by a *jôgî* (locally, *chêlâ* or magic-man) to be possessed by Sêndû Bîr, such person will make offerings of *karâhîs*, or a ram, or a he-goat, to the spirit in order to ward off illness.

It is believed by cultivators generally that Sêndû Bîr steals corn, milk, *ghî*, &c., from others, to give to his special worshippers. The people also fear those who are supposed to have mastered the *mantras* or charms by which Sêndû Bîr can be made to come at call, and to go by command, to oppress their enemies. In some places Sêndû Bîr is supposed to burn down the houses, etc., of those with whom he is dissatisfied. In places where houses are liable to be burnt down suddenly, the people are much afraid of *faqîrs* coming to beg in the name of Sêndû Bîr; and if they say they belong to his shrine they are plentifully rewarded. The inhabitants of Barsar will commonly state that the police station there was burned down by this spirit.

Sêndû Bîr is also supposed to cohabit with any female to whom any person who has mastered his charms may send him, the woman thinking that she is in a dream.

SIRDARU BHALYARI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[67] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 78.
[68] *The Golden Manual*, p. 671.
[69] Jones' *Crowns*, p. 288.
[70] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 463, 466, 467, 488.
[71] Jones' *Crowns*, p. 297.
[72] Moore's *Oriental Fragments* (1814), p. 146.
[73] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 628.
[74] Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 231.
[75] Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 777.
[76] *Op. cit.* p. 1433.

[1] [For a further note about Sêndû or Sindhû Bîr, see *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 261. — ED.]

ESSAYS ON KAŚMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARD.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,

by G. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 35.)

THE TRANSITIVE VERB.

Active Voice.

81. Two verbs are conjugated : —

(*a*) A Primitive Verb. سوزن *sôzun*, to send.

(*b*) A Derivative Verb, the Double Causal. مارناوُن *mâranâvun*, to get killed.

Verbal Stem or Root.[30]

سوز *sôz* مارناو *mâranâv*

82. **Infinitive,** the act of sending (or getting killed).

Masc. Nom.	سوزن	*sôzun*	مارناوُن	*mâranâvun*
Dat.	سوزنس	*sôzanas*	مارناونس	*mâranâvanas*
Abl.	سوزنۃ	*sôzana*	مارناونۃ	*mâranâvana*
Gen.	سوزنُک	*sôzanuk*	مارناونُک	*mâranâvanuk*
Fem. Nom.	سوزن	*sôzañi*	مارناون	*mâranâvañi*
Dat. Abl.	سوزنۃ	*sôzani*	مارناونۃ	*mâranâvani*

83. Participles.

Present (Active).

سوزان *sôzân*, sending. مارناوان *mâranâvân*, getting killed.

Perfect (Passive).

Sg. m.	سوزمُت	*sûz-mut*,[31] sent.	مارنووُمت	*mâranôvmut*,[31] got killed.
f.	سوزمُچ	*sûz-muts*[32]	مارناومُچ	*mâranôv-muts*[32]
Pl. m.	سوزمت	*sûz-mati*[33]	مارناومت	*mâranôvi-mati*
f.	سوزۃ مچۃ	*sôza-matsa*[34]	مارناومچۃ	*mâranâve-matsa*

Future (Active).

Sg. m.	سوزوُن	*sôzavun*, about to send.	مارناووُن	*mâranâvavun*, about to get killed.
f.	سوزون	*sôzavuñi*[35]	مارناوون	*mâranâvavuñi*[35]
Pl. m.	سوزوُن	*sôzavuñi*	مارناووُن	*mâranâvavuñi*
f.	سوزوُنۃ	*sôzavuni*[35]	مارناووُنۃ	*mâranâvavuni*[35]

[30] The order of tenses is different from that of the original. See note to § 85.

[31] [Regarding the vowel changes of the root, see § 158.]

[32] On further inquiry, I find that *muts* more nearly represents the termination of the fem. sg. than *mats* as given in § 27.

[33] [Or *sûzi-mati*.]

[34] Sometimes written, سوزمچۃ *sûzmatsa* [from کرون *karun*, etc., کرمچۃ *kare-matsa*].

[35] So also I find that *vuñi* and (pl.) *vuni* more nearly represent the pronunciation than the *vañi* and *vani* given in § 22.

84. Noun of the Agent.

Sg. m.	سوزنوول	*sôzanvôl*, a sender.	مارناونوول	*mâranâvanvôl*, one who gets (a person) killed.
f.	سوزنواجن	*sôzanvâjeñi*[36]	مارناونواجن	*mâranâvanvâjeñi*[36]
Pl. m.	سوزنوآل	*sôzanvôli*	مارناو ونوآل	*mâranâvanvôli*
f.	سوزنواجنه	*sozanvâjeni*	مارناونواجنه	*mâranâvanvâjeni*

Participle Absolute.

سوزت	*sôz-it*	مارناوت	*mâranâv-it*

85. Simple tenses.[37]

[These are (1) The Imperative (Immediate); (2) The Present, Indefinite, and Future; (3) The Aorist; (4) The Optative; and (5) The Precative. — TRANS.]

86. Imperative Mood.

Singular.

	Simple.		Respectful.		Simple.		Respectful.	
(2)	سوز	*sôz*	سوزته	*sôz-tạ*, send !	مارناو	*mâranâv*	مارناوته	*mâranav-tạ*, get killed !
(3)	سوزن	*sôzin*	سوزتن	*sôz-i-tan*	مارناون	*mâranâvin*	مارناوتن	*mâranâv-i-tan*

Plural.

(2)	سوزو	*sôziu*	سوزتو	*sôz-i-tau*	مارناوو	*mâranâviu*	مارناوتو	*mâranâv-i-tau*
(3)	سوزن	*sôzin*	سوزتن	*sôz-i-tan*	مارناون	*mâranâvin*	مارناوتن	*mâranâv-i-tan*

Indicative Mood.

87. Present Indefinite, and Future.[38]

Singular.

(1)	سوزه	*sôz-ạ*, I shall send, etc.	مارناوه	*mâranâv-ạ*, I shall get killed, etc.
(2)	سوزك	*sôz-ak*	مارناوك	*mâranâv-ak*
(3)	سوزه	*sôz-i*	مارناوه	*mâranâv-i*

Plural.

(1)	سوزو	*sôz-av*	مارناوو	*mâranâv-av*
(2)	سوزو	*soz-iu*	مارناوو	*mâranâv-iu*
(3)	سوزن	*sôz-an*	مارناون	*mâranâv-an*

[36] So also *vâjeñi* is better than the *vôjeñi* given in § 22.

[37] In the original, the author follows the order of tenses usually met with in grammars of European languages, commencing with the Present Definite, the Imperfect, Perfect, and Pluperfect, all of which are compound tenses, and then dealing with the Aorist, Future, Indicative, and with the Present and Perfect Optative. The translator has taken the liberty of following the usual Indian custom of grouping the tenses, first under the head of Simple Tenses and then under that of Compound Tenses. This has necessitated slight deviations from the language of the original.

[38] For the Personal Pronouns, see § 47. [This tense, though an old present, is mostly used in a future sense.]

88. Aorist.

This tense[39] is *Active* in form, but is treated as if it were a *Passive*. Hence the Personal Pronoun (or subject) appears in the Instrumental case, and the Object becomes Subject, while the verb remains active in form. [Regarding the changes of radical vowels and consonants in the Aorist, see §§ 158 and ff.]

The Aorist can be formed in three different manners, *viz.* :—

(*a*) With the Personal Pronoun (or noun) (which if the verb was construed actively would be the subject) in the Instrumental, and the verb with the terminations of the Aorist given in § 36, *e. g.*, مہ سوز *me sûzu*.

(*b*) With the Personal Pronoun (or noun) in the Instrumental, and again repeated as a pronominal suffix at the end of the verb[40] (see §§ 37, 47, 48, *e. g.*, مہ سوزم *me sûzu-m*.

(*c*) With the Personal Pronoun not given in the Instrumental, and only given as a suffix at the end of the verb, *e. g.*, سوزم *sûzu-m*.

89. As regards the use of these three varieties, if the instrumental case is used, and the grammatical subject is not expressed, the suffix is usually omitted (variety *a*): but if the pronoun (or noun) in the instrumental is to be supplied from an instrumental in a preceding sentence, or is to be understood from a nominative in a preceding sentence in which, owing to the use of an intransitive verb, a nominative has to be used as the subject of the verb and not an instrumental, I find that the form with the suffix is invariably used. Thus, دپن *dapun*, to speak; تم دپ *tamⁱ dopᵘ*, by him was it spoken, *i. e.*, he spoke; پادشاهن دپ *pâdishâh-an dopᵘ*, by the king it was spoken, the king spoke; but پادشاهن دپ تہ سوزن *pâdishâh-an dopᵘ ta sûzu-n*, by the king it was spoken and it-was-sent-by-him, *i. e.*, the king spoke and sent; or پادشاہ آو تہ دپن *pâdishâh âu ta dopu-n*, the king came and it-was-said-by-him, *i. e.*, the king came and said. So also تمو سوز *timau sûzᵘ*, by them was sent, they sent; but 'the king spoke and sent men' is پادشاهن دپ تہ زن سوزن *padishâh-an dopu ta zañⁱ suzi-n*, by the king it-was-spoken, and men were-sent-by-him.

An intransitive verb can also be used in this impersonal way; *e. g.*, ودن *wadun*, to weep; ود *wodᵘ*, he wept; ودن *wodu-n*, it-was-wept-by-him (Luke, xix. 41).

90. In this tense, the characteristic vowel of the feminine is *a*, *e. g.*, سوزہ *sôz-a*, and of the masculine *u* in the singular, and *i* in the plural. Sometimes, however, we find *i* [*e*] also in the feminine; *e. g.*, کرن *kare-n*, while the regular form, given in the paradigm is سوزن *sôza-n*. It appears that those verbs which change their root-vowel *a* into o, take *i* in the feminine. Thus (Mp.) رچھن *rachhun* has its 3rd pl. fem. aorist رچھن *rachi-n* [*rachhe-n*], as compared with سوزن *sôza-n*, because the former has رچھ *rochh* for its aorist, and the latter سوز *sûz*. I find all Intransitives taking *a*. So far I have not been able to lay down any better rule for distinguishing the use of these vowels. [The real termination of the fem. pl. is *e*, written *ya* in the Śâradâ character. If the *e* (*ya*) is preceded by *ts*, *tsh*, *z* or *s*, it be comes *a*. We thus get *rachhe n*, they (fem.) were protected by him, *kare-n*, they (fem.) were by made by him, but *âsa* (not *âse*), they (fem.) were, *sôza-n*, they (fem.) were sent by him.] [In the fem. sg. the

[39] [It is derived from the Sanskrit Passive participle.]

[40] Note that the 1st Plural never has a suffix.

termination *i* is not pronounced and will not be written so as to distinguish the form from the Masc. pl., in which it is pronounced. It is written *ü* in the Śâradâ character, and before terminations, as in *sûzạ-m*, *sûzạ-t*, etc., it has a very indefinite sound partaking of the nature of a short German *ü*. In such cases, therefore, it is conveniently represented by *ạ*. See § 7. Note that a final *a* always has this short sound, or something akin to it, and is hence also written *ạ*.]

91. In order to thoroughly explain the conjugation of the aorist, I also give, in § 133, the conjugation of that tense for the verb دین *diun*, to give, on account of the difficulties which it exhibits. This will also serve as an example of the conjugation of verbs like هین *heun*, to take, which take altogether different forms in the feminine; *e. g.*, هین *heun*, Aorist هیت *hiuku*, fem. هچ *hets*; تلن *tulun* to lift, Aorist, تل *tulu*, fem. تج *tij*; هکن *hekun*, to be able, aor. هیک *hiuku*, fem. هچ *hech*.

I. — Subject — a Noun Substantive.

92. [The following is the conjugation of the Aorist of a transitive verb, when the grammatical subject is a noun substantive. Thus in 'I sent the man' (*i. e.*, the man was sent by me); the grammatical subject is a noun substantive, *viz.*, 'the man.'

When the grammatical subject is a pronoun, the conjugation is complicated by the addition of pronominal suffixes of the nominative case. This conjugation is given afterwards.]

			Singular.	
			Masculine.	Feminine.
Was sent	(a)	by me	مه سوز *me sûzu*[41]	مه سوز *me sûz*[43]
		by thee	wanting	——
		by him	تمِ سوز *tạmi*[42] *sûzu*	تمِ سوز *tạmi*[42] *sûz*
		by us	اسه سوز *asi sûzu*	اسه سوز *asi sûz*
		by you	wanting	——
		by them	تمو سوز *timau sûzu*	تمو سوز *timau sûz*
	(b)	by me	مه سوزم *me sûzu-m*	مه سوزم *me sûzạ-m*
		by thee	چه سوزت *tse sûzu-t*	چه سوزت *tse sûzạ-t*
		by him	wanting	——
		by us	wanting	——
		by you	تهه سوزوه *tohi sûzu-vạ*	تهه سوزوه *tohi sûzạ-vạ*
		by them	wanting	——
	(c)	by me	سوزم *sûzu-m*	سوزم *sûzạ-m*
		by thee	سوزت *sûzu-t*	سوزت *sûzạ-t*
		by him	سوزن *sûzu-n*	سوزن *sûzạ-n*
		by us	wanting	——
		by you	سوزوه *sûzu-vạ*	سوزوه *sûzạ-vạ*
		by them	سوزك *sûzu-k*	سوزك *sûzạ-k*

[41] [This final *u* is written in the Paradigms, but is not audible in pronunciation.]

[42] By her تمه *tạmi*.

[43] [The aorist of *mârun*, to kill, sg. m. *môru* fem. *môr* (written مار *mâr*) (for مار *mâri*); pl. m. *môri*, but f. *mâre*, in which the *â* is unchanged. So from *karun*, to make, sg. m. *kor*, f. *kạr*, pl. m. *kạri*, f. *kare*. See § 90 above.]

			Plural.			
			Masculine.		Feminine.	
Were sent	(a)	by me	مہ سوز	*me sûzi*	مہ سوزہ	*me sôzą*
		by thee	wanting		——	
		by him	تم سوز	*tąmi*[143a] *sûzi*	تم سوزہ	*tąmi*[143a] *sôzą*
		by us	اسہ سوز	*asi sûzi*	اسہ سوزہ	*asi sôzą*
		by you	wanting		——	
		by them	تمو سوز	*timau sûzi*	تمو سوزہ	*timau sôzą*
	(b)	by me	مہ سوزم	*me sûzi-m*	مہ سوزم	*me sôza-m*
		by thee	چہ سوزت	*tse sûzi-t*	چہ سوزت	*sôza-t*
		by him	wanting		——	
		by us	wanting		——	
		by you	تہہ سوزوہ	*tohi sûzi-vą*	تہہ سوزوہ	*tohi sôza-vą*
		by them	——		——	
	(c)	by me	سوزم	*sûzi-m*	سوزم	*sôza-m*
		by thee	سوزت	*sûzi-t*	سوزت	*sôza-t*
		by him	سوزن	*sûzi-n*	سوزن	*sôza-n*
		by us	wanting		——	
		by you	سوزوہ	*sûzi-vą*	سوزوہ	*sôza-vą*
		by them	سوزک	*sûzi-k*	سوزک	*sôza-k*

[Note that certain verbs take *e* in the feminine plural. The causal conjugated subsequently is one of these. So also the verbs *karun*, to make (aorist *koru*), and *rachhun* to protect (aorist *rochhu*), have the fem. pl. *kare, kare-m, kare-t, kare-n, kare-vą* (not *kąri-vą*), *kare-k*, and *rachhe, rachhe-m, rachhe-t, rachhe-n, rachhe-vą*, and *rachhe-k*, respectively. See § 90 above.]

143a By her تمہ *tami*.

93. II. — Subject — a pronoun (partly with double suffixes).

I was sent

	Masculine.	Feminine.
by me ...	——	——
by thee ..	چھ سُوزُتھس بۄ *tse sûzu-tha-s bo*	چھ سُوزَتھس بۄ *tse sûzą-tha-s bo*
by him ..	(تَمِ)[44] سُوزُنس بۄ *(tąm^{i}) sûz^{u}-na-s bo*	(تَمِ)[44] سُوزَنس بۄ *(tąm^{i}) sûzą-na-s bo*
by her ...	(تمہٕ)[44] سُوزُنس بۄ *(tami) sûzu-na-s bo*	(تمہٕ)[44] سُوزَنس بۄ *(tami) sûzą-na-s bo*
by us ..	——	——
by you ...	تۄہہ سُوزُوس بۄ *tohi sûzu-va-s bo*	تۄہہ سُوزَوس بۄ *tohi sûzą-va-s bo*
by them ..	(تِمَو)[44] سُوزُھس بۄ *(timau) sûz^{u}-ha-s bo*	(تِمَو) سُوزَھس بۄ *(timau) sûzą-ha-s bo*

94. Thou wast sent

	Masculine.	Feminine.
by me ...	مہ سُوزُمَک چھ *me sûz^{u}-ma-k tsą*	مہ سُوزَمَک چھ *me sûzą-ma-k tsą.*
by thee ...	——	——
by him ...	(تَمِ) سُوزُنَک چھ *(tąm^{i})[45] sûz^{u}-na-k tsą*	(تَمِ) سُوزَنَک چھ *(tąm^{i})[45] sûzą-na-k tsą*
by her ...	(تمہٕ) سُوزُنَک چھ *(tami)[45] sûz^{u}-na-k tsą*	(تمہٕ) سُوزَنَک چھ *(tami)[45] sûzą-na-k tsą*
by us ...	اسہ سُوزُک چھ *asi sûzu-k tsą*	اسہ سُوزَک چھ *asi sûzą-k tsą*
by you ...	——	——
by them ...	(تِمَو) سوزُھَک چھ *(timau)[45] sûz^{u}-ha-k tsą*	(تِمَو) سوزَھَک چھ *(timau) sûzą-ha-k tsą*

95. He or she was sent

	Masculine.	Feminine.
by thee ...	چھ سُوزُتھن سۄ *tse sûzu-tha-n su*	چھ سُوزَتھن سۄ *tse sûzą-tha-n so*
by you ...	تۄہہ سُوزُون سۄ *tohi sûz^{u}-va-n su*	تۄہہ سُوزَون سۄ *tohi sûzą-va-n so*

[This form is only used in the second person.]

[44] تَمِ *tąm^{i}*, تمہٕ *tami*, and تِمَو *timau* are usually omitted, or, if they are retained, the instrumental suffix of the third person is omitted. Thus, کۄرُنس بۄ *koru-na-s bo*, or تَمِ کۄرُس بۄ *tąm^{i} koru-s bo*. This also applies to the following paradigms. [Remember that, once for all, the small ^{u} above the line is not pronounced, and that the ą of the feminine singular is a very short indefinite sound.]

[45] See note 44 above.

96. We were sent

	Masculine.		Feminine.	
by me ...	—		—	
by thee ...	چھ سوزِت اَسِ	*tse sûzi-t ạs^{i}*	چھ سوزَت اَسِ	*tse sôza-t*[47] *ạs^{i}*
by him ...	(تَمِ) سوزِن اَسِ	*(tạm^{i})*[46] *sûzi-n ạsi*	(تَمِ) سوزَن اَسِ	*(tạm^{i})*[46] *sôza-n*[47] *as^{i}*
by her ...	(تَمِہ) سوزِن اَسِ	*(tami)*[46] *sûzi-n asi*	(تَمِہ) سوزَن اَسِ	*(tami)*[46] *sôza-n*[47] *ạs^{i}*
by us ..	—		—	
by you ...	تُہِہ سوزِوَہ اَسِ	*tohi sûz^{i}-vạ ạs^{i}*	تُہِہ سوزوَہ اَسِ	*tohi sôza-vạ*[47] *ạs^{i}*
by them ...	(تِمَو) سوزِک اَسِ	*(timau)*[46] *sûzi-k ạs^{i}*	(تِمَو) سوزَک اَسِ	*(timau)*[46] *sôza-k*[47] *ạs^{i}*

97. You were sent

	Masculine.		Feminine.	
by me ..	مِہ سوزِمَوَہ تُہِ	*me sûz^{i}-ma-vạ toh^{i}*	مِہ سوزمَوَہ تُہِ	*me sôza-ma-vạ toh^{i}*
by thee ...	—		—	
by him ...	(تَمِ) سوزِنَوَہ تُہِ	*(tạm^{i})*[48] *sûz^{i}-na-vạ toh^{i}*	(تَمِ) سوزنَوَہ تُہِ	*(tạm^{i})*[48] *sôza-na-vạ toh^{i}*
by her ...	(تَمِہ) سوزِنَوَہ تُہِ	*(tami)*[48] *sûz^{i}-na-vạ toh^{i}*	(تَمِہ) سوزنَوَہ تُہِ	*(tami) sôza-na-vạ toh^{i}*
by us ...	اَسِہ سوزِوَہ تُہِ	*asi sûz^{i}-vạ toh^{i}*	اَسِہ سوزوَہ تُہِ	*asi sôza-vạ tohi*
by you ...	—		—	
by them ...	(تِمَو) سوزِہَوَہ تُہِ	*(timau)*[48] *sûz^{i}-ha-vạ toh^{i}*	(تِمَو) سوزہَوَہ تُہِ	*(timau) sôza-ha-vạ*[49] *toh^{i}*

98. They were sent

	Masculine.		Feminine.	
by thee ...	چھ سوزِتھَک تِم	*tse sûz^{i}-tha-k tim*	چھ سوزتھَک تِمہ	*tse sôza-tha-k timạ*
by you ...	تُہِہ سوزِوَک تِم	*tohi sûz^{i}-va-k tim*	تُہِہ سوزوَک تِمہ	*tohi sôza-va-k timạ*

[This form is only used in the second person.]

[46] See note 44 above.

[47] [From کَرُن *karun*, etc., the fem. pl. is کَرےت *kare-t* کَرےن *kare-n*, کَرےوَہ *kare-vạ*, کَرےک *kare-k*.]

[48] See note 44 above.

[49] [From کَرُن *karun*, etc., the fem. pl. is کَرےمَوَہ *kare-ma-vạ*, etc.]

99. Edgeworth, besides some certain misprints, has the following forms: I by you (fem.), *sûzivan;* thou by us, *sûzinath;* he by us, *sûzai;* you by us, *sûzinava;* they by us, *sûzai;* they (pl. fem.) by you, *sôzivan.* The *ai* is the suffix *y* (to thee), the rest I cannot understand.

100. The remarks made in § 88, regarding the omission of the instrumental personal pronouns, apply here also. The nominative personal pronouns can also be omitted; *e. g.*, in سوزتھس *sûzu-tha-s,* I was sent by thee, the pronouns are indicated by the *s* and by the *th,* respectively.

Causal Verb مارناون *mâranâvun.*

101. I. — Subject — a Noun.

			Singular.			
			Masculine.		Feminine.	
Was got killed	(a)	by me	مارنوو { مه *me*	*mâranôvu*	مارناو { Instrumental Pronouns.	*mâranôv*
		by thee	—			
		by him	تم *tami*[59]			
		by us	اسه *asi*			
		by you	—			
		by them	تمو *timau* }		}	
	(b)	by me	مه مارنووم	*me mâranôvu-m*	مه مارناوم	*me mâranôvạ-m*
		by thee	چه مارنووت	*tse mâranôvu-t*	چه مارناوت	*tse mâranôvạ-t*
		by him		—		—
		by us		—		—
		by you	تهه مارنوووه	*tohi mâranôvu-vạ*	تهه مارناووه	*tohi mâranôvạ-vạ*
		by them		—		—
	(c)	by me	مارنووم	*mâranôvu-m*	مارناوم	*mâranôvạ-m*
		by thee	مارنووت	*mâranôvu-t*	ماراناوت	*mâranôvạ-t*
		by him	مارنوون	*mâranôvu-n*	مارناون	*mâranôvạ-n*
		by us		—		—
		by you	مارنوووه	*mâranôvu-vạ*	مارناووه	*mâranôvạ-vạ*
		by them	مارنووك	*mâranôvu-k*	مارناوك	*mâranôvạ-k*

59 By her, تمه *tami.*

			Plural.			
			Masculine and Feminine.		Feminine.	
Were got killed	(a)	by me ... ... by thee ... .. by him ... ... by us ... ... by you ... .. by them	مارناوِ { Instrumental Pronouns. }	mâranôv^{i}	مارناوِه { Instrumental Pronouns. }	mâranâve
	(b)	by me	مه مارناوِم	me mâranôvi-m	مه مارناوِم	me mâranâve-m
		by thee	چهٕ مارناوِت	tse mâranôvi-t	چهٕ مارناوِت	tse mâranâve-t
		by him	——		——	
		by us	——		——	
		by you	تۄهہ مارناوِوَه	tohi mâranôv^{i}-vạ	تۄهہ مارناوِوَه	tohi mâranâve-vạ
		by them	——		——	
	(c)	by me	مارناوِم	mâranôvi-m	مارناوِم	mâranâve-m
		by thee	مارناوِت	mâranôvi-t	مارناوِت	mâranâve-t
		by him	مارناوِن	mâranôvi-n	مارناوِن	mâranâve-n
		by us	——		——	
		by you	مارناوِوَه	mâranôvi-vạ	مارناوِوَه	mâranâve-vạ
		by them	مارناوِک	mâranôvi-k	مارناوِک	mâranâve-k

II. — Subject — a Pronoun.

102. Like the Aorist of the Primitive Verb. Thus, مه مارنووُمَک چهٕ *me mâranôv^{u}-ma-k tsạ*, by me wast-got-killed-by-me-thou thou, *i. e.*, 'I got you killed.' The general remarks concerning the Aorist refer also to the Causative.

103. Pluperfect II.[51]

Subject.

		Singular.			
		Masculine.		Feminine.	
(a)	by me	مه سوزوو	*me sôzôv*	مه سوزآي	*me sôzôyi*
	by thee		—		—
	by him	تم سوزوو	*tami*[52] *sôzôv*	تم سوزآي	*tami*[52] *sôzôyi*
	by us	اسه سوزوو	*asi sôzôv*	اسه سوزآيه	*asi sôzôyi*
	by you		—		—
	by them	تمو سوزوو	*timau sôzôv*	تمو سوزآيه	*timâv sôzôyi*
(b)	by me	مه سوزوم	*me sôzô-m*	مه سوزآيم	*me sôzôya-m*
	by thee	چه سوزوت	*tse sôzô-t*	چه سوزآيت	*tse sôzôya-t*
	by him		—		—
	by us		—		—
	by you	تهه سوزووه	*tohi sôzô-vạ*	تهه سوزآوه	*tohi sôzô-vạ*
	by them		—		—
(c)	by me	سوزوم	*sôzô-m*	سوزآيم	*sôzôya-m*
	by thee	سوزوت	*sôzô-t*	سوزآيت	*sôzôya-t*
	by him	سوزون	*sôzô-n*	سوزآين	*sôzôya-n*
	by us		—		—
	by you	سوزووه	*sôzô-vạ*	سوزآيوه	*sôzôyi-vạ*
	by them	سوزوك	*sôzô-k*	سوزآيك	*sôzôya-k*

[Note. — The above is as given by the author. Wade gives for this tense, instead of *sôzôv*, *'rôv*, *mâryôv*, or *mârêyôv*, fem. *mârêy*, or *mârêyêy*; pl. masc. *mârêy*, or *mârêyêy*, feminine, *rêyi*, or *mârêyêyi*. According to the *Kâśmîraśabdâmṛita*, a native grammar, this tense is simply Indefinite Past, and its principal forms are as follows. The simple verb is *karun*, to do:—

	He was made	She was made	They (masc.) were made	They (fem.) were made
me ...	*karyô-m*	*karyêya-m*	*karyê-m*	Same as Fem. sing.
thee ...	*karyô-t*	*karyêya-t*	*karyê-t*	
him ...	*karyô-n*	*karyêya-n*	*karyê-n*	
us ...	*karyôv*	*karyêyạ*	*karyêy*	
you ...	*karyô-vạ*	*karyêya-vạ*	*karyê-vạ*	
them ...	*karyô-k*	*karyêya-k*	*karyê-k*	

[51] For Pluperfect I., see Periphrastic tenses.

[52] By her تمه *tami*.

The Pluperfect is formed by substituting *yá* for *yô*, and *êyê* for *yê* in the masculine. The Feminine is the same as above. We thus get the following forms :—

	He had been made	They (masc.) had been made
by me ..	*karyá-m*	*karêyê-m*
by thee ...	*karyá-t*	*karêyê-t*
by him ...	*káryá-n*	*karêyê-n*
by us ...	*karyáv*	*karêyéy*
by you ...	*karyá-vạ*	*karêyê-vạ*
by them ...	*karyá-k*	*karêyê-k*

So also from the Causal, *máranávyô-m*, etc.

If the stem of the tense, however, ends in *ts*, *tsh* or *z*, the *y* of *yô* and of *yá* is omitted. We thus get *sôzô-m*, not *sôzyô-m*, I sent him; *sôzá-m*, I had sent him. Moreover, in these verbs, *yêya*, *yê*, and *êyê* become *ôya*, *ô*, and *ôyé*, respectively. We thus get the following forms :—

Indefinite Past.

	He was sent	She was sent	They (masc.) were sent	They (fem.) were sent
by me ...	*sôzô-m*	*sôzôya-m*	*sôzô-m*	Same as Fem. sing.
by thee ...	*sôzô-t*	*sôzôya-t*	*sôzô-t*	
by him ...	*sôzô-n*	*sôzôya-n*	*sôzô-n*	
by us ...	*sôzôv*	*sôzôyạ*	*sozôy*	
by you ...	*sôzô-vạ*	*sôzôya-vạ*	*sôzô-vạ*	
by them ...	*sôzô-k*	*sôzôya-k*	*sôzô-k*	

Pluperfect, masculine.

	He had been sent	They had been sent
by me ...	*sôzá-m*	*sôzôyê-m*
by thee ...	*sôzá-t*	*sôzôyé-t*
by him ...	*sôzá-n*	*sôzôyé-n*
by us ...	*sôzáv*	*sôzôyéy*
by you ...	*sôzá-vạ*	*sôzôyé-vạ*
by them ..	*sôzá-k*	*sôzôyé-k*

The following verbs, however, do insert *y* in the masculine singular terminations, *kạtsun*, to be wet; *grotsun*, to be splashed out of a vessel; *tsotsun*, to be without employment; *tshotsun*, to be empty; *têzun*, to be sharp; *pazun*, to be fit; *rôtsun*, to be pleasant; *vetsun*, to contain; *brazun*, to shine; *báwazun*, to be pleasant; *letsun*, to be weak; *śrôtsun*, to be pure. These are all neuter verbs, and therefore take the terminations of neuter verbs. *Vide post.* Thus *kạtsyôs*, not *kạtsôs*, I was wet.]

104. Optative or Past Conditional.

Present.

Primitive. Sg. — *Causal.* Sg.

(1) سوزهه *sôz-ahạ*, did I send, etc. مارناوهه *mâranâv-ahạ*, did I get killed, etc.
(2) سوزهك *sôz-aha-k* مارناوهك *mâranâv-aha-k*
(3) سوزهه *sôz-ihe* [or سوزهه *sôzihạ*] مارناوهه *mâranâv-ihe* [or مارناوهه *mâranâvihạ*]

Pl. — Pl.

سوزهو *sôz-ah-au* مارناوهو *mâranâv-ah-au*
سوزهو *sôz-ih-iu* مارناوهو *mâranâv-ih-iu*
سوزهن *sôz-aha-n* مارناوهن *mâranâv-aha-n*

105. Precative.[53]

سوززه *sôz-izi*, [or سوززهه *sôzizihe*], send, I pray مارناوزه *mâranâv-izi* [or مارناوزهه *mâranâvizihe*], get (———) killed, I pray

Compound Tenses.

106. Imperative Continuative.

سوزان آس *sôz-ân âs*, etc. keep sending, etc. see آسن *âsun* مارناوان آس *mâranâv-ân âs*, etc. Continue getting(—)killed, etc.

Indicative Mood.

107. Present Definite.

سوزان چهس *sôzân chhus*, etc., I am sending, etc.
مارناوان چهس *mâranâvân chhus*, etc., I am getting(—)killed, etc.

108. Imperfect.

سوزان اوسس *sôzân ôsus*, I was sending, etc.
مارناوان اوسس *môranâvân ôsus*, I was getting(—)killed, etc.

Perfect.

109. There is no active form. The tense is hence formed by means of a passive construction, by combining the Perfect Participle Passive, with the Auxiliary Verb چهه *chha*. The Personal Pronoun (or subject) has therefore to be put in the Instrumental (§ 88), and the object stands in the nominative. Thus, 'I have sent him' is rendered by 'He has been sent by me.'

110. As in the case of the Aorist, the Perfect can be formed in three different ways:—

(*a*) With the Personal Pronoun (or noun) (which if the verb was construed actively would be the subject) in the Instrumental, and the Perfect Participle with چهه *chha* conjugated as given in § 55, and agreeing with the object (which has now become the subject) in gender, number and person; *e. g.*, مه سوزمت چهه *me sûzmut chhu*, by me it has been sent, I have sent.

[53] Not given in Mp.

(*b*) With the Personal Pronoun (or noun) in the Instrumental, as before, and again repeated as a pronominal suffix at the end of the Verb[54] (§ 48); *e. g.*, مه سوزمت چھم *me sûzmut chhu-m*, by me it-has-been-sent-by-me.

(*c*) With the Personal Pronoun not given in the Instrumental, and only given as a suffix at the end of the verb; *e. g.*, سوزمت چھم *sûzmut chhu-m*, it has-been-sent-by-me.

The different uses of these three forms are as described under the head of the Aorist (§ 89).

111. I. — Subject — a Noun.

Has been sent.

		Singular.					
		Masculine.			Feminine.		
		Kashmiri	Pronoun	Transliteration	Kashmiri	Pronoun	Transliteration
(a)	by me ..	سوزمت چھہ	مه *me*	*sûzmut chhu*	سوزمژ چھے	مه *me*	*sûzmuts chhe*
	by thee ...		wanting			——	
	by him ..		تمِ *tami*[55]			تمِ *tami*	
	by us ...		اسه *asi*			اسه *asi*	
	by you ...		wanting			——	
	by them ...		تمو *timau*			تمو *timau*	
(b)	by me ...	چھم سوزمت	مه *me*	*sûzmut chhu-m*	چھےم سوزمژ	مه *me*	*sûzmuts chhe-m*
	by thee ...	چھت	ژه *tse*	*chhu-t*	چھےت	ژه *tse*	*chhe-t*[56]
	by him ..	——	——	——	——	——	——
	by us ...	——	——	——	——	——	——
	by you ..	چھوَ	توهِ *tohi*	*chhu-vạ*	چھےوَ	توهِ *tohi*	*chhe-vạ*
	by them ...	——	——	——	——	——	——
(c)	by me ...	چھم سوزمت		*sûzmut chhu-m*	چھےم سوزمژ		*sûzmuts chhe-m*
	by thee ...	چھت		*chhu-t*	چھےت		*chhe-t*
	by him ...	چھن		*chhu-n*	چھےن		*chhe-n*
	by us ...	——		——	——		——
	by you ...	چھوَ		*chhu-vạ*	چھےوَ		*chhe-vạ*
	by them ..	چھك		*chhu-k*	چھےك		*chhe-k*

[54] But the first plural never has a suffix.

[55] By her تمِ *tami*.

[56] So Mp., but Np., ژه چھےي *tse chha-y*.

Has been sent

		Plural. Masculine.			Plural. Feminine.		
(a)	by me	سوزمت چھہ	مے *me*	*sûzmati*[56a] *chhi*	سوزمژ چھہ	مے *me*	*sôzamatsa*[57] *chhe*
	by thee		—			—	
	by him		تمِ *tami*			تمِ *tami*	
	by us		اسہ *asi*			اسہ *asi*	
	by you		—			—	
	by them		تمو *timau*			تمو *timau*	
(b)	by me	چھم سوزمت	مے *me* *sûzmati*[56a]	*chhi-m*	چھم سوزمژ	مے *me* *sôzamatsa*[57]	*chhe-m*
	by thee	چھت	ژے *tse*	*chhi-t*	چھت	ژے *tse*	*chhe-t*
	by him	—	—	—	—	—	—
	by us	—	—	—	—	—	—
	by you	چھوَ	تۄہہ *tohi*	*chhi-va*	چھوَ	تۄہہ *tohi*	*chhe-va*
	by them	—	—	—	—	—	—
(c)	by me	چھم سوزمت	*sûzmati*[56a]	*chhi-m*	چھم سوزمژ	*sôzamatsa*[57]	*chhe-m*
	by thee	چھت		*chhi-t*	چھت		*chhe-t*
	by him	چھن		*chhi-n*	چھن		*chhe-n*
	by us	—		—	—		—
	by you	چھوَ		*chhi-va*	چھوَ		*chhe-va*
	by them	چھک		*chhi-k*	چھک		*chhe-k*

II. — Subject — a Pronoun.

112. [In this case the Auxiliary, in the case of transitive verbs, does not take the terminations of the present tense, but the same suffixes as those which we find in the Aorist of a transitive verb. The original text gives incorrect paradigms for the Perfect and Pluperfect, using the forms of the Auxiliary employed with intransitive verbs. This the Author himself points out later on. In the present translation I give the correct forms of these tenses.]

[56a] Properly سوزِمتھ *sûz*^{i}*mat*^{i}.

[57] From کرُن *karun*, کرمژ *karematsa*, see § 90.

113. I have been sent

	Masculine.			Feminine.		
by me ...	—	—	bo sūzmut	—	—	bo sūzmuts
by thee ...	ژٕ چھُتھس	tse chhu-tha-s		ژٕ چھےتھس	tse chhe-th(a)-s	
by him[58] ...	تَم چھُس	tami chhu-s[59]		تَم چھیس	tami chhes[59]	
by us ...	—	—		—	—	
by you ...	تۄہہ چھُوس	tohi chhu-va-s		تۄہہ چھیوس	tohi chhe-va-s	
by them ...	تِمو چھُس	timau chhu-s[59]		تِمو چھیس	timau chhe-s[59]	

114. Thou hast been sent

	Masculine.			Feminine.		
by me ..	مےٚ چھُمک	me chhu-ma-k	tsa sūzmut	مےٚ چھیمک	me chhe-ma-k	tsa sūzmuts
by thee ...	—	—		—	—	
by him[60] ...	تَم چھُک	tami chhu-k[61]		تَم چھیک	tami chhe-k[61]	
by us ...	اَسہ چھُک	asi chhu-k		اَسہ چھیک	asi chhe-k	
by you ...	—	—		—	—	
by them ...	تِمو چھُک	timau chhu-k[61]		تِمو چھیک	timau chhe-k[61]	

115. He or she has been sent

	Masculine.			Feminine.		
by thee ...	ژٕ چھُتھن	tse chhu-tha-n	su sūzmut	ژٕ چھےتھن	tse chhe-tha-n	so sūzmuts
by you ...	تۄہہ چھُون	tohi chhu-va-n		تۄہہ چھیون	tohi chhe-va-n	

[This form is used only in the second person.]

[58] By her تَمہ tami.

[59] [In this case we should expect چھُنس chhu-na-s (fem. chhe-na-s. The analogy of the Aorist is followed, where we have تَم کۄرُس بہٕ tami korus bo, instead تَم کۄرُنس بہٕ tami korunas bo. See § 93, note 44. So also in the plural). When the pronoun in the instrumental is not given, the full forms are used.]

[60] By her, تَمہ tami.

[61] Instrumental suffix omitted, as the pronoun in the instrumental is given. Thus چھُک chhu-k for چھُنک chhu-na-k, and چھُہک chhu-ha-k. See § 113, note 59, above.

116. We have been sent

	Masculine.	Feminine.
	اَسِ سوزِمَت	اَسِ سوزِمَژ
by me ...	—	—
by thee ...	چهِ چهِت *tse chhi-t*	چهِ چهےت *tse chhe-t*
by him[63] ...	(تمِ) چهِن (*tami*)[62] *chhi-n*	(تمِ) چهےن (*tami*)[62] *chhe-n*
by us ...	—	—
by you ...	توهِ چهِوَ *tohi chhi-va*	توهِ چهےوَ *tohi chhe-va*
by them ...	(تِمَو) چهِک (*timau*)[62] *chhi-k*	(تِمَو) چهےک (*timau*)[62] *chhe-k*
	asi sûzmati	*asi sôzamatsa*

117. You have been sent

	Masculine.	Feminine.
	توهِ سوزِمَت	توهِ سوزِمَژ
by me ...	مےٚ چهِوَ *me chhi-va*[65]	مےٚ چهےوَ *me chhe-va*[65]
by thee ...	—	—
by him[64] ...	تمِ چهِوَ *tami chhi-va*[65]	تمِ چهےوَ *tami chhe-va*[65]
by us ...	اسِ چهِوَ *asi chhi-va*	اسِ چهےوَ *asi chhe-va*
by you ...	—	—
by them ..	تِمَو چهِوَ *timau chhi-va*[65]	تِمَو چهےوَ *timau chhe-va*[65]
	tohi sûzmati	*tohi sôzamatsa*

118. They have been sent

	Masculine.	Feminine.
	تِم سوزِمَت	تِمَ سوزِمَژ
by thee ...	چهِ چهِتهَک *tse chhi-tha-k*	چهِ چهےتهَک *tse chhe-tha-k*
by you ...	توهِ چهِوَک *tohi chhi-va-k*	توهِ چهےوَک *tohi chhe-va-k*
	tim sûzmati	*tima sôzamatsa*

[This form is used only in the second person.]

[62] See § 113, note 59 above.]

[63] By her تمِ *tami*.

[64] By her تمِ *tami*.

[65] Instrumental suffix omitted, as the pronoun in the instrumental is given. Thus, چهِوَ instead of *chhi-va* چهِنَوَ *chhi-na-va*, چهِهَوَ *chhi-ha-va*, and so on. See § 113, note 59, above.

119. The Causal verb is conjugated exactly like the simple one, and need not be given in full. For سوزمت *sûzmut*, etc., substitute the corresponding Participle Passive of

مارناوُن *maranâvun*. Thus,—

مارنوٚومت *mâranôvmut* for سوزمت *sûzmut*
مارناوِمژ *mâranôvmuts* for سوزمژ *sûzmuts*
مارناوِمت *mâranôv^imaṭ^i* for سوزِمت *sûzimaṭ^i*
مارناوِمژٕ *maranâvematsạ* for سوزمژٕ *sôzạmatsạ*.

120. Pluperfect.

This is conjugated on the same lines as the Perfect, the Aorist of the Auxiliary verb آسُن *âsun* being substituted for چھ *chha*. The second form of the Pluperfect (Pluperfect II.) will be found above, under the simple tenses (§ 103).

121. I, — Subject — a Noun.

		Singular. Masculine. Kashmiri		Masculine. Pronoun	Masculine. Transliteration		Singular. Feminine. Kashmiri		Feminine. Pronoun	Feminine. Transliteration	
Had been sent (a)	by me …	سوزمت آس		مےٚ me	sûzmut ôs		سوزمژ آس		Pronoun in instrumental as in masc.	sûzmuts ôs	
	by thee …			—							
	by him …			تمِ tạmi							
	by us …			اسِ asi							
	by you …			—							
	by them …			تمَو timau							
Had been sent (b)	by me …	آوسُم	سوزمت	مےٚ me	sûzmut	ôsu-m	آسم	سوزمژ	Pronouns in instrumental as in masc.	sûzmuts	ôsạ-m
	by thee …	آوسُت		چےٚ tse		ôsu-t	آست				ôsạ-t
	by him …	—		—		—	—				—
	by us …	—		—		—	—				—
	by you …	آوسوٚ		تُہِ tohi		ôsu-vạ	آسوٚ				ôsạ-vạ
	by them …	—		—		—	—				—
Had been sent (c)	by me …	آوسُم	سوزمت		sûzmut	ôsu-m	آسم	سوزمژ		sûzmuts	ôsạ-m
	by thee …	آوسُت				ôsu-t	آست				ôsạ-t
	by him …	آوسُن				ôsu-n	آسن				ôsạ-n
	by us …	—				—	—				—
	by you …	آوسوٚ				ôsu-vạ	آسوٚ				ôsạ-vạ
	by them …	آوسُك				ôsu-k	آسك				ôsạ-k

		Plural.					
		Masculine.			Feminine.		
Had been sent (a)	by me ...	سوزمت آس	Pronouns in instrumental as in masc. sg.	sûzmati ôsi	سوزهٔ آسهٔ	Pronouns in instrumental as in masc. sg.	sôzamatsa âsa
	by thee ...						
	by him ...						
	by us ...						
	by you ...						
	by them ...						
(b)	by me ...	آسم سوزمت	Pronouns in instrumental as in masc. sg. sûzmati	ôsi-m	آسم سوزهٔ	Pronouns in instrumental as in masc. sg. sôzamatsa	âsa-m
	by thee ...	آست		ôsi-t	آست		âsa-t
	by him ...	—		—	—		—
	by us ...	—		—	—		—
	by you ...	آسوه		ôsi-vạ	آسوه		âsa-vạ
	by them ...	—		—	—		—
(c)	by me ...	آسم	سوزمت sûzmati	ôsi-m	آسم	سوزهٔ sôzamatsa	âsa-m
	by thee ...	آست		ôsi-t	آست		âsa-t
	by him ...	آسن		ôsi-n	آسن		âsa-n
	by us ...	—		—	—		—
	by you ...	آسوه		ôsi-vạ	آسوه		âsa-vạ
	by them ...	آسك		ôsi-k	آسك		âsa-k

II. — Subject — a Pronoun.

122. I had been sent

	Masculine.				Feminine.			
by me ...	بِہ سوزمت	—	—	bo sûzmut	بِہ سوزمژ	—	—	bo sûzmuts
by thee ...		چِہٕ اُوستهس	tse ôsu-tha-s			چِہٕ آستهس	tse ôsạ-thas	
by him[66] ...		تَمِ اُوسس	tạmi ôsu-s[67]			تَمِ آسس	tạmi ôsạ-s[67]	
by us ...		—	—			—	—	
by you ...		تُهہ اُوسوس	tohi ôsu-va-s			تُهہ آسوس	tohi ôsạ-va-s	
by them ...		تِمو اُوسس	timau ôsu-s[67]			تِمو آسس	timau ôsạ-s[67]	

[66] Once for all, by her, تَمہ tami.

[67] Instrumental suffix omitted, as the pronoun in the instrumental is given: thus, اُوسس ôsu-s, for اُوسنس ôsu-na-s, and اُوسهس ôsu-ha-s, as in the aorist and perfect. See § 113, note 59.

THE CHANDRA-VYAKARANA.

PROFESSOR KIELHORN has shewn[1] that Jayâditya and Vâmana, the compilers of the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti*, have used the **Grammar of the well-known Buddhist author Chandragômin or Chandrâchârya, the Châṇdra-Vyâkâraṇa**, although they never actually mention it. As a full knowledge of this system has thus become desirable for a critical edition of the *Kâśikâ*, a pupil of Prof. Kielhorn's, Dr. Liebich of Breslau, has examined all the obtainable materials, — the MSS. found in Nêpâl, Ceylon and Kaśmîr, as well as the Tibetan translations contained in the 116th and 132nd volume of the *Mdo* or *Sûtra* portion of the *Tanjur*. Hitherto, no remains of Chandra's work have been found in India proper. In the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1895, Heft 3, Dr. Liebich gives a *résumé* of his inquiries, from which it appears that **the whole system of Buddhist Sanskṛit Grammar has now been recovered.** It consists of **the following texts**, preserved either in the original or in the very faithful Tibetan translation: —

1. The *Sûtra-Pâṭha*, in six books, corresponding to the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* of Pâṇini. A complete MS. of it, written in 1356 A. D., has recently been acquired by the Indian Government from Nêpâl and is now in Calcutta. Moreover, there are several fragments in Cambridge and a complete translation in the *Tanjur.*

2. The *Sûtra-Vṛitti.* This is, no doubt, the most important text of the whole system, corresponding, as it does, in style and treatment of the matter to the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti* and containing very probably the original explanation of Chandragômin himself. In the colophon, it is called the work of Dharmadâsa. If this is to be taken as a proper name, it may be the name of the pupil who wrote down his master's words. Dr. Liebich gives the beginning of this commentary, which shews its similarity to the *Kâśikâ* and the help it gives for emending the corrupt passages of its printed edition.

The only complete MS. of this commentary, containing the *Sûtras*, and written in the character of the XII.-XIII. century, is in the library of the Mahârâjâ of Nêpâl at Kâṭhmâṇḍû. Through the kind intervention of Col. Wylie, British Resident in Nêpâl, Dr. Liebich obtained a copy. The original, according to Prof. Bendall, comprises 159 palm-leaves. The copy numbers 281 large leaves of Nepalese paper. Fragments of the same *Vṛitti*, not extending over a third of the whole, are in the Cambridge University Library.

3. The *Sûtra-Paddhati*, a gloss by Ânandadatta. Copious fragments, belonging to the first and second books of the *Sûtrapâṭha*, are preserved at Cambridge.

4. *Chandra-Alaṅkâra*, a *Ṭîkâ* of the *Sûtrapâṭha*, by an unknown author. The single existing fragment, referring to the fifth and sixth books, was acquired in Nêpâl by Prof. Bendall, and is now in his own possession. It is written in a very archaic alphabet, the so-called arrow-top character, similar to the South-Indian alphabets and else found in Buddhist votive inscriptions only.

5. *Adhikâra-Saṁgraha*: a curious little book, containing all the *Adhikâras* or leading rules of the *Châṇdra-Sûtra*, with an indication as to how many *Sûtras* they apply. It is found in the *Tanjur* only. No such treatise, at least in Grammar, has reached us in the original Sanskṛit.

6. *Dhâtu-Pâṭha*, the collection of roots according to the *Châṇdra* system, differing from Pâṇini's mainly in the arrangement, as it makes the *genera verborum* the highest principle of division. It was found by Dr. Liebich in two different translations in the *Tanjur.* With the aid of these, the Sanskṛit original, too, was afterwards discovered in the Cambridge collection.

There is a third translation of this work in the *Tanjur* (No. 3727), with some alterations, having the *ad-* and *tuhoti*-classes combined into one, and the last or *chur*-class worked over

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 183-5.

and rendered more similar to Pâṇini's. In the concluding verses, Bgrod-dka-seṅ-ge (Durgasiṁha) is named as the author of these alterations. Dr. Liebich has shewn that this Durgasiṁha is identical with the well-known commentator of the *Kâtantra* Grammar, and that he really introduced the *Dhâtupâṭha* of the Chândras in this revised form into the Kalâpa system, as it is found in all the Saṅskṛit MSS. of this Grammar, while the genuine *Kalâpa-Dhâtusûtra*, differing totally from this, is again preserved in the *Tanjur* only (No. 3723).

7. A *Dhâtu-Pârâyaṇa* by Pûrṇachandra, probably belonging to the Chândra system and corresponding to the *Mâdhavîya-Dhâtuvṛitti*, was bought by Prof. Bendall in Nêpâl, and is now in the Cambridge collection.

8. *Gaṇa-Pâṭha.* The *Gaṇas* of the Chândra system are fully incorporated into the *Sûtra-Vṛitti* (No. 2), just as the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti* contains the *Gaṇapâṭha* of Pâṇini.

9. *Uṇâdi-Sûtra*, preserved in the *Tanjur* only. Chandragômin has arranged his *uṇâdi* affixes in three books according to the final letter. The first book or chapter contains the affixes ending in any vowel except *a;* the second the affixes in *a* from *ka* to *ya;* and the third, the remaining *a*-affixes from *ura* to *ha*, the so-called *kvip*-affix and the affixes ending in consonants.

10. *Uṇâdi-Vṛitti:* an excellent commentary to the former, in the *Tanjur* only. The words derived from the *uṇâdi* affixes as well as their synonymes are given in Saṅskṛit together with a Tibetan version.

11. *Upasarga-Vṛitti*, an explanation of the twenty *Upasargas* or verbal prefixes of the Saṅskṛit language, by Chandragômin. It is found in the *Tanjur* only.

12. *Varṇa-Sûtra* of Chandragômin, corresponding to the *Pâṇinîya-Sikshâ* and like this containing rules on phonetics. It was found in Kaśmîr by Prof. Bühler, and is moreover translated in the *Tanjur.*

13. *Varṇa-Sûtra-Vṛitti*, a metrical commentary to the former by Chos-skyoṅ, *i. e.*, Dharmapâla, in 119 *ślôkas.* This is preserved in the *Tanjur* only.

14. *Paribhâshâ-Sûtra*, giving the rules of interpretation for the Chândra system. It was found in Kaśmîr by Prof. Bühler, together with No. 12. Dr. Liebich has proved the genuineness of these *paribhâshâ* rules by quotations from the *Sûtra Vṛitti* (No. 2).

15. *Bâlâvabodhana*, an elementary treatise on Saṅskṛit Grammar according to the Chândra system, corresponding to the *Laghukaumudî* of Varadarâja. It was written in Ceylon by a Buddhist priest named Kâśyapa, or Kassapa, about 1200 A. D., with a view of facilitating the study of Saṅskṛit. But its existence seems afterwards to have caused the loss of the original *Chândra Vyâkaraṇa* in that island. It was discovered by the late William Goonetilleke, who reported on it under the title, "The Grammar of Chandra" (*ante*, Vol. IX. pp. 80-84) and published its beginning, about a third of the whole, in the *Orientalist.* Dr. Liebich is in the possession of a complete copy of this work, presented to him by Mr. Mendis Gunaśekara of Colombo.[2]

16. *Tiṅanta*, a treatise on conjugation of verbs on the Chândra system. In the *Tanjur* only.

17. *Subanta-Ratnâkara*, the "jewel mine of nouns:" a collection of nouns according to gender and last letter, and belonging to the Chândra system. In the *Tanjur* only.

18. *Vyâkaraṇa-Subanta*, treatise on the declension of nouns according to the Chândra system: found in the *Tanjur* only.

---

[2] A printed edition of the *Bâlâvabodhana* has appeared in the meanwhile (Colombo, 1895).

19. *Vibhakti-Kârikâ*, by Îśvarabhadra or Siṁhabhadra, treating the same matter as the former: preserved in the *Tanjur* only.

20. *Sambandha-Uddeśa* or *Chaṅga-Vṛitti*, a short and rather meagre treatise on syntax by the Kâyastha Chaṅgadâsa, written in *ślôkas*. An original MS. of it is in the possession of Dr. S. von Oldenburg in St. Petersburg, and a Tibetan translation has been inserted into the *Tanjur*.

21. *Chaṅga-Vṛitti-Vivaraṇa*, a commentary to the former, in the library of Dr. S. von Oldenburg.

The upper limit of Chandragômin's date is now determined by an example given in the *Sûtra-Vṛitti* (No. 2), which records as a contemporaneous event a world-known victory gained over the Hûṇas. This refers him to the Gupta period. The lower date has long been known as he is mentioned by Bhartṛihari, who died, according to I-tsiṅ, about 650 A. D.

Concerning the date of the Tibetan translations, the colophon of the *Adhikâra-Saṁgraha* (No. 5) is not devoid of interest, in which it is said that the Bhikshu Blo-gros-brtan-pa (Sthiramati) translated this text in the city of Yeraṅ, the capital of Nêpâl. Dr. Liebich has shewn that Yeraṅ is the Tibetan name of Pâtan, the old metropolis, which ceased to be so after the foundation of the present capital Kâṭhmâṇḍû. Now Kâṭhmâṇḍû, according to the Nepalese chronicles, has been founded under Guṇakâmadeva, about 1000 A. D. On the other hand, the same Sthiramati is said to have begun the translation of Ugrabhûti's *Sishyahitâ*. The date of Ugrabhûti is given by Bêrûni, who says in his *India* (written 1030 A. D.): "Ugrabhûti was the teacher of Ânandapâla, son of Jayapâla, who ruled in our time."[3] So the literary activity of Sthiramati, who translated most of the preceding texts and a good many others, probably falls between 950 and 1000 A. D. The *Sûtrapâṭha*, *Upasarga-Vṛitti*, *Varṇa-Sûtra* and *Varṇasûtrâ-Vṛitti* seem to have been translated even earlier.

THE RECLUSE AND THE RATS.

A TIBETAN TALE, translated by

L. A. WADDELL, LL.D.

Preliminary Note.

The tale here translated from the Tibetan, for the first time in European literature, I believe, is contained in a booklet,[1] printed, it is said, at Narthaṅ near Tashi-lhunpo, the capital of Western Tibet. It is generally believed to be an allegorical account of the war between the Nepalese and Tibetans and the sack of Tashi-lhunpo by the former in 1792 A. D. Thus the hermit of the tale is considered to be the Grand Lâma of Tashi-lhunpo of that time, Lo-zaṅ Palbdan Ye-s'e, who himself is credited with the authorship of the story. The tale is also interesting as a specimen of indigenous Tibetan prose with its clumsy pastoral pictures, everywhere pervaded by the Buddhist ethical doctrine of retribution — as a man sows so shall he reap. The narrative has been condensed in places where it was too diffuse.

Translation.

One night, a hermit, while performing his devotions in the retreat known as The Tawny Rock Cave,[2] heard a strange sound inside the altar vase. On this the hermit said to himself:—"Hitherto the solitude of my retreat has been unbroken, what can be the cause of

---

[3] See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 31 f.

[1] Entitled *Gom-ch'en daṅ rdza-rtsig* or 'The Recluse and the Rats.'

[2] Brag-skya seṅ-ge'i p'ug. The word skya-seṅ literally means 'tawny,' and corresponds to the Saṅskṛit *Pâṇḍu*; it also is the name of a tree, see Jaeschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*, p. 25.

this great noise? Perhaps it is owing to my offerings having been badly made, and therefore unacceptable to the gods, or can it be robbers, or is it the evil enchantment of spirits or devils?" He therefore spent the rest of the night in prayer and in holy rites, and invoked the aid of his spiritual tutor till the day dawned, when he arose and went to the vase. Then he saw that its contents were spilled, and that the offering[3] of rice and cakes were cut in pieces, and the magic-circle offering of rice and the wheaten flour and the other votive offerings were scattered about and destroyed. Then thought he, the rats — the tawny rat, the Dzara,[4] and the mice,[5] which he had been so hospitably house-cherishing, were now repaying his kindness by harm.

So he decided to find this out, and next night he set a wooden cup as a trap, and when he heard the noise repeated, he went with a lamp in his hand and found a tawny-coloured rat and a mouse lying under the cup with dishevelled whiskers and dark eyes. As, however, he thought it would be unjust to punish them without first making due investigation, and considering what they had to say in their defence, he addressed them, saying:—

"O you two persons, rat and mouse, answer me straight! I have come to this cave through fear of death, to make offerings to God and to pray to him from the bottom of my heart. Now, tell me, have you not taken those offerings which were consecrated to God? If you have, then you shall have the ill-repute of sinners; and for displeasing a hermit, the Dakkiṇî fairies will vent their rage upon you. If you have not taken these offerings; then, say, have you seen any one else taking them? Now neighbours, speak the truth." He spoke in a soft voice so as to conciliate them; but these two shook their elbows and raised their tiny heads indignantly and replied: — "He! He! it is ridiculous of you (O hermit, void of feelings and sense. How can you take up the cause of others, when you cannot take care of yourself? A monk intoxicated by wealth makes a great stir and speaks as intemperately as a drunken man. How could we steal even if hungry? Does the vulture eat grass when starving? Have the he-goats upper teeth in their old age? Do the crows grow white when they are old? We both have plenty of wealth, then why should we depend on you men for anything? We have gold, and silver, gathered by our forefathers, we have heaps of wheat and rice gathered by ourselves, so we are not driven to such an extremity as to harm a hermit. O monk, you had better be silent.")

The hermit now thought that these rats probably were speaking the truth and that other rats might be the real culprits. And while he was thinking how he could obtain convincing proof of the offence, a crafty rat came to him and said:—"Hear me, holy hermit! It is wise to do all things with due consideration, else you must repent eventually. Cunning people contrive to appear as if they speak the truth, they mention their own faults at first, and meet their enemies with smiles. The cat catches the bird by stealth; rogues steal by stratagem, and often remain unsuspected. You must therefore get convincing proof."

The hermit acting on this friendly advice, placed, amongst the newly made offerings, a trap which was so cleverly contrived that it could catch even the shadows of the birds of the sky. Soon after dark, on hearing again a piercing noise, he hastened to the spot with a lamp and cords and a sharp knife and he found the rats as before caught in the cup. They tried to hide their faces in shame, as some of the flour which they had been stealing still clung to their mouths. But the hermit seized and bound them and cut off a bit of their ears and their tail, and he burned their whiskers and eye-lashes with the lamp-flame. Then he set them free and they ran squeaking away.

[3] See my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 296, etc.

[4] This rat, rDza-ra, or 'the clay colored,' is said to live in ditches: it is probably the *Zab-ra* of Jaeschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*, p. 467, though he there defines it as a 'mole-like animal.'

[5] *Byi-wa* is applied to the common ruddy rat, as well as to mice.

The rats having reached their holes consulted together for revenge. Said they, the hermit, though apparently of mild exterior, has a heart black with anger, and deserves to be expelled from the monkish order. Because we had taken a mere morsel of his offerings, he has inflicted on us an unheard-of punishment! Speaking thus they determined to fight him out, and they came and seated themselves before him upon a table.

On seeing them, the hermit rebuked them and threatened to behead them, if they did not confess their crime; but the rats assumed a more daring attitude than before and said:—"Can every spoken threat be carried out? Can every mere wish be performed in deed? You have inflicted on us a punishment unheard of in the laws of kings and religion. If you do not repent and ask our forgiveness, we will gather 100,000 Dzara rats and 10,000 mice, and bring you to justice."

Now, at this time, there was a partridge with its young one, which the rats had formerly harmed. This young partridge addressing his mother said:—"Mother! just look at the burnt faces and cut ears and tail of the two rats. How true is the Jina's (Buddha's) word that the sins of one's misdeeds are visited upon oneself." The mother delighted to hear such news, smiled and said:—"O my son, old women are indeed glad to see such sights, even though their knee-joints ache in going. Come, let us go to congratulate them. Let us afflict them with taunts."

So saying they went to the rats, and having flapped their wings thrice, said: — "*Ki-ki swa-swa!* The sun is warm to-day. We have heard such good news to-day. You often used to injure our nest, so we are glad that your ill-deeds have met their reward. As the smith is killed by the sword which he himself has forged, so the weapon of your misdeeds has wounded yourself. At this we are glad. How ridiculous you now look without whiskers and eye-lashes and with cut ears and tail. Ere we die we shall spread the news of this great joke and good news throughout the world." On this the partridges flew away, leaving the rats abashed.

Near by were two other birds, one of whom, mCh'u-riṅ-ma with the long bill, said to the other Tiṅ-tiṅ-ma:—"The parent crow suffers great hardships in feeding its young, yet these young cruelly drive their parent away. A wicked man, though treated with kindness, will eventually become an enemy. These two rats have returned the hermit's kindness with evil. Therefore let us go and console the hermit."

Again, outside the cave were two other rats named Glory (bKra-s'is) and The Obtained Wish (Don-grub), who said to each other:—"Let us go and smother the flames of this quarrel in its outset, and be the mediators between our kinsmen and the hermit. For one bad man disturbs the whole country. One Garuḍa moves the ocean to its depths. One bad piece of food disorders the whole body. One bad servant raises a quarrel between the master and the whole of his servants." They then advised the two rats to cease quarreling with the hermit, but the rats indignantly refused to hear them, and said:— "Mind your own business. Geese are not caught in a fish-trap. You had better go and count the lice in your bosom."

Meanwhile the hermit was very sad and inclined to abandon religion. Seeing an eagle skimming the sky, he addressed it saying:—"O sage among the birds, you have no kin, nor attachment to any one country, but can go wherever you wish. I much envy your position. I am in great sorrow. I was born here, in Tibet, through the force of my *karma*, and if I am to agree with the people, then I must abandon religion; while if I lead a pious life the people annoy me. Acting according to the holy Law makes enemies of both high and low; and if I render service to others I receive injury in return." The eagle replied:—"You are fortunate to have attained the human form, and you should fully utilize your superior opportunities. The prophet Padma Sambhava[6] said,—'wicked men drive away good men, and the wicked

[6] The founder of Lamaism, see my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 22-33, 380, etc.

shall be revered while the good shall be treated like dogs: the wicked shall be elevated and the good laid low. One will not see his own faults, but will point out the faults of others. Happiness is rare amongst re-births, while the miseries are as numerous as the rings in a lake.' Hermit, pray rest content with your lot." And so saying the eagle flew off to the eastern horizon.

Two *lha-bya-gong-mo* birds then appealed without success to the rats to cease their conflict with the hermit, while two other birds called *cho-ka* said :—" It is better to chant the six syllables —'*Om maṇi padme hûṅ*,' than to attempt persuading those who won't listen. To endeavour to persuade those who won't listen is like trying to make a knot of a rigid tree, or to hold an angry elephant by its trunk, or to make a stream flow uphill."

The rats now bethought themselves of taking advice from their friends, 'The White Small One' and 'Meditation,' whom they thus addressed,— "O friends, if you help us not when in need you will be worse than dogs; if you allay not our sorrow when we are sad what is the use of your friendship? The old hermit has punished us without our having committed any crime and if you do not assist us our reputation is lost. Help us, friends! help us!" The two friends replied:—"You are like the great hawk,[7] while we are like poor fowls; we had not your friendship before and we do not wish it now. If fowls associate with hawks, the sky will soon be filled with their feathers. So we leave you to your own resources." And after saying this they left them. Then the rats thought that the saying indeed is true that "People love the rich man's son." Everybody was helping the hermit, while not even a lame fowl would take their part.

Then they went to their uncle 'Flat top,'[8] and said:—"You alone help us in our distress; we used to be leaders in this country, every one relied on us, but the mad old hermit has degraded us to the lowest position and has most unjustly punished us. Help us to muster an army against him." The old rat replied:—"O nephews, I am hoary wtih age, wrinkled and toothless, and almost blind; my death is drawing near so that I need to chant the *Om maṇi*. How can I help you in raising an army? My advice to you is to live in peace with the hermit."

A cow,[9] near by, raised her tail and said:—"O rats, you should have remained humble and never have tried to harm the hermit, who is an ornament to the hill-side: besides he is my Lâma-priest." The rats protested that they were forced to quarrel with him, owing to the severe and unjust punishment which he had inflicted on them, and in proof of this they pointed to their burned and cut features.

Then they decided to go to a rat named '**The Consuming Hare-lip**,'[10] who in temper was hotter than fire and fiercer than the river torrent, and who defied the gods and devils, as well as men. They went to him carrying as presents, a spoonful of barley, a spoonful of mixed grain, a lump of butter and a piece of silk cloth, and they said to him:—" O king of the rats, you are strong as the mighty king **Ge-sar**,[11] brave and fierce! If you do not assist us in our conflict with the hermit, all the rats will lose their reputation entirely." The rat-king was furious at the mangled appearance of the rats, and scratching the ground said:—"Ha! Ha! I am the powerful protecting father, fierce as an angry lion, my bloodshot eyes and awful mien scatter armed foes by the hundreds, and heroes by the thousands. You did right to come to me, your great father for help. Shew me at once the person who has harmed you."

Then they led him to the hermitage, but on arrival there they saw descending the wall a huge cat named 'The Infernal White,'[12] with iron teeth and striped like a tiger, who having scratched the ground and shewed his fangs with all his wrinkled fierceness, said:—"O foolish rats, I am the guardian of this hermit, and if you do not instantly obey him, the time for my

[7] Khra.

[8] sPo-t'aṅ.

[9] Ẕe-mo.

[10] Sreg-s'ar.

[11] A legendary king of Northern Asia, probably a corruption of Czar or Cæsar Kaiser.

[12] 'Og-dkar, this represents the demoniacal guardian (sruṅ-mo) of Tibet.

drinking your blood has arrived, for your lives are in my power." The rat-king ran off in terror and hid himself under a stone, but a dove named 'The Virtuous One' who saw him trying to escape, turned round thrice and said :—" The rat-king is very vain, though he neither knows nor can do anything. His pride is greater than the dragon's. Run quick, leaving your trail of dirty foot-prits! You ought to be ashamed to make the lying boast that neither gods, devils, nor man can conquer you."

The rats thus deserted by everyone and trembling with terror humbly besought The Infernal Cat to spare them, crying:" Have mercy on us, spare our lives! We did not willingly desecrate the sacred offerings, we only ate a little under the pangs of hunger, and carried off a little as we were so very poor; but we now repent and promise never to commit such offences again, and from this day forth we shall always obey the hermit."

When the hermit heard the rats confess their sorrow for their sins, and their repentance he gave them this religious advice, after invoking his god and saints, saying:—" Alas, O my Lâma guide and the Three protecting Gods, may all animals live in peace and may their passionate hearts be calmed! Bless, purify and enlighten me!" Then turning to the rats he said, " O you rats, hearken to me. Because of the bad deeds done by you in a former existence, when you were human beings, you have received the low bodies of beasts in the present life, and your impurity has bred ill-will. Because you gave no charity to the priests in your former life when you were men, you have in this life become poor. Be not avaricious therefore in the future, and, remembering your own case, do not injure others. Now promise never again to molest me and my property or my pious offerings to God." Then the rats gave the asked-for promise, and besought the hermit to forgive them. He did so, and each of them returned to his own home. And since that time the hermit has received no harm from the rats, and he has daily increased his deeds of virtue. This history has been composed by me, a Yôgin,[12] of the name of Blo-gros-ts'ul-krims (Skr. Śîlamati) at the retreat known as Brag-skya-sen-gehi-p'ug.

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 5. — *The Self-sacrificing Fairy:*[1] *a Story of Sirens.*

ONCE upon a time, in a certain country, there lived a king who had seven sons, all advancing or advanced towards manhood. The father loved the princes very tenderly; so, when he learned of their firm determination to see the world, he addressed them thus: —

"My beloved sons, with great reluctance I permit you to see the world in order to gain experience of it, or, to use your own words, to put a finishing touch to your high and manly accomplishments as befitting nobles of the first order. But for your own welfare I cannot refrain from tendering you a piece of advice; *viz.*, that you go in the seven directions, but under no circumstances make the slightest acquaintance with the eighth. For in connection with that direction I have heard thrilling accounts that have made my hair to stand on end."

The princes travelled in the seven directions, and found the countries traversed as uninteresting as they were devoid of adventures, — adventures which would at least compensate for their trouble; so, consulting amongst themselves, and, setting aside the advice of their father, they resolved to extend their travels in the eighth direction also.

---

[12] Bya-bral-wa, literally, 'One who is freed from deeds.'

[1] Narrated by Shêkh Farîd *alias* Puddar, a young *chuprâsî* in the Comptroller's Office, Nagpur. [Though no doubt " improved " by the English rendering given it by the recorder, this is a remarkable tale, quite out of the ordinary run of Indian folktales. — ED.]

In their travels in the eighth direction the brothers were enchanted with the varied scenery of the pleasant country, the sweet valleys covered with verdure, the distant blue mountains of every imaginable altitude, with the primeval forest abounding in trees — ever-green and deciduous — of thick foliage, resounding with the melodious notes of some of Nature's famous songstresses, with the beautiful sheets and wide expanses of limpid waters, with artistic orchards of luscious fruits and delectable gardens of shrubs and odoriferous plants, carrying through the agency of the wind for miles around sweet fragrance from their chalices, side by side with **the charmingly beautiful harmonies of music that emanate from the eighth direction** in full volume of sound; and it was by these charmingly beautiful strains of music, resembling those of the Apasarasas of the Indra's heavens above, that the brothers were bewitched. So, with a view to find out whence they came or who shared in them, the intrepid travellers went to the furthermost end of the eighth direction, and to their great surprise **discovered there a magnificent abode of fairies,** which was responsible for the delicious music, with which our heroes, being friends of that fine art, were so delighted.

The inmates of this solitary magnificent abode, who were **seven fairies** of great personal beauty, and whom the brothers found to be the participators in the music, received the princes with every mark of kindness, and the latter inferring at once from the outward signs that the former were greatly in love with them, and harbouring no suspicions of danger arising from that quarter, returned the love, and **made them their consorts by mutual agreement.** For some days the princes lived with the fairies in great amity, enjoying ambrosial viands, delicious drinks — hot and cold, melodious music — vocal and instrumental, scented baths, and wearing the finest, lightest and the most valuable of clothing.

But one day **the youngest of the princes** observed that his wife — **the youngest fairy** — had turned her back and was weeping bitterly, while taking her dinner. For some reason or other he did not ask his wife about the matter, neither did he ascertain the cause of it from other sources. But when this continued for three or four days, the husband asked his brothers in a general sort of way, and at the same time without mistrusting his fairy-wife, whether their wives also wept, as his did. On receiving a reply in the negative, he **asked the fairy one day as to the cause of her sorrow.**

"I am sorry for you," she replied, "because I have a great love for you. And the day is approaching when **you will be killed** along with your brothers, and this will happen **on the occasion of a festival amongst us fairies,** which is fast approaching."

The prince narrated what he had heard to his brothers, who, realizing that they had fallen into dangerous hands, advised him, for their common safety, to ask the fairy what should be done to avert this catastrophe.

He accordingly asked, and the fairy, possessing a very kind heart, replied:—

"My lord, **I advise you,** as also ask you to tell your brothers to shew signs of extreme disgust or discontentment (such as, amongst others, of rending your clothes, throwing your turbans to the ground, etc.), to charge the fairies with inattention, to raise complaints on every possible occasion in the matter of viands, drinks, baths and wearing apparel, and most important of all to break the legs of your horses without the knowledge of the fairies. On this the fairies will press to know the reason of your general discontent, and then you should tell them in detail of your being displeased with them in every way and also impress on them the fact that nothing short of those **horses that neigh in the middle of the night** will satisfy you by way of compensation for the unrivalled steeds incapacitated by the breaking of their legs and now in a dying state. It is by possessing these wonderful animals, which have the power of saving those riding on them in an emergency, that you will set yourself free from the calamity that is overhanging you. Thus I advise you for your own preservation and for the preservation of my lord's brothers, and in so doing I am endangering myself it is true, but I do not consider it a danger if my first

sweet love and his beloved blood relations are saved from destruction by the sacrifice of my frail self."

The husband was extremely pleased with the advice of his wife, marked by the ring of sincerity, truth and true love, and communicated it to his brothers.

The brothers did as advised to the very letter; and the fairies, coming to know of the grievances of the princes which made them discontented, promised to remedy them, and also promised to give the horses, distinguished from ordinary animals by neighing in the middle of the night, on the festival day which was approaching.

Though the fairies promised to give the horses, they wondered as to which amongst them could have revealed the secret about these mysterious animals, which they thought they only knew; and suspicion with justice fell on the youngest fairy, whose kindliness of heart the sisters were aware of, as distinguished from their own relentless ones. This suspicion the six sisters locked in their breasts.

In due time the festival of the fairies came, and on the festival day the seven sisters took luxurious baths, put on the finest garments of rain-bow colours, and, providing themselves with the materials of worship, reached the steps of a temple not far from their abode, where the youngest fairy was asked to hold the bridles of the wonderful animals which were at the time standing ready in their trappings. The six elder sisters went inside and for some time remained in the place of worship; but as they came out they ate up their youngest sister. The princes at this juncture were ready for any imaginable emergency, warned as they had been of the festival beforehand. They mounted the animals with a heroic spirit, and instantly were the seven brothers divided from the weird land of the fairies by an interval of seven seas.

Thus the seven heroes providentially escaped, through the instrumentality of the steeds that had the power of saving those who were upon them at any cost, from the cannibal fairies and arrived in a certain kingdom.

The king, on hearing from the courtiers of the arrival in his country of miraculous horses in which he had no belief, sent for the owners of them, and in the first instance enquired who they were, and, on receiving a reply that they were common itinerant travellers, questioned them no further as to their horses.

But the king's three daughters of great loveliness and refined accomplishments, with their true feminine discernment, perceived in the young men no ordinary individuals of plebeian blood, but either princes or scions of a royal race travelling incognito in search of adventures, and believed at the same time that their horses were no ordinary animals. And, therefore, from the time the princes set foot in their court, the princesses were enamoured of them, and, after the lapse of some time, obtained their parents' consent to wed those three of the brothers, whom they liked most amongst the seven for qualities of head and heart.

But the princes greatly objected to marry, for by the alliance they averred that three of them would lead a conjugal life, and the rest that of celibates; and this state of things, they said, would not meet with the approbation of the gods, not to speak of man.

On hearing this the king replied :—

"My sons, I am pleased with what you say so sensibly, and propose a remedy for the matter. The remedy is that a neighbouring king has four daughters, accomplished and of unrivalled beauty, whose hands, with the consent of their father, I shall ask and obtain for four of you, and solemnize the marriage simultaneously with the marriage of three of your brothers with my own three daughters."

In due course, the bridal of the princes had been celebrated with pomp and glory befitting grand persons. For a considerable time the princes lived in every luxury, ease and enjoyment with their spouses of unsullied purity, in the kingdom of their respective fathers-in-law. But one day they naturally remembered their parents, and quick as thought asked their fathers-in-law concerning such and such a kingdom, admitting for the first time to the extreme satisfaction and bewilderment of the latter that they were the sons of the by no means minor king who dwelt there. The princes then made preparations to go, and, selecting an auspicious day, started amidst the blessings of their new relatives, followed by their wives, their wonderful horses, and their retinue, and reached their father-land.

Their father and mother, who were almost blinded by constant weeping for their sons whom they thought to be lost, were now very much gratified to see them safe and sound once more in their midst; but the former, notwithstanding the gratification, had a great mind to inflict condign punishment, and it was only when his wife brought to his notice their extreme dutifulness to him, excepting this breach, that he excused them half-heartedly. Yet he could not refrain from expressing his regret that they should have set aside his advice, and thus reduced him and their mother to mere skeletons.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

AN UNLUCKY FLAW — BURMESE SUPERSTITION.

Extract from a diary of Maung Ba Thaw, Ak'unwun of the Myingyan District.

AT Þèbyuwâ, I was told of a dispute about a seven-toothed harrow which had a flaw in it owing to a wrong hole being chiselled out for one of the teeth by the maker. This harrow was purchased by one Maung Yuet from an itinerant vendor. His fellow-villagers, as soon as they saw the harrow, demanded its surrender to them, on the ground that it was keeping off the rain, and that it must be thrown into the Irrawaddy after being coated with *þanàtk'â* and decorated with flowers, and broken so as to be useless!

It is said to be the Burmese custom to crop the hair of the maker of a harrow with a flaw in it, deck him with flowers and *þanàtk'â* and then make him dance and carry the harrow to the river. Otherwise the country is sure to suffer from drought.

Maung Yuet at first refused to give up his harrow, and then threw it into a fishery; but after much coaxing from his fellow villagers has now agreed to give it up.

B. HOUGHTON.

PUNISHMENT OF AN UNSUCCESSFUL WIZARD.

THERE was lately an outbreak of cholera in a remote Gond village in the Central Provinces. The local deities were either supposed to be powerless in the matter, or were suspected of connivance, and the headmen accordingly repaired to a neighbouring hamlet to obtain an impartial opinion from the custodian of a shrine erected there. The priest, on being consulted, fell, or affected to fall, into a state of frenzy; and while thus inspired, as was thought, by the goddess, he cried out in a loud voice that a certain man whose name and caste he gave, and who dwelt in the cholera-stricken village, had brought the visitation, and could alone remove it. The elders at once returned and exhorted the man to do what he could. He had always been credited with magical powers, and now, followed by an anxious crowd, he proceeded to exercise them. First he made offerings of a young pig, a lime, and ashes to the local deity; then, clad in a yellow garment, he ran the circuit of the village and finally set up a small barricade across the entrance, through which, he declared, it would be impossible for cholera to pass. But his spells had lost their virtue, and the village folk still went on dying. The wizard repeated the ceremony, but again without avail; for while he was performing it a third time, men came up saying that two more victims had been taken.

With regard to what followed, it is impossible to speak with certainty. The police, who soon heard of what was happening, reported that the unfortunate man had been beaten to death by his neighbours, as a punishment for his want of skill. The villagers told another story. Disheartened, they said, by his failure, he proceeded to demolish the shrine of the goddess whom he had invoked in vain. He was carrying off her image, intent on throwing it into the river, when he himself was seized with the cholera and died within a few hours.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ON THE AGE OF TIRUNANASAMBANDHA.

BY P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A.

AMONG the Saiva community of Southern India, no name is held in greater veneration than that of Tiruñânasambandha. By the Saiva community, I mean the Hindûs that regard Siva as the head of the Hindû trinity. Saivas, in this sense, form the bulk of the population in the districts of Tinnevelly, Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, South Arcot, Chingleput, Madras, North Arcot, Salem, and Coimbatore, and are also found in large numbers in certain parts of Ceylon, Malabar, and Travancore, — in short, wherever Tamil is the prevailing tongue. The Kanarese people are also more or less exclusively Saivas; but they adopt a bigoted form of the common faith, and are therefore known as **Vîra-Saivas or Liṅgâyats.** Among the Brâhmaṇs too, there is a section specially called Saivas, and the vast majority of the rest, though known as Smârtas, venerate Saiva traditions and ceremonials, and are Saivas to all appearance.[1] For all the Saivas, and particularly for the non-Brâhmaṇical Tamil Saivas, Tiruñânasambandha is the highest authority, and his works have all the sanctity of the *Vêdas.*

The Tamil Saivas have their own system of sacred literature, compiled and arranged so as to match the *Vêdas, Purâṇas* and *Sâstras* in Sanskṛit. **The hymns of Sambandha,** together with a few other songs, are in fact known as the **Tamil Vêdas.** These hymns and songs were compiled and arranged into eleven groups, or **Tirumuṟai,** by one **Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi,** a Brâhmaṇ priest of Tirunâraiyûr in the Tanjore district, — the sovereign who patronized this Tamil Vyâsa being **Râjarâja Abhaya Kulasêkhara Chôḷa,**[2] as will be seen further on. Of these eleven collections or *Tirumuṟai,* the first three contain the hymns of Sambandha, and the next three those of a Vêḷâḷa saint, called **Appar or Tirunâvukkarasu,** an elder contemporary of Sambandha, and an earnest and pathetic writer, whose thorough renouncement of Buddhism[3] seems to have been the first of the irreparable reverses which that religion experienced in Southern India. The seventh comprises the rather humorous **hymns of Sundara,** a Brâhmaṇ devotee of a later generation.[4] These seven collections form the compilation called **Dêvâram,** also known as **Aḍaṅgal-Muṟai,** and are perhaps meant to match the hymns of the earlier portions of the *Vêdas,* which they closely resemble in being but praises and prayers offered to the deity. They are used also, much in the same way as the Vêdic hymns, on ceremonial and religious occasions. The mere learning of them by rote is held to be a virtue, and special provision is made in respectable Saiva temples, throughout the Tamil districts, for their public recitation after the daily *pûjâs,* by a class of Vêḷâḷa priests, called **Ôduvâr.** The earlier work,[5] the **Tiruvâsagam,** forms a part of the eighth *Tirumuṟai* or collection. It is perhaps intended to take the place of the *Upanishads,* and there is decidedly no work in the Tamil language more deserving of that distinction. There are, indeed, but few poems in any language that can surpass the *Tiruvâsagam* or 'the holy word' of **Mâṇikkavâsagar** in profundity of thought, in earnestness of feeling, or in that simple childlike trust, in which the struggling human soul, with its burdens of intellectual and moral puzzles, finally finds shelter. The hymns of nine other minor authors, composed in apparent imitation of the *Dêvâra* hymns, make up the ninth group called **Tiru-Isaippâ.** Among these nine authors was a **Chôḷa king named Kaṇḍarâditya,**[6] and I am glad to find his

[1] For instance, they use holy ashes, *rudrâksha* beads, etc.

[2] See the *Tirumuṟai-kaṇḍa-Purâṇam,* verse 2.

[3] Under the term Buddhism, I include all forms of anti-Vêdic heresy that prevailed in this age. Though they differed among themselves, all the schismatics, known variously as Kshapaṇas, Bauddhas, Jainas, Thêras, Sâkyas, Arugar, etc., were at one in rejecting the authority of the *Vêdas.* Useful pieces of interesting information may be gathered from the *Dêvâra* hymns concerning all the sects of South-Indian Buddhists.

[4] See the *Tirumuṟai-kaṇḍa-Purâṇam,* verse 16.

[5] The priority of Mâṇikkavâsagar is generally accepted only on tradition, and on the genealogy of the Pâṇḍyas given in the Madura *Sthala-Purâṇa.* Better evidence is found in the *Dêvâram* itself. See verse 2, page 652 of Ramasvami Pillai's edition, where Appar directly alludes to a miracle ascribed to Mâṇikkavâsagar.

[6] See verse 10 of his *Tiru-Isaippâ.*

name in Dr. Hultzsch's table of Chôḷa kings,[7] as the one, from whom Râjarâja, who ascended the Chôḷa throne in 984-85 A. D.,[8] was the fifth in succession. The tenth collection contains the mystic songs of an old *Yôgin*, called **Tirumûlar**. The eleventh and last evidently looks like a supplement, and was perhaps intended to provide room for all other sacred writings current at the time. It embraces a number of miscellaneous treatises, some ascribed to **Nakkîrar** of the old Madura college. The last ten pieces in the eleventh *Tirumuṛai* were written by Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi himself; and of these ten pieces, the third or the **Tiruttoṇḍar Tiruvandâdi** forms the basis of the Tamiḻ *Purâṇa*, popularly called the **Periyapurâṇam**; and this completes the analogy we have drawn between Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi and Vyâsa, — the compiler of the Âryan *Vêdas* and the supposed author of all *Purâṇas*. These eleven collections, together with the *Periyapurâṇam*, make up the sacred literature of the 'Saivas, if we put aside the works of the Santâna-Âchâryas, called *Siddhânta-'Sâstras*,[9] fourteen in number and professedly philosophical. These last correspond to the *Vêdânta-Sûtras* and their commentaries, which, though not looked upon as revealed, form still an integral portion of the sacred Sanskrit writings.

From this short account, it must be clear what position **Tiruñânasambandha** holds among the Tamiḻas as a religious teacher. He is decidedly the greatest and most popular of the Tamiḻ *Rishis*. There is scarcely a 'Saiva temple in the Tamiḻ country where his image is not daily worshipped. In most of them, special annual feasts are held in his name, when the leading events of his life are dramatically represented for the instruction of the masses. All classes of poets, from his colleagues Appar and Sundarar to the latest of *Purâṇa*-writers, from the purest of Vêdântists like **Tattuvarâyar**[10] to the most uncompromising of dualists like **Aruḷ Nandi Śivâchârya**, from the iconoclastic **Kaṇṇuḍaiya Vaḷḷalâr**[11] to the **Vîra-Śaiva Śivaprakâśa**, unite in invoking his spiritual aid at the commencement of their literary labours. Indeed any Tamiḻ scholar ought to be able, at short notice, to compile a goodly volume of the encomiums paid to the memory of this religious teacher by an appreciative posterity.

Even as a poet, Sambandha has more than ordinary claims to be remembered. His hymns, of which three hundred and eighty-four *padigams*[12] or more than 19,000 lines are now extant, are models of pure and elevated diction, generally earnest and touching, but always melodious and well-turned. Most of them appear to have been uttered impromptu; and all of them, being lyrical, are set to music. The original tunes are now mostly forgotten. They were lost in the later airs introduced by the Âryan musicians of the north. Some of the old names[13] are still retained; but it is difficult to believe that they denote, in the new system, the same old Draviḍian melodies. The very instrument upon which these melodies were played, namely the *yâḻ*, is so completely forgotten that no small difficulty is felt in following the descriptions of it in such ancient classics as the *Ten Idyls* and the *Silappadigâram*. The *vîṇai* now in use would appear to be of quite a different structure.[14] The melody of some of the hymns of Sambandha, therefore, may not be fully realised, since the tunes to which they were set are now lost. Taken all in all, Sambandha must be reckoned as a great genuine Tamiḻ poet, certainly the greatest in the lyrical department. It is a pity that he composed nothing

[7] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 112.

[8] See *ante*, Vol. XXIII. p. 297, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 68.

[9] Umâpati Śivâchârya was the last of the four Santâna-Âchâryas, for whom the Śaiva Calendar provides an annual fast-day. They constitute, together with the devotees whose lives are described in the *Periyapurâṇam*, the canonized saints of the Śaivas.

[10] This excellent poet and subtle metaphysician deserves more attention than he now generally receives.

[11] The only work of this author now extant, called *Oḻiviloḍukkam*, is an endless mine of what Dr. Bain calls "intellectual similes." Compared with his merciless sarcasms on all kinds of idolatry, the words of Śivavâkyar and others, so frequently quoted, are the tamest of jejune platitudes. The author of the Tamiḻ Plutarch does not mention this writer. He mistakenly ascribes his work to Śântaliṅgar, of a totally different school.

[12] A *padigam* is a collection of ten stanzas. Sambandha generally adds an eleventh, giving his own name, etc.

[13] Such as the tunes now called *kuruñji*, *kolli*, etc.

[14] The *Tiruvâśagam* distinguishes the *vîṇai* from the old *yâḻ*. So also do the *Kaliṅgattu Parani* and other works of the middle ages.

in any other line. With his masterly command over the language and his marked individuality, he might have left behind more imposing monuments of his genius in the epic or the dramatic line, if his vocation and circumstances had permitted him the requisite leisure.

But, evidently, his time was otherwise fully engaged. His life is narrated at great length, in the *Periyapurâṇam*, but scarcely with such particulars as a modern historian would care to have. He was born of good Brâhmaṇ parents of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* at Śrîkâḷi or Shiyali, a few miles to the south of Chidambaram. His father bore the name of Śivapâdahṛidaya, and his mother was called Bhagavatî. Evidently, they had no other children. At the age of three. Sambandha, who was then called **Piḷḷai or Âḷuḍaiya Piḷḷai**, accompanied his father, one morning, to the bathing *ghâṭ* of the local temple tank. Busy with his own ablutions, the father forgot the presence of his son; and the boy, left to himself, cried and wept, and called to his mother. The local goddess heard the cry, and appearing before the boy, gave him a cup of her own milk. The boy drank the holy draught, and forthwith became **Tiruñânasambandha**, or 'the one related to (the godhead) through wisdom.' In the meantime, the father having finished his ablutions, came up to his boy, and wished to know about the cup in his hand. The child broke out into verse, and pointing to the divine figure, still but vanishing through the sky, proclaimed the source of the gift. The hymn still exists, and is the very first of the compilation called *Dêvâram*, but it seems to give no support to the miracle narrated. Probably, Sambandha's was one of those cases of marvellous precocity now and then puzzling psychologists; and no doubt, he was a born poet who 'lisped in numbers, for the numbers came.' Anyhow, after declaring himself to be of the elect, Sambandha could find no rest. Crowds of people came to have a look at the prodigy and to invite him to their villages. He responded to their calls, and commemorated his visit by composing a hymn of ten stanzas in praise of Śiva and the village visited.

It was while he was thus travelling about, raising unbounded admiration among the people, and securing the staunch support of the leading men of his age,[15] that an invitation from **Maṅgaiyarkkaraśi**, the queen of **Kûn Pâṇḍya** of Madura, reached him at Vêdâraṇyam. The Pâṇḍya had been converted to Jainism, but his queen and his minister, **Kulachchiṟai**, retained their traditional faith; and wishing to reclaim their sovereign, they naturally looked to Sambandha, the marvel of the age. Nor was he slow to respond. Though the *Purâṇa* records no previous conflict with the Buddhists, it is clear from the uniform imprecations pronounced upon them in every one of his hymns — not even the first excepted — that he must have already encountered them frequently in the course of his incessant movements. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Sambandha was anxiously looking out for an opportunity for a decisive trial of strength. The invitation was accordingly accepted with alacrity, and the champion of the Śaiva faith appeared in Madura. It would be interesting to get an historical account of the meeting of the two opposing creeds of the time at the court of the Pâṇḍya. That there was such a meeting is beyond all dispute. Of this, the hymns connected with the proceedings at the meeting, bear ample, and so far as I can see, unquestionable evidence. But of the debate we have no particulars; the story is replete only with miracles. Suffice it to say that **the Buddhists were routed, and that Kûn Pâṇḍya was duly re-converted to the Śaiva faith.** This event is the most important historical fact connected with Sambandha's life. After re-establishing the traditional faith in Madura, he recommenced his travels. He appears to have been an indefatigable traveller, and to have visited almost every town and every village of any consequence then in the Tamiḻ districts.[16] A marriage was at last proposed and settled with the daughter of a pious Brâhmaṇ called

[15] Six of these are expressly mentioned: Tirunâvukkaraśu, his fellow hymn-maker; Śiṟuttoṇḍar, Tirunilanakkar, Murugar, and Tirunîlakaṇḍa Yâḻppâṇar, who accompanied Sambandha for the rest of his life, playing on his matchless *yâḻ* every hymn his youthful master produced.

[16] There exist hymns commemorating his visit to more than 200 places, mostly in the Tanjore district.

Nambâṇḍâr,[17] but, at the end of the wedding, a miraculous fire appeared, in answer to the prayers of the bridegroom, and all present, including the married couple, says the *Purâṇa*, departed this life to heaven.

Thus the life of Sambandha begins and ends with miracles.[18] But in spite of these supernatural elements, it is impossible not to see in him a powerful historical personality. **If the downfall of Buddhism, at least in the Tamiḻ districts, can be ascribed to one individual more than to another, that individual is Ñânasambandha.** That he looked upon the final overthrow of the Jainas and the Buddhists as the one object of his life will appear from every one of his numerous hymns, the tenth verse of which is uniformly devoted to their condemnation. Even after his glorious victory over them at Madura, the habit of cursing them is continued, shewing that the schismatics, however vanquished, had still a hold on the land. An express mention of a subsequent debate at Teḷichchêri is also met with. But from Kûn Pâṇḍya's conversion may be dated the downfall of Buddhism. Buddhism never regained its lost prestige, and by the time of Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi, *i. e.* the eleventh century, it was practically extinct in the Tamiḻ country.

It is difficult, at this distance of time, to understand why so implacable a hatred was implanted against the Jainas in the heart of our otherwise amiable author. The religion of Aruga must have deteriorated, no doubt, a good deal, after it got itself established under Aśôka in the north and equally powerful potentates in the south. Religious sects, like political parties, are generally good and promising only till they attain to power. However corrupted the creed of Gautama had become, that fact alone could not have been the sole ground of Sambandha's intolerance, or the sufficing cause of its rather rapid downfall and disappearance. With the hopelessly impenetrable darkness that envelopes the history of this period, it is idle to open such questions. We should rejoice, if we could, with any tolerable certainty, determine what that period itself was.

It is scarcely possible to conceive greater confusion than that which prevails with reference to the question of **the age of Sambandha.** Mr. Taylor places Kûn Pâṇḍya, and therefore Sambandha also, who converted him, about 1320 B. C.,[19] while Dr. Caldwell contends that he was reigning in 1292 A. D. Thus it would appear possible to assign Sambandha to 1300 B. C. or A. D. indifferently! This is certainly very curious: and I am not sure whether we can find the like of it in the whole range of history. Indeed, it would seem that South-Indian chronology has yet to begin its existence. We have not, in fact, as yet, a single important date in the ancient history of the Draviḍians ascertained and placed beyond the pale of controversy. It is no wonder, then, that, in the absence of such a sheet anchor, individual opinions drift, at pleasure, from the fourteenth century B. C. to the fourteenth century A. D.! I am not sure whether even the conditions under which South-Indian chronology has to proceed have themselves been sufficiently attended to. Whatever else there exists or not of the ancient Draviḍian civilization, there exists the Tamiḻ language with its various dialects, including the classical dialect, now gone out of use, and the extensive literature written in that dialect. A critical study of this dialect and of this literature would certainly, under ordinary circumstances, be held as a pre-requisite for conducting South-Indian antiquarian researches. But, unfortunately, for reasons that cannot be here explained, critical scholarship in Tamiḻ has come to be regarded as not so essential to those researches.[20] Hence the absurdities that we sometimes meet with in the writings of those whose oracular utterances pass in certain quarters for

---

[17] The author of the *Tamil Plutarch* mistakes Nambâṇḍâr for Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi, — quite a different person.

[18] It is but just to add that some of these do find support in the *Dêvâra* hymns. There is clear evidence to prove that Sambandha believed in his own powers to work miracles.

[19] Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III. Chapter II. p. 55.

[20] Dr. Hultzsch, too, seems to complain of this prevailing prejudice. "It is still a popular opinion," he writes in his preface to the first volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, "that a colloquial knowledge of one of the vernaculars with a slight smattering of Sanskrit is sufficient for editing successfully the records of bygone times."

axiomatic truths. For instance, Dr. Burnell, in an otherwise very masterly treatise on *South-Indian Palæography*, goes out of his way to add the following footnote :—

"Buddhamitra, a Buddhist of the Chôḷa country and apparently a native of Malakûṭa or Malaikûṟṟam, wrote in the eleventh century a *Tamiḻ Grammar* in verse, with a commentary by himself, which he dedicated to the then Chôḷa king and called after him *Vîraśôḻiyam*. The commentary cites a great number of Tamiḻ works current in the eleventh century, and is therefore of much historical importance; for the approximate dates even of most Tamiḻ works are hardly known. He cites *Amṛitasâgaram, Avinayanâr, Ârûrkôvai, Eliviruttam, Kapilar, Kambaṉ, Kaviviruttam, Kâkkaipâḍiṉiyâr, Kâtantras, Kândi, Kundalakêśiviruttam, Kuraḷ, Saṅgai-authors, Chintâmaṇi, Solarâjavariśai, Taṇḍi, Tiruchchiṟṟambalakkôvai, Tirumaṉṉivaḷaru, Tolkâppiyam, Nambi, Naḷaveṉbâ, Nariviruttam, Nâlaḍiyâr, Niyâyaśûḍâmaṇi, Nêminâdam, Perundêvar's Bhâratam, Maṇippiravâḷam, Mayêśuranâr, Vîraśôḻanmêṟkavi.* This then represents the old Tamiḻ literature prior to the eleventh century, and to it must be added the older Śaiva works. The above-mentioned literature cannot be older than the eighth century, for in the seventh century Hiuen Tsiang expressly states that the Tamiḻ people were then indifferent to literature. That this literature arose under North-Indian influences and copied North-Indian models can hardly be disputed; but it is time now to assert," so runs the emphatic edict, "that it is nothing more than an exact copy; if there be any originality, it is in some of the similes and turns of expression only."[21]

But it is time also to see that such assertions do not go uncontradicted. It was but the other day that I found this passage cited in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[22] — a work supposed to contain nothing but reliable matter. But the passage in question is a veritable nest of errors. In the first place, to say that Buddhamitra is a native of Malakûṭa, while there is his own authority for saying that he belonged to a place called Ponpaṟṟi, argues either ignorance of the very opening verses of his *Grammar*, or an inclination to substitute the unknown for the known! For to this day, nobody knows where Malakûṭa is. It is, in fact, Dr. Burnell's own conjecture for the Chinese Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a; and its identification with the Tanjore district rests entirely upon an erroneous reading of his, — taking *Manukulachûḷâmaṇi-chaturvêdimaṅgalam* in an old Tanjore inscription for *Malakûṭa-chûḷâmaṇi-chaturvêdimaṅgalam*.[23] In the second place, to say that Buddhamitra wrote his *Grammar* in the eleventh century, may be permitted as a venturesome conjecture; but, before we accept it as an indication of a bit of *terra firma* on which to build historical conclusions, we must demand better proof than Dr. Burnell is able to offer. Here again, a mistaken identification is at the bottom of his argument. Vîra-Chôḷa to whom the *Grammar* is dedicated, is assumed to have been the same as Râjêndra-Chôḷa who "reigned from 1064 to 1113," and whose coronation "took place in 1079."[24] But neither Tamiḻ literature nor the latest epigraphical researches lend the least support to this identification. Nay, there can be now very little doubt that Dr. Burnell simply mistook for a genuine Chôḷa king the Châlukya prince Vîra-Chôḍa Vishṇuvardhana IX., who ascended the throne in 1079.[25] In the third place, it is hard to account for Dr. Burnell's supposition that the commentary was by Buddhamitra himself. The old grammarian was really more modest! The commentary was written by one Peruṇḍêvaṉâr, and not by that author himself.

It is harder still to explain how Dr. Burnell got the curious list of books he gives. Mr. Damodaram Pillai — the veteran editor of the *Vîraśôḻiyam* — ought to be able to say, whether he found any such list in the many manuscript copies be examined in order to bring out his remarkably careful edition. But the list is its own best condemnation. It is full of enigmatic

[21] *Elements of South-Indian Palæography*, p. 127, note 2.

[22] Article "Tamil" by R(ost). I find myself anticipated by this able writer in an investigation I have been of late conducting regarding the tense-formations of Tamiḻ verbs.

[23] *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 240.

[24] *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 40.

[25] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 32.

conundrums, sufficient to amaze and humble the proudest of Tamiḻ Paṇḍits! For, has he read *Eliviruttam* or *Nariviruttam* ?[26] He may know *Kuṇḍalakêśi*, but does he know *Kuṇḍalakêśi-viruttam?* *Kaliviruttam*, as a metre, he may be familiar with, but has he read *Kaviviruttam* as a book? *Kâṇḍigai*, as a mode of exposition, he may know, but what is *Kâṇḍi?* He may condemn *maṇipravâḷam*, as a mongrel sort of poetic diction, and may even be aware that it is referred to in the commentary in question (for *here* we actually come upon something that has a basis in fact), but has he had the rare fortune of meeting with it as the title of a Tamiḻ work? But he must feel considerable relief when he comes to *Tirumaṇṇi-vaḷaru* : for, he must know that that is but the initial phrase of a particular stanza in the book under reference, and cannot be *itself* the title of a treatise. But to be serious, it is a pure waste of time to examine the list. The errors in it are too many and too transparent to mislead any one with the least pretence to Tamiḻ scholarship. In this fanciful list, no doubt, some real names do occur; but even these shew only what hazy ideas the author had of their bearing. For instance, "*Saṅgai*-authors," if it has any meaning at all, must mean the poets of the Madura college. It might be too bad to suppose that Dr. Burnell could mistake the Augustan age of Tamiḻ literature itself for a particular book; but how else are we to avoid the charge of cross division, which enumerates, as of co-ordinate importance, the class and some individuals of that class? Further, is there any justification for saying that even these real authors and works are cited in the commentary? The most patient study does not reveal a word of reference to most of them. On the other hand, there is evidence in the book itself to shew that some of them did not exist to be cited. For instance, Buddhamitra alludes to the Sanskṛit grammarian Daṇḍin in a way that could leave but one impression — *viz.* that the Tamiḻ Taṇḍi was yet to be born. With the exception of the *Kuṟaḷ*, *Nâlaḍiyâr*, and a few other works, the bulk of the illustrations are the commentator's own composition, as the new principles of this Sanskritizing *Grammar* could not find apt support in the old Tamiḻ literature.

Turning now to the conclusion drawn, does it look probable that such an extensive literature, as must be assumed to have existed from the list given, started into existence in the course of but three centuries of those backward times? Even supposing there existed no works but those cited in the commentary (which is really difficult to believe), and omitting also the "older Śaiva" works, which are allowed to have existed, though not cited by Buddhamitra, Dr. Burnell's list would give us ten important works for a century, that is, one standard work, worthy of being cited in a grammar, for every ten years; and yet, the Tamiḻas were all but recently indifferent to letters! But the truth is, Dr. Burnell is simply indulging his fancy, and piling up conjecture upon conjecture, to construct his cloudland. Hiuen Tsiang says not a word about the Tamiḻas. He simply notes what somebody told him of the people of Mo-lo-kiu-cha. But to the anxious ears of Dr. Burnell, Mo-lo-kiu-cha sounds like Malakûṭa, and to his no less anxious eyes, the innocent word Manukula in the old Tanjore inscription, though written in characters "of two to three inches in height," appears as Malakûṭa; and forthwith, he hurries to apply what is said of the people of Mo-lo-kiu-cha, not merely to the village of Manukulachûḷâmaṇi-chaturvêdimaṅgalam, nor even to the delta of the Kâvêri where that village is supposed to have been situated, but to the whole Tamiḻ race itself! Untrustworthy as such sweeping assertions about whole nations generally are, the hearsay report of the Chinese pilgrim would appear to be extremely so, when taken along with another choice bit of news, his worthy but unnamed informant seems to have favoured him with. The capital of Mo-lo-kiu-cha, Hiuen Tsiang was told, was three thousand *li* from Kâñchî; and General Cunningham, wishing to discover the place, finds himself quite at sea, having to go far out into the ocean beyond Cape Comorin to cover the distance given! Yet with Dr. Burnell, the hearsay evidence of Hiuen Tsiang about the literary tastes of the people of that

[26] [*Nariviruttam* actually occurs as the name of a Tamiḻ work in Paṇḍit V. Śâminâdaiyar's edition of the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*, Introduction, p. 2. — V. Venkayya.]

curious missing city and country, is sufficient evidence, to declare that the Tamiḻ people had no literature till the eighth century A. D.! It cannot be untrue that some angels, in their flights, do extend their wings too far forwards to be good for their vision! With all my admiration, I can find no other explanation for the state of mind that could indulge in such gratuitous and unprofitable dogmatism. Possibly the indifference noted is also not to letters in general, but only to Buddhistic canons, in search of which the pious Chinese traveller came to India.[27] Lastly, as regards Dr. Burnell's emphatic assertion about Tamiḻ literature being but an exact copy of Sanskṛit works, it need not concern us much, seeing what proofs the author gives in the same paragraph of his scholarship in that literature. Even one that has studied no other Tamiḻ classics than the popular *Kuṟaḷ*, may know, if pressed, what answer to give to this charge. I am sorry, only for the reputation of Dr. Burnell, that this unlucky note of his, as unlucky as uncalled for, has found its way into the stately columns of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Be it far from me to disparage the labours of the few European scholars, to whose indefatigable endeavours alone is due whatever light there exists in this and similar branches of study. The blame, if anywhere, must rest with the native scholars themselves. If they fail to imbibe the historical spirit of modern times, and do not stir themselves to help forward the researches made regarding their own antiquities, they will have themselves to thank, if their favourite language and literature are condemned and thrown overboard, as is summarily done by Dr. Burnell.

Returning to our subject, I am aware of only two serious attempts to determine the age of **Kûn Pâṇḍya,** or which is the same thing, the age of Sambandha. The first is that of Dr. Caldwell[28] in his *Comparative Draviḍian Grammar,* Introduction, pages 137-143, and Appendix III. pages 535-540, and the second is that of Mr. Nelson in his *District Manual* called the '*Madura Country,*' Part III. Chapter II. pages 54-70. Neither of these two attempts appears to me successful or satisfactory. It would take too much space to review their arguments in detail, but I shall briefly note what strikes me as the leading features of these theories.

Dr. Caldwell's hypothesis as to the age of Sambandha is based entirely upon two assumptions — first, that Kûn Pâṇḍya's name was **Sundara-Pâṇḍya,** and second, that Sundara-Pâṇḍya is identical with the **Sender Bendi** of Marco Polo that reigned in 1292. As Mr. Nelson also proceeds upon the first of these two suppositions, it is necessary to observe once for all that Sundara-Pâṇḍya is hardly a proper name. The deity at Madura is called Sundara, and Sundara-Pâṇḍya by itself is no more the name of any particular Pâṇḍya than is Śrî-Padmanâbhadâsa the individual appellation of any sovereign of Travancore. Hence we find the term Sundara associated with the name of so many kings of Madura. That it never stood by itself as the distinctive name of any individual Pâṇḍya, it may be hazardous to assert, but that it was too common a designation to yield us any historical clue, requires no proof. Still, for the satisfaction of European scholars, I shall quote just one or two authorities. Dr. Hultzsch says with reference to the phrase 'crown of Sundara': "The name Sundara occurs in the traditional lists of Pâṇḍya kings. In the present inscription the term 'crown of Sundara' seems to be used in the sense of "the crown of the Pâṇḍya king."[29] So Sundara means nothing but Pâṇḍya. Be it also noted that this expression, 'Sundara's crown,' occurs in an inscription of Râjêndra-Chôḷa, who, according to Dr. Hultzsch, ascended the throne about 1014 A. D., that is, 278 years before Marco Polo landed at Kâyal.

27 This is the view adopted in my first article on "*The Ten Tamil Idyls.*"

28 The loss to the Tamiḻ language and literature by the death of this venerable Tamiḻ scholar is really great, and it may be long before that language finds so devoted a student and so patient an enquirer as The Right Rev. Bishop Caldwell.

29 *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. I. p. 96.

It is possible also to trace the source of this common error that confounds Kûn Pâṇḍya with Sundara-Pâṇḍya. When Kûn Pâṇḍya was converted by Sambandha, the Saivas in their exultation called him **ninṟa-sîr-Neḍumâṟan**, — the tall or prosperous Pâṇḍya of established beauty or grace; — probably meaning thereby nothing more than a compliment, like the title 'Defender of the Faith,' conferred by the Pope on Henry VIII. I am not sure, whether the name Kûn Pâṇḍya itself was not an after designation, to be understood metaphorically and theologically, rather than literally and physically. Anyhow, the Kûn Pâṇḍya of Sambandha still continues to be worshipped as a canonized saint, only under the name of ninṟa-sîr-Neḍumâṟa-nâyanâr. When, however, the time came for the Sanskrit *Sthala-Purâṇa* to be written, the Paṇḍits, who must needs translate even proper names, rendered Kûn Pâṇḍya into Kubja-Pâṇḍya and ninṟa-sîr-Neḍumaṟân into Sundara-Pâṇḍya, exactly as they translated his queen's name, Maṅgaiyarkkaraśi, into Vanitêśvarî, and his minister's name Kulachchiṟai into Kulabandhana. The *Purâṇa* itself makes it clear that Sundara-Pâṇḍya was simply a title assumed after the conversion;[30] and the Tamiḻas know of no other title then assumed, but the name of ninṟa-sîr-Neḍumâṟan. Be the explanation what it may, to build any theory upon the name Sundara Pâṇḍya, is simply to build upon quicksand. I shall add but one more testimony to this simple fact. The Rev. E. Lœventhal says: "The name Sundara-Pâṇḍya is found on such a multitude of coins, both in the Tinnevelly and Madura districts, that it is difficult to believe that all those coins should have been struck by one king. Could it not be that some of his successors had used that name as a title on their coins, the meaning of the name being only 'beautiful.'"[31] Of course, such perplexities are unavoidable, when one proceeds upon a wrong hypothesis. For, it should be added, Mr. Lœventhal goes upon Dr. Caldwell's theory that there was a particular Pâṇḍya, called Sundara-Pâṇḍya, who reigned in 1292. Error in these regions of pure speculation is always infectious.

Now with regard to Marco Polo's **Sender Bendi**; Marco Polo distinctly says, he ruled over Soli, 'the best and noblest province of India.' Madura does not answer this description, nor can we conceive how it can possibly be corrupted, even in the language of these flying foreign visitors into 'Soli.' Colonel Yule may be right in identifying Soli with Tanjore, the then capital of the Chôḻa country: but it looks more probable that it was the name of some province about the sea-coast yet to be identified. At any rate, it cannot be Madura. That in some undated[32] inscriptions in the possession of Dr. Caldwell, the expression 'Sundara-Chôḻa-Pâṇḍya' occurs will be scarcely accepted as an argument for confounding Soli with Madura, unless we have a foregone conclusion to maintain. More reasonable appears to be the conclusion arrived at by Colonel Yule, that Marco Polo's Sender Bendi was no sovereign of Madura, but some adventurer "who had got possession of the coast country and perhaps paid some nominal homage to Madura."[33] It is unnecessary for our purpose to follow Dr. Caldwell through the maze of dreamy tales he cites from two Muhammadan historians, to shew that there was a king in Madura about 1292, called '**Sundar Bandi.**' The earlier of the two, Rashîdu'ddîn, says that a Sundar Bandi ruled over Malabar, extending from Kûlam to Silâwar (which Dr. Caldwell interprets as Nellore!), with a Muhammadan minister named Shêkh Jamâlu'ddîn, and that he died in 1293, leaving his throne and seven hundred bullock loads of jewels to his lucky minister! Wassâf, the second historian, agrees as to Sundar Bandi's death in 1293, but amplifies the seven hundred bullock loads into seven thousand, and gives the treasure to a brother of Sundar Bandi, instead of to his Muhammadan minister. But not so harmless is his other exaggeration about the extent of Malabar, which is here described as stretching from the Persian sea to Silâwar (or Nellore), — which, indeed, would be a noble province to rule over, but neither Malabar, Madura nor Soli! Still more remarkable is another statement of this historical authority

[30] *Tiruviḷaiyâḍal-Purâṇam*, Chapter 69, verse 68; and *Tirunelvêli Sthala-Purâṇam*, p. 748, verses 4 and 5.

[31] *The Coins of Tinnevelly*, p. 19.

[32] I have now with me some inscriptions with this name which I should have published already, but for want of time and health to make out their full bearing.

[33] Colonel Yule quoted by Dr. Caldwell; see Appendix III. p. 537.

depended upon by Dr. Caldwell. The Sundar Bandi who dies in 1293, re-appears in 1310, and flees from Madura to Delhi for protection against a rebellious brother of his! But it is needless for our purpose to go into the evidence of these so-called historians, cited by Dr. Caldwell to support his view. Let us suppose that the reconciliations he proposes, between these and other queer statements of theirs, are satisfactory, and also that the identification of Marco Polo's Sender Bendi of Soli with their Sundar Bandi of Malabar is as sound as the learned Doctor could wish; still, are we any way nearer our conclusion? A distinctly different identification would yet remain to be made. Is the Kûn Pâṇḍya of Sambandha the same as the Sundar Bandi of the two Muhammadan historians? There is not the least shadow of evidence in favour of the supposition, while every historical fact known is decidedly against it. We need mention here but two. (1) The minister of Kûn Pâṇḍya was not the Muhammadan Shêkh Jamâlu'ddîn, but Kulachchiṟai Nâyaṉâr — one of the sixty-three canonized 'Saiva saints.[34] (2) The dominions of Kûn Pâṇḍya, instead of extending from Kûlam or the Persian Gulf to Nellore, did not go beyond Trichinopoly, where the three Tamiḻ kingdoms met in the days of Sambandha.[35] The Chôḻa kingdom itself did not embrace Cuddalore, which was then a Pallava province.[36]

Now turning to **Mr. Nelson,** — surely his procedure is more judicious. He has no decided theory to uphold, but arguing from certain premises, he concludes that "it is very *possible* that Kûn Pâṇḍya reigned in the latter half of the eleventh century." The premises assumed are, (1) that certain conquests and feats, claimed for one Sundara-Pâṇḍya in an undated inscription, are true and applicable to Kûn Pâṇḍya; and (2) that Maṅgaiyarkkaraśi, the queen of Kûn Pâṇḍya, was the daughter of Karikâla Chôḻa, who persecuted Râmânuja. Now both these premises appear to me more than questionable: and I shall consider them separately.

The most remarkable point in Mr. Nelson's inscription is the alleged occurrence in it of the name of **Maṅgaiyarkkaraśi, the patroness of Sambandha.** But, as Mr. Venkayya informs me, the name of Maṅgaiyarkkaraśi is a mere misreading of Mr. Nelson for *Ulagamuḻududaiyâḷ*,[37] the Tamiḻ equivalent of Lôkamahâdêvî. This removes the only ground for any plausible identification of Sundara-Pâṇḍya with the Kûn Pâṇḍya we are in search of.

The only other historical allusion in the document is the burning of Tanjore and Uṟaiyûr. Much is made of this by Mr. Nelson. But it is altogether fatal to his theory. Kûn Pâṇḍya could not have burned Tanjore, for the simple reason that Tanjore did not then exist. Neither Sambandha, nor Appar, nor Sundara found such a place in their systematic and incessant peregrinations. They do not even seem to have heard of such a place, which would be certainly inexplicable, seeing that all of them, and particularly the third, spent so much of their time in what is now called the Tanjore district, where scarcely a village[38] was left uncommemorated in their endless hymns. Sundara, indeed, mentions a Tanjore, as the birthplace of a particular saint, but it is not our Tanjore at all, but a village now called Poṭṭai Tañjâvûr, a hamlet near Negapatam. By the time of Karuvûr Dêvar, one of the nine authors of the *Tiru-Iśaippâ*, Tanjore makes its appearance with its temple of Râjarâjêśvara,[39] and in that supplement to the *Dêvâram*, a hymn is found for the first time for Tanjore. Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi thus finds it necessary to qualify the original Tanjore of Sundara with a distinguishing

[34] We have Sambandha's own evidence for this fact. For instance, he says "*Koṟṟavaṉ-taṉakku mandiriy=âya Kulachchiṟai;*" Ramasvami Pillai's edition, p. 828.

[35] See Sambandha's *Mukhichchara-padigam*, p. 344.

[36] See *Tiru-nâvukkaraśar Purâṇam*, verse 84. Tiruppâdirippuliyûr, now called Old Cuddalore, was the capital of a Pallava province and the seat of a Buddhist university; hence its name, which is simply a Tamiḻ rendering of Pâṭaliputra.

[37] See Dr. Burgess and Mr. Natêśa Śâstri's *Tamiḻ and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 51, note 2.

[38] Over five hundred and twenty-five such villages are mentioned in the *Dêvâra Hymns*, nearly half of which are in the Tanjore district.

[39] It was built by the Chôḻa king Râjarâja about A. D. 1000; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 1.

epithet, 'Maruga-nâṭṭu Tañjai.'[40] Though negative in itself, this is as clear evidence as it is possible to obtain about the origin of a town from literary records.

Now for **Maṅgaiyarkkaraśi being the daughter of Karikâla,** which is Mr. Nelson's second assumption, it rests entirely upon a statement of Dr. Wilson, that she is called so in an account of the *gôpura* of the Buddhist temple 'Pudcovaily,' — a place I am not able to identify with any known Tamiḻ town. We cannot estimate the historical value of this account unless more particulars are given. But so far as the question in hand is concerned, the account, whatever it may turn out to be, cannot prove of much consequence. There is but one Karikâla known to Tamiḻ literature, — the hero of so many immortal poems of classical antiquity. There may have been several others of a later generation who passed under that honoured name: but there was apparently none about the time of Sambandha, who would have surely commemorated the father of his royal patroness, if he had had any independent importance. In one of the *Dêvâra Hymns*,[41] the word Karikâla actually occurs, but it means there 'the god of death' and not a Chôḻa prince. But even supposing that Karikâla was the name of the father of Maṅgaiyarkkaraśi, we should shew that that Karikâla was the real persecutor of Râmânuja, before we can draw any inference with reference to the question in hand.

I find in Dr. Caldwell's arguments too, a reference to **Râmânuja,**[42] and I am afraid, it indicates too serious a distortion in the view taken of the religious history of Southern India to be passed over in silence. We cannot here go into the question in detail, and must be content with pointing out certain well-marked stages in the religious development of the Tamiḻ nation. There was a period, lost altogether in hoary antiquity, when the native Draviḍian religion, with its peculiar forms of sacrifices, prophecies and ecstatic dances, dimly visible still in *veṟiyâṭṭu*, *vêlaṉâḍal*, and other ceremonies of mountain races, was alone in vogue. The first foreign influence brought to bear upon the primitive form of worship was that of the Vêdic religion, which, with its usual spirit of toleration and compromise, adopted and modified the practices it then found current in the country. For a long time the influence was anything but strong: but it accumulated as time elapsed, and some traces of this foreign influence may be observed in such fragments of the *pre-Tolkâppiyam* works as now and then turn up in old commentaries. By the time this famous grammar came to be written, the Draviḍians would appear to have adopted a few of the social institutions, myths, and ceremonies of the Âryan settlers. But it was even then only an adaptation, and no copy. The most ancient of the works of the Madura college were composed during this period. Next came the Buddhist movement; and after a long period of mutual toleration and respect, during which was produced the bulk of the extant Tamiḻ classics, the creed of Gautama supplanted the older compound of Draviḍian and Vêdic worship. After attaining to power, the mild doctrines of Buddha seem to have undergone rapid degeneration and to have otherwise offended the followers of the original cult. Then followed the revival of Hindûism. In the course of its long contact with Buddhism, the old Draviḍio-Âryan religion was considerably modified in principles and practice, and the Hindûism that was now revived, was altogether therefore a higher and more complex compound. The first who raised their voices against Buddha, were those who worshipped Śiva, a name that the Tamiḻas had learnt to use for the deity, ever since they came under the Âryan influence, if not earlier, as contended by Dr. Oppert. The question was then, not between Śiva and Vishṇu, for no such antagonism was then conceivable, but between the Vêdic ceremonies and the teachings of Buddha. The struggle must have continued for a long while, but the time was ripe when Sambandha appeared. Already had Appar, — a learned and earnest Buddhist monk in the most famous of the southern cloisters,[43] — renounced publicly his faith in Gautama; and in a generation or two appeared Sundara. These three had to fight very hard, but

[40] See the *Tiruvandâdi*, verse 66. Śêkkiḻâr does the same; see *Seṟuttuṇaiṇâyaṉâr Purâṇam*, verse 1.

[41] Ramasvami Pillai's edition, p. 983.

[42] See *Comparative Draviḍian Grammar*, Introduction, p. 140.

[43] I mean Ṭiruppâdirippuliyûr, named after Pâṭaliputra.

they succeeded nevertheless in turning back the tide of Buddhism; and though the schismatics lingered long in the land, they never regained their lost position. Thus was inaugurated the period of piety and miracles, which, no doubt, impeded for a while the cause of sound learning and culture. It was during this period that the country came to be studded all over with those temples, which to this day form the characteristic feature of the Tamiḻ provinces. As this process was going on, there appeared the Âḻvârs to add to the general excitement and to accelerate the decline of Buddhism. Though they represented the community that loved to feature the deity in the form of Vishṇu, I do not think they ever set themselves in direct opposition to the Śaivas, as their later adherents do.[44] The common enemy, the enemy of the *Vêdas*, was still in the field. It was while these sects of Hindûs were thus re-establishing themselves in practice, that the Âchâryas, *i.e.* the theological doctors, rose to supply the theory. Even to the earliest of them, Śaṁkarâchârya, was left only the work of formally and theoretically completing the religious revolution that was already fast becoming, in practice, an accomplished fact, at least in Southern India.[45] He is usually said to have established, by his *Bhâshyas* or philosophic interpretations of Vêdic texts, the six orthodox systems of worship, Śaiva and Vaishṇava forms inclusive. This assertion ought to be carefully interpreted; for there can be no greater mistake than to suppose that he invented, or originated, these six systems. Forms of religion are founded, not by philosophers and theologians, with their interpretations and argumentations, but by heroic men of faith — faith in God and faith in themselves, to such an extent that they can induce not only others but themselves, too, to believe in the miracles they perform. The former come later on, to justify and sanction what already exists, with their elaborate exegetics, written solely for the learned and thoughtful — not to say the sceptical. Śaṁkarâchârya himself is personally a Śaiva, but he suppresses his individual inclinations, and takes his stand upon the common ground of the *Vêdas*, and so supports all sects accepting the authority of those hoary compilations, in order to shew a united front against the common foe. It is expressly to meet the heresy of *Nirvâṇa* that he formulates the *Advaita* or non-dualistic theory. But the common enemy soon disappears, or at least sinks into unimportance; and later Âchâryas, not feeling that external pressure, find the Non-Dualism of Śaṁkara a little too high-pitched, if not dangerous also to the current pietist forms of worship. Accordingly, Râmânuja slightly modifies the original Non-Dualism, and distinctly puts a Vaishṇava interpretation on the Vêdic texts. But he still retains the Non-Dualism of Śaṁkara to some extent. His system is not Dualism, but *Viśishṭâdvaita*, meaning *qualified* Non-Dualism. When we come, however, to the days of Madhvâchârya, the Buddhistic theory is so far forgotten that all forms of that original Non-Dualism, with which alone Śaṁkarâchârya was able to confront the heretical Nihilism, are completely rejected in favour of pronounced Dualism, which perhaps was always the theory implied in the Śaiva and Vaishṇava practices. And what is more, this last of the Âchâryas adopts some of the very principles for the sake of which Buddha revolted against the *Vêdas* — as for instance, substituting animal images made of flour for the veritable and living ones required for Vêdic sacrifices. But except in the matter of such minor details, the dogmas of none of these Âchâryas affected the forms of public worship. The temples and the processions remained, exactly as they were in the days of the fiery votaries of old — the Śaiva Nâyaṉmârs and the Vaishṇava Âḻvârs; only, as time rolled on, these latter crept, one by one, into the sanctuaries they themselves worshipped and secured those divine honours that are now their undisputed rights. With the last of the Âchâryas[46] we reach fairly into the Muhammadan times: and the arrest that all native

[44] The fable of Tirumaṅgai Âḻvâr's quarrel with Sambandha, whose trident he is said to have snatched, reflects only the modern feelings of the sect. Even as a story it fails; Sambandha had only a pair of cymbals, and never a trident.

[45] Even in Northern India, the practical work of confuting and overthrowing the Buddhists fell to the lot of Bhaṭṭa Kumâra, — the redoubtable champion of Vêdic *karman*, — and of Prabhâkara rather than of Śaṁkara, who followed them after several generations.

[46] There can be no dispute as to the age of Madhvâchârya. He died in Śaka 1120, the Piṅgala year, or 1197-98 A. D. [Compare Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on Sanskṛit Manuscripts* for 1882-83, p. 203.] Satyavîratîrtha, who died in 1879, was the thirty-fifth from him in succession.

activities in religion, literature, and other walks of intellectual life then experienced, is a matter of history, and not of speculation.

From this short account, it should be clear in what period we ought to look for Sambandha. The confused talk about Râmânujâchârya and Kûn Pâṇḍya, which we find in both Mr. Nelson and Dr. Caldwell, betrays such an absence of the sense of historical perspective as cannot but produce the most amusing and most grotesque results. For instance, it is now pretty well established that the independence of the Tamil countries was completely lost by the early years of the fourteenth century. It was about the year 1324 A. D., that the notorious and cruel-hearted chieftain, **Malik Nâib Kâfûr** of Ferishta, popularly known in Tamil as the **Âdi-Sultân Malik Nêmi**, took possession of Madura, razed to the ground the outer walls of the town with their fourteen towers, and demolished the temple and despoiled it of its valuables, leaving behind nothing but the shrines of Sundarêśvara and Mînâkshî. The Muslim clouds must have been hanging over the Tamil kingdoms a good many years before they at last broke and overwhelmed the southernmost of them. Whether or no the Muhammadans actually subverted the Pâṇḍya kingdom about 1100, as Mr. Nelson[47] is inclined to think, the Pâṇḍya kingdom could have enjoyed little peace during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Yet it is at the very end of the thirteenth century, that Dr. Caldwell would place Sambandha and therefore the beginning of that grand struggle between the Buddhists and the Śaivas that finally led to the disappearance of the former. That Kûn Pâṇḍya, the most powerful monarch of his age, was a Buddhist, is as certain as that he really existed. That Buddhism was the prevailing religion, though on the point of decline, is evident from every hymn of Sambandha and of his elder contemporary, Appar, who incessantly complains of the persecutions he experienced, at the hands of the heretics, in his native district of Cuddalore. Such was the position of affairs in the reign of Kûn Pâṇḍya: and yet Dr. Caldwell would have us believe that Kûn Pâṇḍya ruled in 1292, because Marco Polo happens to talk of a 'Sender Bendi of Soli,' in that year of grace! And the consequence is that we have also to believe that, by some miracle or other, the whole scene had completely changed by 1324, when Malik captured Madura. In other words, within the short space of thirty-two years, the Buddhistic religion with its wide-spreading organisation, half a dozen holy orders and thousands of monks in each, all disappeared as if by magic, and the ready-made Śaiva religion stepped into its place, with its richly endowed temples with golden images, and outer walls having fourteen towers! If such a theory does not violate all the analogies of history, I wonder what can! To add to the miracle, it was during the subsequent centuries of foreign oppression, of Muhammadan generals and of Nâyaka and Telugu viceroys, that the bulk of our existing literature arose!

Unless, therefore, no better hypothesis can be found, — better founded on facts, more natural and consistent in its consequences, and better confirmed by collateral evidence, — we cannot but decline, with all our deference to the esteemed authors concerned, to accept either of their theories as answering to truth.

The truth is, such theories are the fruits of pure despair, — are advanced, as the drowning man clutches the straw. Literary Tamil is a difficult dialect to master, and the literature in it too extensive and complicated to be compassed without years of patient study and prolonged attention. The conviction, too, is abroad that these literary records are utterly devoid of historical implications. "We have not," says Dr. Caldwell, "a single reliable date to guide us, and in the midst of conjecture, a few centuries more or less seem to go for nothing. Tamil writers, like Hindû writers in general, hide their individuality in the shade of their writings. Even the names of most of them are unknown. They seem to have regarded individual celebrity, like individual existence, as worthless, and absorption into the universal spirit of the classical literature of their country as the highest good to which their compositions could aspire. Their readers followed in their course, age after age. If a book was good,

[47] *Madura Country*, Part III. Chapter III. p. 76.

people admired it; but whether it was written by a man, or by a divinity, or whether it wrote itself as the *Vêdas* were commonly supposed to have done, they neither knew nor cared. Still less did they care, of course, if the books were bad. The historical spirit, the antiquarian spirit, to a great degree even the critical spirit, are developments of modern times. If, therefore, I attempt to throw some light on the age of the principal Tamiḻ works, I hope, it may be borne in mind that, in my opinion, almost the only thing that is perfectly certain in relation to those works, is that they exist."[48] Under such circumstances, it is no wonder, that for historical purposes, the literary works are treated as if they were as good as non-existent. If the authors systematically hide even their own individualities, what light are they likely to throw on the history of their times? That the vast majority of modern Tamiḻ writers, — the stereotyped *Purâṇa*-makers and the authors of cut and dry *Kalambagams* and *Andâdis*, — are guilty of this curious kind of literary suicide, can never be gainsaid. But I would beg to submit at the same time, in extenuation of their crime, that writers of this class can never possess any individuality either to be preserved or submerged. They are poets only in name, — with a ready made *Book of Similes*[49] and other equipments to suit; they dispense with nature and her promptings, as they wriggle themselves up, from rhyme to rhyme, and alliteration to alliteration. But putting aside these products of stagnation and ascending to the fountains of Tamiḻ literature, we meet with well marked individualities both in the authors and in the characters they create, and can observe no great inclination on their part to obliterate their personalities. On the other hand, their individuality may be found sometimes even obtruded upon us. For instance, every hymn of Sambandha uniformly closes with a benedictory verse, where his own name, his native place, and other particulars are given. Only, in keeping with the general Indian failing as to chronology, the old poets, as well as the new, give us no dates. They nevertheless specify the names of their patrons, sovereigns, friends, and so forth, as occasion offers itself, and otherwise furnish us with much historical information, which is waiting only to be gathered up and collated, to yield the most reliable data for reconstructing extinct societies and social conditions.[50] I cannot, therefore, make up my mind to believe that the old and true Tamiḻ literature is as barren of historical import as is generally assumed.

To see what light the works of Sambandha and his colleagues throw upon the historical conditions of their age, is too large a topic to be taken up in this connection. But confining ourselves to the more important question of the age of Sambandha, the question we have already propounded for our consideration, we may examine the literary works connected with the subject, to see whether they cannot furnish us more reliable indications than Marco Polo's 'Sender Bendi of Soli'! The sacred 'Saiva works may not, perhaps, enable us to discover when Sambandha did actually live; but they are certain to shew at least when he could not have lived; and considering the confusion that reigns in connection with the subject, even so much of light cannot but be welcome.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 84.)

Precious Stones. — In India, **spirits are believed to fear precious stones.** This belief seems to be due **partly to the colour and brightness of the gems, and partly to their healing properties.** Pearl ash and coral ash are highly valued by Hindu physicians, especially coral ash or *pravâla bhasma*, in consumption. The *navaratnas* or nine gems — *mânika*

[48] *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, Introduction, p. 128.

[49] This is a curious book attributed to Pugaḻêndi. There are hosts of other treatises telling us with what letters, words, etc., we should begin a verse and what dreadful consequences will follow otherwise, and so forth.

[50] It is upon this conviction that the *Ten Tamil Idyls* have been taken up elsewhere for analysis.

ruby, *mauktika* pearl, *pravâla* coral, *pâcha* emerald, *pushkrâja* topaz, *hiraka* diamond, *nîlâ* sapphire, *gômêdha* amethyst, and *lasunika* cat's-eye — are specially valued by Hindus for their power in checking the evil influences of the *navagrahas*, or nine seizers, that is, the planets. Each of these nine jewels is assigned to a planet, and when any planet is unfavourable, the jewel which is sacred to the planet is either given as an offering to a Brâhmaṇ in the name of the unfavourable planet, or it is set in a gold ring and worn on the finger.[77] A Gujarât Hindu, who is under the influence of Mercury, wears an emerald ring, and one under the influence of *Gurû* or Jupiter a topaz ring.[78] The result of wearing a sapphire or *nîlâ* ring, which is sacred to *Sani* or Saturn, is uncertain. The owner wears it on Saturday, which is sacred to Saturn, and lays it by till Tuesday. If on Tuesday no mishap has befallen him, he continues to wear the sapphire so long as the planet's influence is unfavourable. Should any mishap befall him during the three days he gives the ring to a Brâhmaṇ.[79] The first thing a Bombay Prabhu looks at on getting up, is a diamond-ring.[80] In Gujarât, crystal is worshipped as the sun. Among Chitpâvan Brâhmaṇs, *pañch ratnas* or five jewels, generally diamond, gold, amethyst, emerald and pearl, are dropped into a pot when a girl comes of age.[81] Gold and an emerald are laid in the dead Chitpâvan's mouth.[82] In making the marriage booth the Velâlîs, a Madras caste in Poona, bury under the chief pillar a pearl, a piece of coral, and a bit of some other precious stone.[83] The Poona Râmôśîs wear necklaces of the Sulaimânî onyx to keep off spirits and the Evil Eye.[84] A favourite offering to the Hindu gods are five jewels, generally gold, diamonds, rubies, sapphires and pearls. So in Nâsik, at the shrine of Pañcharatnêśvara, that is the Five Jewel Lord, Râma, the hero of the *Râmâyaṇa*, is believed to have offered five precious stones.[85] In a very old burial mound lately (1880) opened near Nâsik, some child's bones and a piece of coral were found in an urn, the coral probably to keep evil spirits from lodging in the bones.[86] The city of Kôlhâpur has a much valued Arab stone, which, when a woman is in labour, is washed, and the water is given her to drink.[87] Pearls, precious stones, silver, gold, brass and copper are dropped into the jars which are set before the Dhârwâṛ Liṅgâyat couple at marriage.[88] In Calcutta, in 1887, a *liṅg* was shewn made of a chrysoberyl cat's-eye set in a topaz. It was supported on a gold base encrusted with nine gems or charms.[89] At the famous *liṅg* of Mahâbalêśvar at Gôkarn, in North Kânara, once in sixty years the ground near the *liṅg* is dug and strewn with powdered jewels and pearls.[90] The Central American Chibchas bury gold and jewels in their sacred woods, and throw gold and jewels into their sacred lakes. They also fill with precious stones the bellies of some of their gods.[91] In Kânara, quartz powder is rubbed on Vîrabhadra's face. Among the Nâgpur Gonds the *sânâlk* or spirit of the dead comes into the ministrant's hands in the form of grains of quartz like rice.[92] In Southern India, rich people, instead of rice, sometimes throw pearls or precious stones over the bride and bridegroom.[93] Brâhmaṇs hold that the lustre in stones and gems is the principle of light and life.[94] Certain precious stones are worn by Hindus as amulets to keep off disease.[95] On many great occasions it is common for Hindus and Pârsîs to draw lines

[77] The ruby is sacred to the Sun, the pearl to the Moon, coral to Mars, the emerald to Mercury, the topaz to Jupiter, the diamond to Venus, the sapphire to Saturn, the amethyst to Râhu, and the *lasunika* or cat's-eye to Kêtu: (Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi). The alternative in the text is interesting. The sense is either to transfer the evil influence into the scape-goat guardian, the Brâhmaṇ, or to house the evil influence in the ring, and so either prison or please it.

[78] From MS. Notes.

[79] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

[80] Mr. K. Raghunâth's *Patânê Prabhus.*

[81] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 140.

[82] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 148.

[83] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 258.

[84] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 413.

[85] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVI. p. 505.

[86] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVI. p. 540.

[87] Information from Mr. M. W. Barwê.

[88] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 113.

[89] *Times of India*, 5th February 1887.

[90] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. p. 291.

[91] *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. II. p. 24.

[92] Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Ap. I. p. 1.

[93] Dubois, Vol. I. p. 312. This practice is also observed among Indian Muslims. Compare Jehângir's *Memoirs*, Persian Text, p. 186. It is called *nisâr* or sacrifice, and is done with the object of making ill-luck pass from the person into the jewels.

[94] Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 113.

[95] Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. VII. p. 637.

of quartz powder, called *rāṅgôli*, generally made and sold by wild tribesmen. The object of this quartz powder tracing is admitted to be to keep off evil spirits.[96]

In Persia, the carnelian used to be worn by the priest of the planet Hormazd or Jupiter.[97] Judges in ancient Egypt wore breast-plates of precious stones, and the Jewish high priest had a breast-plate of precious stones with the name of a tribe carved on each stone ;[98] they had also on each shoulder an onyx stone graven with the names of the tribes.[99] A piece of a bone of Buddha is kept in a crystal globe in Japan.[100] The Papuans of New Guinea carry pieces of carved wood and quartz as amulets.[1] The Nubians cover tombs with white pebbles and pieces of quartz.[2] In Peru, when a chief died, a jewel was laid in his mouth, and in Mexico, a jewel was placed alongside of the dead.[3]

In Rome, coral hung round the necks of infants was believed to preserve against witchcraft and sorcery.[4] The diamond was called *anachites* because it frustrated poison, drove away frenzying thoughts, and expelled vain fears.[5] The sparkling precious stones — the diamond, ruby, emerald and sapphire — seem to owe their fame as spirit-scarers to the fact that they flash in the dark. Perhaps for the same reason crystal and glass were believed to have special power over spirits. Another reason was that the crystal or stone was a fire-home. The Romans kindled fire by means of a lens or a crystal ball.[6] Similarly, *silex* or flint was sacred to Jupiter, and in Germany, a witness taking an oath held a flint in his hand.[7] In Middle-Age Europe, glass with spiral lines cured disease,[8] cattle were sprinkled with water in which a crystal ball had been washed,[9] and precious stones were believed to have miraculous and healing power.[10] The Pope has a sapphire of great value.[11] Dante[12] calls the eyes of Beatrice emeralds. Ottino, commenting on this, says the emerald is powerful against phantoms and demons.[13]

In the Scottish Highlands it is common to keep a smooth polished stone in a bag for luck,[14] and there is also a strong feeling, both in the highlands[15] and in the lowlands,[16] that lammber, that is, *l'ambre* or amber, cures inflamed eyes and sprains. According to Burton,[17] in England, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the carbuncle, coral, beryl, pearl and ruby were believed to drive away devils, to overcome sorrow, and to stop dreams. In England, in 1584, crystal was believed to staunch blood.[18] In England, there was a belief that the amethyst prevents drunkenness, the diamond betrays inconstancy, the sapphire prevents enchantment, the agate averts tempest, and the chrysophrase cures the love of gold.[19] The belief in the spirit-scaring power of precious stones lives in England in the baby's coral and in the bishop's sapphire. Of the sapphire Burton wrote: — "It is the fairest of stones, of sky colour, a great enemy to black choler, freeing the mind, mending manners and driving away evil spirits, demons and sprites." He mentions[20] that coral is a cure for falling sickness, so coral is probably given to children to keep off convulsions and other sicknesses which are believed to be due to fairy influence. In Suffolk, till 1833, flints hung in a stable protected the cattle against spirits.[21]

In the matter of personal ornaments, especially of decoration by gems and precious stones, the feeling and the experience are still fresh and widespread that gems are not only

96 From MS. notes.
97 *Dâbistân*, Vol. I. p. 37.
98 *Mackay's Freemasonry*, p. 41.
99 *Exodus*, xxviii. 10, 11.
100 *Reed's Japan*, Vol. II. p. 162.
1 Earl's *Papuans*, p. 84.
2 Burkhardt's *Nubia*, p. 264.
3 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 336.
4 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxxii. Chap. 2.
5 *Op. cit.* Book xxxvii. Chap. 5.
6 *Early History of Mankind*, p. 249.
7 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 180.
8 Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, p. 508.
9 *Op. cit.* p. 77.
10 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1216.
11 Jones' *Crowns*, p. 401.
12 Dante's *Purgatorio*, xxxi. 115, 116.
13 Capt. H. O. Selby, R. E.
14 From MS. notes, June 9, 1882.
15 From MS. notes, June 9, 1882.
16 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 145.
17 Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 434.
18 Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 179.
19 Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, Bohn's Ed. Vol. I. p. 191.
20 Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 460.
21 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 503.

pleasant to look on but are lucky. In the seventeenth century, the learned Burton quoted with approval the saying of Renodeus :—"Gems adorn kings' crowns, grace the fingers, enrich our household stuff, defend us from enchantment, preserve health, cure disease, drive away grief and cares, and exhilirate the mind."[22] In most modern jewellers' catalogues, bracelets and bangles are **Porte Bonheurs or Luck Bringers**; chains of metal or of hair are **guards**; tassels, fishes, knives, crosses and hearts hung to a watch chain are **charms**; horse-shoes, horns, crosses, and other shapes dear to the evil-eye-dreading Neapolitan form the most popular pins and brooches; and their luck or ill-luck is still an important element in the value of the cat's-eye, opal, turquoise, sapphire, agate and diamond.[23] That the glory of luck still enobles gems which are the chief of ornaments, helps to lessen the apparent grotesqueness of the contention, that, in every form, **ornament has its root, not in the craving of vanity or in the love of beauty, but in the need of housing guardian and of scaring evil influences.** According to the general rule, objects round which, in the growing darkness of dying belief, still rests the halo of Luck have in earlier times been noted centres and homes of guardian spirits. **Four main guardians live in precious stones and scare evil influences: the Eye, Blood, Fire and Light.** If these indwelling guardians keep off evil influences from the wearer they must be **able to cure disease as well as to prevent it, since disease is possession by an evil spirit.** Experience establishes the correctness of this argument. Faith in the virtue of the gem of itself cures sickness and the worldwide tendency to record hits and forget misses raises the gem to the glory of an all-heal. Since jewels guard the wearer, it follows that jewels should be used to guard other objects of value which like man are open to the attacks of evil influences. All guardians need guarding. So priests, bishops, popes, kings and gods, tools and weapons, animals and furniture, dwellings and temples should all be protected by **the armour of gems.** Again, to strengthen their guardian virtue, gems should be grouped in shapes which in themselves are lucky or evil compelling, in circles, triangles, frets, knots and crosses. And, to increase their capacity for housing friendly influences, either guardian forms or evil-binding words should be graven on them. Such seem the chief teachings of the following details.

Into the general and far-stretching belief in the virtues or healing influences of gems the the following quotations give some insight. From the earliest times the monarchs of the East **attributed magic and talismanic properties to gems.**[24] The Babylonian gem was a cylinder engraved with letters or figures. To the inherent guardian power of the stone was added the influence obtained from engraving on the stone the forms of guardian deities.[25] The Assyrian cylinders or engraved gems bore the names of the owner, of the owner's father, and of the

[22] In Fraser's *Magazine*, October 1856, p. 421; Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, pp. 50-57.

[23] With the modern Porte Bonheur applied to the bracelet compare the Roman Good Luck applied to the jewel box. In a play of about A. D. 60, one of the ladies, Scintilla, takes from her neck a little case, which she called her Good-Luck, and out of which she brings two ear drops. King's *Antique Gems*, p. 287, note 1.

[24] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 23. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 418), impressed with the scientific spirit of Pliny (*Natural History*, Book xxxvii. Chap. 40) and of other authors of Pliny's time (A. D. 50-80), writes as if the belief in the mystic virtues of gems took its rise in the decline of knowledge in the following century; that it had increased in the time of Solinus and Orpheus about a century later; that it was wider spread and more developed in the eleventh century when (A. D. 1070) Marbodus wrote; and was still more elaborated in A. D. 1500 about the time of Camillo Leonardo. In spite of this statement King was aware that a little later than Pliny the very accurate and scientic observer Galen (A. D. 100) was from his own experience satisfied of the healing virtue of gems, a belief which was not less unhesitatingly shared by another great physician, Alexander of Tralles, about 100 years later. Before Pliny (King's *Antique Gems*, p. 390, note 1) the virtue of gems had been carefully recorded by Metrodorus, in a work addressed to the Great Mithridates (B. C. 120-63). Aristotle (B. C. 330) was a believer in the healing virtues of precious stones, and Plato (B. C. 480) connected this power with the over-lordship of the planets. In earlier times in Egypt, Phœnicia, Palestine, Assyria and India, except for a chance sceptic, the trust in precious stones was universal, and in spite of occasional surface materialism it is still as universal as is the secure judgment of the circle of the lands in the reality and power of Luck.

[25] Compare *Ency. Brit.* "Gems."

owner's guardian. The designs on most Assyrian cylinders shew they were talismans.[26] The Caribeans of the West Indies use jade-amulets in the shape of hollow engraved cylinders like the Assyrians.[27] According to the Greek writer, Onomacritus (B. C. 500), the agate, topaz, spring-green jasper, amber, chrysolite, coral, and opal had all supernatural powers.[28] During the whole of their history the faith and experience of the Greeks in the supernatural power of gems remained unshaken. The Greeks and Romans held that gems had a spiritual as well as a material potency.[29] They cured diseases, kept off calamities, and both during life and after death scared the demons of the earth and air.[30] That the kindly influences of the different gems might serve as an unbroken guard against evil influences, they arranged twelve of them to form a **zodiac amulet**, assigning to each gem the month during which the power of the gem was at its highest.[31] The Water-pot or January spirit lodged in the jacinth or garnet, the Fishes or February spirit in the amethyst, the Ram or March spirit in the bloodstone, the Bull or April spirit in the sapphire, the Twins or May spirit in the agate, the Crab or June spirit in the emerald, the Lion or July spirit in the onyx, the Virgin or August spirit in the carnelian, the Balance or September spirit in the chrysolite, the Scorpion or October spirit in the aqua marine, the Archer or November spirit in the topaz, and the Goat or December spirit in the ruby. In accordance with the wholesome law that **a new religion continues old experiences under a new name**, during the first centuries of Christianity, the zodiacal gems were turned into the **twelve apostolic jewels.** The Peter spirit was housed in the jasper, the Andrew spirit in the sapphire, James the Greater in the chalcedony, John in the emerald, Philip in the sardonyx, Mathew in the chrysolite, Thomas in the beryl, Thaddeus in the chrysophrase, James the Less in the topaz, Simeon in the jacinth, and Matthias in the amethyst.[32] This arrangement may in part have been due to the knowledge and talent of Dioscorides, who, in the second century after Christ, formulated the virtues of gems with a skill which agrees with all subsequent experience.[33] In the seventh century A. D., the magic powers of gems were, like other magic powers, greater than they had been during the season of science and philosophy in Greece and Rome in the century before the Christian Era. **Gems** secured the wearer health, beauty, riches, honour, good fortune, and influence. They **had special connection with planets and seasons.** In spite of the claims of the Apostles each month had still its gem.[34] It was the Middle-Age experience that in each variety of gem a special spirit had its abode. **The gem was alive,** as according to received Christian theories, the vile body of man was alive because in it lived a spirit. In the beginning of the sixteenth century Cardan wrote :—"Not only do precious stones live but they suffer illness, old age, and death.''[35] Since Cardan the antique worship of gems has continued to be based on their proved magical and talismanic powers rather than on the pleasure derived from their beauty, endurance or rarity.[36] In A. D. 1652, Thomas Nichols, perhaps the greatest authority on gems, noted that the descriptions of the healing and guarding influences of gems recorded by

26 Compare *Ency. Brit.* "Gems." Talisman is the Arabic *ṭilism*, pl. *ṭilismât*. *Ṭilism* is not a native Arab word. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 434) is probably correct in tracing *ṭilism* to the Greek (*apo*) *telesma* or influence.

27 Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 179.

28 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 17.

29 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 23.

30 Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 32. Gnostic gems were placed in tombs to guard the dead against demons. King's *Antique Gems*, p. 349. This practice was observed by Christians as well as by the followers of the earlier faiths. So the Christian Maria, wife of Honorius, had gnostic gems buried with her as amulets (King's *Antique Gems*, p. 304). So in the Middle Ages, bishops were buried wearing their sapphire rings (King's *Antique Gems*, p. 297).

31 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 28; Hone's *Table Book*, Vol. I. p. 320. Similarly, it was probably more from their power of excluding evil of every shape than from the pleasing gradation of colours that the writers of *Tobias' Dream* and of the *Revelations* built the walls of the New Jerusalem with precious stones in the following order working up from the foundation, amethyst, hyacinth, chrysoprase, topasion or peridot, beryl, chrysolite that is topaz, sardius, sardonyx, smaragdus, chalcedony, sapphire and jasper. Compare King's *Antique Gems*, p. 429.

32 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 30.

33 Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 44.

34 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 19. The common belief, that a spirit or soul lives in gems, explains Blue John, the local Derby name for Fluor spar.

35 Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 48.

36 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 31.

Theophrastus (B. C. 300) and by Pliny (A. D. 77) were borne out by all subsequent experience.[37] Apart from all records of Pliny or of Thomas Nichols, the Peruvians of the sixteenth century endorsed the truth of their forefathers' experience that the emerald was the home of a goddess.[38] The monarchs of the East, in the nineteenth century after Christ, as in the nineteenth century before Christ, find magic and talismanic properties in gems.[39] Even the European nineteenth century gem-dealer finds in precious stones some occult charm which causes them to be coveted.[40]

The question remains:—"How comes it that man in all times and conditions has agreed to hold gems worshipful? How is it that the sickly doubting beryl spirit of the Thomases, not less than the trusting full-blooded jasper spirit of the Peters, have found magic and mystic influences in gems?" The answer seems to be that the gems are the homes of some of the greatest guardian spirits, the Eye, Blood, Fire and Light. It was because of their experience that these great guardians lived in precious stones that the ancient saying was accepted:—"A man may carry with him his genius or guardian in a gem."[41] Three main characteristics in gems marked them from the earliest time as tempting guardian homes, the eye-like gleam of some, the blood-red sheen of others, and the lustre of a third class as either of fire or of light. It is from its pupil-like light-centre that the true cat's-eye gains its name and its high repute for luck both in Asia and in Europe.[42] Even the false or quartz cat's-eye was sacred to Bel, the god of Babylon, and was known to the Romans both as Bel's-eye and as Wolf's-eye.[43] The gleam of light in the true cat's-eye shifts, says Streeter, from side to side like a restless spirit glowing now at one spot, now at another. No wonder that people regard it with awe and wonder, believing it to be the abode of some spirit.[44] From its strange property of gleaming through water the hydrophane was known as the eye of the world.[45] That its blood-redness is the chief source of the worshipfulness of the ruby or carbuncle and of the garnet is shewn by Pigeon's blood, the name of the purest red ruby.[46] The same spirit-drawing influence brought the leading antique engravers — the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and Phœnicians — to start their carvings on the blood-spotted surface of the hematite or blood-stone.[47] Among Christians, the worshipfulness of the green variety of the blood-stone was due to the explanation that its streaks were the marks of the blood of Christ.[48] A stone so coloured had naturally the highest medicinal and magical virtues.[49] Similarly, the blood-red tint of coral was explained by its having sprung from clots of blood dropped from the Gorgon or Medusa head, and in consequence coral or Gorgeia kept evil from the new-born and the wiles of the devil from all who wore it as a necklace.[50] Fire struggled hard with blood as the origin of the healing influences of the carbuncle and garnet. According to some authorities the holiness both of the carbuncle and of the garnet was due to its looking like a glowing coal when held against the sun.[51] Like the carbuncle and the chrysolite, the lychnis flames and some hyacinths glow like burning coal.[52] The finest opals are known as fire opals. The numberless red flames blazing on its

[37] *Op. cit.* p. 29.

[38] *Op. cit.* p. 134. Compare the emerald seen by Herodotus (B. C. 450), the night-glowing sign of Melkarth, the guardian of Tyre and Gades (*Journal Asiatique*, Series VI. Vol. X. pp. 166, 266).

[39] *Op. cit.* p. 23.

[40] *Op. cit.* p. 2.

[41] Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 32. Compare Orpheus' (A. D. 250) description (King's *Antique Gems*, p. 457):—"Now after washing and duly worshipping the serpent stone, a living soul enters the gem. Afterwards if the gem is held near the eye the spirit may be seen to leave the gem."

[42] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 118.

[43] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 173.

[44] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, pp. 167, 168.

[45] Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 163.

[46] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 105.

[47] Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 185.

[48] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 176; King's *Antique Gems*, p. 17.

[49] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 176.

[50] *Op. cit.* p. 216.

[51] *Op. cit.* p. 147. Marbodus (A. D. 1070) says the carbuncle gets its name from casting fiery rays like burning coal. King's *Antique Gems*, p. 404. Compare (*Isaiah*, Chap. liv. 12) the Hebrew name for the carbuncle *kadkod* (*Ency. Brit.* Art. "Carbuncle") means glowing fire. In *Exodus* (Chap. xxviii. 17) it is called *Bareketh* the Flasher.

[52] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, pp. 27, 40.

surface have given the Empress Josephine's famous opal the name of the Burning of Troy.[53] Crystal through whose indwelling vestal fire wood might be kindled and the actual cautery was performed was a **fire stone.**[54] So great was its power that, according to the Greek Onomacritus (B. C. 500), the gods could not withstand crystal and were certain to answer the prayer of any one who came before them carrying a crystal in his hand.[55] As a fire home the gem Asterites, found inside of a fish called Pan, and which in sunlight shot forth flames, was a potent love charm.[56] According to Josephus the gems in the Hebrew High Priest's breast-plate originally shot forth brilliant rays of fire that shewed (in them) the immediate presence of the deity.[57] When the people's sins were forgiven the high priest's breast jewels shone bright; when the sins were not forgiven the gems grew dark.[58] But more than the abode of an eye, of blood, or of fire the gem was deemed a guardian because in it dwelt the great guardian Light.[59] It was because he was a good **light-spirit,** the opening of whose eyes flooded the land with light, the closing of whose eyes plunged the land in darkness, that in Egypt the up-standing hawk-headed serpent, Chneph, was so suitably housed in a gem.[60] The varying gleams of light in the opal seem to be shot from some life within the gem, which lost its power when exposed to water and regained its brightness when warmed by the hand.[61] The light-spirit in the diamond, whose phosphorescence, when brought from the sunshine into a dark room made it a specially striking light-home, disarms even its fierce fiend-brother lightning.[62] Crystal, besides being a fire-maker, was the image or home of eternal light.[63] The mysterious gleam in the cat's-eye ever shifting like a restless spirit, now glowing at one point, now at another, has made men honour it as a home of spirits.[64] With the Hebrews and Arabs the carbuncle is the light-flasher. So Laurin, the Dwarf King, had set in the the gold of his helmet a carbuncle so bright that where he rode the darkest night grew brighter than the day, and lightened his cavern-palace with a splendour brighter than day.[65] The Hebrews and Arabs say that a ruby was hung in the ark to give light, and that its beam could kindle a lamp.[66] According to the Hindus, rubies and diamonds ray light in the dark like the planets.[67] The iris, now almost out of use, but once (A. D. 1070) prized as highly as the opal, is described in Marbodus' *Lapidarium* as full of heaven's own light.[68] The moon-stone, whose luminous heart waxes and wanes with the moon, is worshipful because it brightens a dark place by gathering light into itself. The pearl is the home of the purest, serenest and evenest light. It was the lustre of gems that suggested to Plato that the vivifying spirit, whose home is in the stars, was the origin of precious stones.[69] The holiness of the star-sapphire is due to the six-rayed star which appears in the stone when light shines upon it. This was the love-compelling Asterites, the signet of Helen of Troy, which shot forth flames when exposed to the sun.[70] A zodiac of gems was strung, each stone ruling

[53] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 164. Marbodus (A. D. 1070) adds the Chrysolectrus made of purest fire which flames forth if laid near a fire, and the Asbeston which with eternal flame unceasing glows, and the Hephæstite which shoots rays of fire. King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 407, 408.

[54] At the Eleusinian mysteries new fire was kindled through a crystal ball. Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 23.

[55] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 17; Pliny in King's *Antique Gems*.

[56] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 23.

[57] The jewels had ceased to flash 200 years before Josephus wrote (A. D. 100). According to Josephus the twelve stones of the breast-plate were in four rows. In Row I., Sardius, Topazion, Smaragdus. In Row II., Carbunculus, Sapphirus, Jaspis. In Row III., Ligurius, Achates, Amethyst. In Row IV., Chrisolithus, Onyx, Beryl. King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 134, 135. King believes the breast-plate stones are still in the Sultan's Treasury in Constantinople, as the Turks found them in the sacristy of St. Sophia. King's *Antique Gems*, p. 137.

[58] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 282.

[59] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 174.

[60] Compare King's *Antique Gems*, p. 364.

[61] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 185.

[62] *Op. cit.* p. 32. King's *Antique Gems*, p. 27.

[63] Orpheus (A. D. 250) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 94.

[64] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 168.

[65] *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. II. pp. 95, 96.

[66] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 39. Lamp-lighting power is attributed to the Lychnus which is the Jacinth or the Ruby. Lucian (A. D. 150) mentions a lychnus in the head-dress of the Mother of Syria, which at night lighted the temple. The Dutch had a similar belief in a stone called the osculan or chrysolampis. King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 25, 26, 53.

[67] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 211.

[68] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 24.

[69] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, pp. 172, 174.

[70] Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 42.

the month in which its guardian influence was strongest. When their god-head had not yet passed from the stars, and they still ruled the destinies of men and of mankind, it was fitting that gems who were of like spirit with the flashing lights of heaven should also guard and rule the life of men. As a guardian home, the gem was not only used to guard the person of the owner. **Gems also guarded property.** The Romans of the empire crusted their robes with precious stones. Pliny says we drink out of a mass of gems. Gems decked candelabra as well as cups, and, after the time of Constantine (A. D. 330), crowns and picture frames, even armour had an armour plating of gems.[71] Since the guardian wants guarding the services of gems were enlisted to keep evil out of churches and temples; to protect the images of the gods;[72] to ornament the cross; to cover crucifixes, missals, reliquaries, and sacred vessels; to protect priests, bishops and popes.[73]

As with other guardians the experience of the spirit-controlling power of gems may be judged from their **healing or medical virtues.** The Almighty gave Abraham a gem to keep off sickness[74] In ancient pharmacopœas, precious stones are among the most valued remedies. The dwarf king Laurin from his precious gems gained wondrous strength and power.[75] The ruby, topaz, emerald, sapphire and diamond were so valuable in medicine that they were known as the Five Precious Fragments. St. Fillan (A. D. 700), one of the early preachers of Christianity in Scotland, cured diseases by the touch of precious stones.[76] Besides by the touch, gems cured by being ground to powder and swallowed.[77] In recent times gems used to be kept in the mouth tied by a string to cure ear-ache, tooth-ache and sore throat.[78] In Middle-Age Europe, the stones found in the lynx, the cock, the adder, and the toad ensured victory and stayed thirst.[79] According to the Hebrews, the agate kept off the plague, and the Arabs used the agate to stop bleeding.[80] In the eleventh century, the agate was an antidote to poison, as in the *An Oren Riwle* Christ is likened to the agate which the poison of sin cannot approach.[81] According to Marbodus (A. D. 1070), the agate soothed thirst and sore-eyes, kept the wearer in health, and gave him grace and eloquence.[82] Marbodus says :—" Grave a beryl with a scorpion and a bird, consecrate, and set it with vervain leaf and gold: it will strengthen your eyes and liver, and make you victor in battle."[83] In another passage, Marbodus states that the virtue in jewels exceeds the virtue in herbs.[84] In the eleventh century, blood-stone or hæmatite cured ulcers, tumour on the eye, and spitting of blood, stopped fluxes, cleansed wounds, and melted stone in the bladder.[85] The carnelian stopped bleeding and quieted

---

71 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, pp. 18, 19. The Romans of the empire and the French of Francis I. (A. D. 1500) adorned their armour with engraved stones and cameos. King's *Antique Gems*, p. 256. Compare in early (A. D. 100-600) Scotland, Cuchullin's chariot bossed with crystals, cairngorms and other stones of power. Clerk's *Ossian*, II. p. 151.

72 How early is the belief that precious stones guard the guardian is shewn by the Hindu *liṅg* mentioned above with its base crusted with the nine charms. The belief is much older than Hindu *liṅg*-worship. Ea, the Babylonian Earth-Spirit, the great spirit-scarer, had an armour of precious stones. His chief weapon was a stone with seven rays and fifty faces. Budge's *Babylonian Life and History*, p. 133.

73 Protection of the wearer seems to underlie the wearing of the Cardinal's ruby and of the Bishop's sapphire. The original meaning of the rite is lost in the explanation that the custom is solely for pomp and show, the ruby suiting the scarlet robes of the Cardinal and the sapphire the violet robes of the Bishop. King's *Antique Gems*, p. 297. It is not less hid by the tradition that the ring symbolises the union between Christ and the Church, or that the sapphire was worn by persons under a vow of chastity because the sapphire was a checker of lust. *Op. cit.* p. 297. The fact, that in the middle ages Bishops were buried wearing their rings of office (*Op. cit.* p. 297), supports the view that the ring was worn for its guardian virtues. Similarly, the freemason, who reaches the giddy height of the arch degree, has to be guarded by wearing a jewel. Greenlaw's *Masonic Lectures*, p. 209.

74 Napier's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 102, 103. 75 *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. II. p. 95. 76 Napier's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 102, 103.

77 Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, pp. 50-57.

78 Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 56. 79 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1219.

80 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 39. 81 Skeat's *Piers the Ploughman*, p. 113.

82 Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 393; Black's *Folk-Medicine*, p. 176. 83 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 432.

84 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 432. Black, *Folk Medicine*, p. 165, quotes a saying that, to scare fiends, Christians trust to words, Jews to stones, Pagans to herbs.

85 Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 408. The belief in the eye-healing power of hæmatite goes back o Babylon. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II. p. 295.

the mind and malice.[86] Coral which scared nervousness and causeless fears was given as a medicine to new-born children. Its changes of colour warned the wearer against the approach of disease.[87] The chrysolite draws wisdom and scares folly.[88] The Syrians valued the diamond highly as an amulet, for its many medical virtues, and as a safe-guard against madness.[89] In eleventh century Europe, the diamond nerved the arm with force, drove dreams and goblins from the sleeper, baffled poison, healed quarrels, appeased madness, blunted the foeman's steel.[90] In Italy, a diamond bound to the left arm scares the Evil Eye, and, together with jacinth, sapphire and carbuncle, is hung round children's necks, as a strong charm.[91] The famous diamond of the Râjâ of Mattan is the guardian of Borneo, and the water in which the diamond has been dipped cures disease.[92] Till the close of the middle ages, the chrysolite or peridot, also called topazius, was believed to cool boiling water, lust, madness, and piles, and to keep off sudden death.[93] Powdered crystal stopped dysentery; laid on the tongue it weakened fever.[94] Aristotle (B. C. 330) said that an emerald worn at the neck or on the finger kept off the falling sickness.[95] The Romans held that to look at an emerald healed and cooled the eyes.[96] In the eleventh century, Marbodus (A. D. 1070) says that the emerald hung round the neck cured ague and falling sickness, and Psellos notes that ground to powder and mixed with water, the emerald heals leprosy and other diseases.[97] The garnet, if hung round the neck or taken internally, refreshed the heart.[98] Heliotrope staunches blood, drives away poison, preserves health, and saves the wearer from abuse.[99] During the Middle Ages, the jacinth drove away the plague and cured colic, jaundice and king's evil.[100] According to Galen (A. D. 100) a jasper, hung about the neck, strengthened the stomach.[1] According to Orpheus (A. D. 250) it cured scorpion bite.[2] In the eleventh century the green jasper was sovran for fevers, dropsies and the woes of child-birth.[3] The Greeks called jade nephrite, because it cured kidney (nephros) diseases.[4] In the eleventh century, jet cured dropsy, epilepsy and diseases of the womb,[5] and the magnet quelled dropsy and cooled burns.[6] Among the ancient Greeks and Romans, powdered lapis lazuli cured melancholy.[7] Till recent times the moon-stone cured consumption and epilepsy.[8] In the sixteenth century, the opal was good for the eyes.[9] In India, the pearl is a cure for syncopes and fluxes of blood; seed pearls and dissolved pearls are largely used as medicine by the people of China.[10] According to Burton (England, seventeenth century) unions or pearls are very cordial and avail to cheer the heart.[11] In

---

86 *Fraser's Magazine*, May 1856, p. 585; Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, pp. 50, 51.

87 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 216; Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 202.

88 Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, p. 51.

89 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 127.

90 Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 392.

91 Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, pp. 219, 220.

92 Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 86.

93 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 427.

94 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 155.

95 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 432.

96 *Op. cit.* p. 34.

97 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 150; Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 135 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 396. The writer in Fraser's *Magazine*, October 1856, p. 430, notices that in the sixteenth century ground telesine corundum and quartz were taken in draughts.

98 Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, p. 51.

99 *Op. cit.* pp. 50, 51.

100 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 141. Camillo (1503 in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 422) calls it Lyoncurius, Marbodus (A. D. 1070) makes Lyncurium cure chest complaints and diarrhœa. (*Op. cit.* p. 406.)

1 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 175. The words of Galen (*De Simplis Med. Fac.* B. IX.) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 364, are important. A virtue is inherent in the green jasper which benefits the chest and the mouth of the stomach if tied on it. Of this stone I have had ample experience, having made a necklace of such gems and hung it round the neck, descending so low that the stones might touch the mouth of the stomach. They appear to me to be of not less service than if, as king Nechepsos recommends, they had been graven with a serpent with radiated head. This shews (*a*) the experience of a scientific physician that gems exercise healing virtues, and (*b*) that the object of graving was to add to the virtue of the ungraven stone.

2 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 19.

3 Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 394.

4 *Op. cit.* p. 397.

5 Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 401.

6 *Op. cit.* p. 302.

7 Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, pp. 50, 51.

8 Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 505; Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 211.

9 Camillo (1503) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 423.

10 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, pp. 31, 195. Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 194.

11 Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 434.

Europe, in the Middle Ages, the ruby kept the wearer in health and cheered his mind.[12] Bœtius (A. D. 520) says the ruby is sovran against plague and poison.[13] Italian women wear sard rings as an amulet to keep off sickness.[14] Up to modern times the sapphire has been regarded as medicinal.[15] The sapphire preserved sight; its influence strengthened the body as well as the soul.[16] According to Marbodus (A. D. 1070) the sapphire preserves health, disarms treachery, checks sweat, stays ulcers, clears the eyes, and strengthens the tongue. In sixteenth century Europe, serpentine or hydrius cured rheumatism and dropsy by draining out the moisture. In the eleventh century, the topaz cured hæmorrhoids.[17]

Besides their medical or healing virtues all times and peoples agree in the experience that certain gems and precious stones guard against and **put to flight spiritual influences which are hostile to mankind.** According to the Jews, the diamond keeps off Satan, the ruby fear, the topaz poison, the amethyst drunkenness, the emerald impious and the sardonyx unlucky thoughts.[18] Compare in *Piers the Ploughman* (A. D. 1370), mede or reward bringing rubies, diamonds, sapphires, orientals (eastern rubies), emeralds, amethysts, and images (aquamarines) to destroy envenomys, that is, poisons.[19] One of the excellences of Elias Ashmoles' (London, 1650) angelical stone was to keep all evil spirits at a distance,[20] an example of the rule that the use of **precious stones** was neither for their beauty, nor because of their proof of wealth, but because they were **choice amulets** against the Evil Eye and other evils.[21] In sixteenth century Europe (A. D. 1503), according to Camillo Leonardo, amber guarded the throat, scared venomous animals, and tested chastity.[22] The amber mouth-piece of his water pipe still keeps the Turk from inhaling pestilence.[23] In the time of Pliny (A. D. 77), amber-necklaces preserved children from witchcraft and sorcery.[24] In India, amber or amber coloured glass saves bullocks and horses from the Evil Eye and other hurtful influences. Among the Greeks and on through the Middle Ages, the wine-coloured amethyst scared or housed the spirit of drunkenness; it also sharpened the wit and overcame poison.[25] The beryl, which has the merit of keeping its lustre in artificial light, in the eleventh century, brought luck, bound love and stopped sighs.[26] In the fifteenth century, the beryl, when looked through, shewed what was before invisible.[27] In the eleventh century, the chalcedony, blest and tied to the neck, especially if on the stone was graven Mars, a robed virgin, or a laurel branch, cured lunatics, and made the wearer beautiful, faithful, strong and successful.[28] According to Marbodus (A. D. 1070), the carnelian checks frays and chases spites and quarrels.[29] In the Middle Ages, the balas ruby repressed vain and impure thoughts, restrained passion, and fiery wrath, and guarded both men and houses from lightning.[30] According to Camillo Leonardo (A. D. 1503), the grey carnelian makes the wearer victorious.[31] Both in Europe and in Asia, the cat's-eye is a gem of luck, a charm against witchcraft.[32] In the eleventh century, the fiery blase of the chrysolite, especially if strung on the hair of an ass, scared nightly terrors.[33] In India, Hindu and Musalmân religious beggars use coral beads for their

[12] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 108.

[13] *Op. cit.* p. 30.

[14] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 176.

[15] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 146.

[16] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 395; Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 41.

[17] Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 399.

[18] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 102, 103.

[19] Skeat's *Piers the Ploughman*, Part II. pp. 10-14. For the Greek and Roman belief in the virtues and magic powers of gems, see Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. pp. 118, 903. For the Arabs *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. vi. Vol. XI.

[20] Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, p. 10.

[21] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 444.

[22] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 427.

[23] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 177.

[24] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 212.

[25] Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 408; Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, pp. 30, 159; Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 154; and Chamber's *Ency. Gems.*

[26] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 398.

[27] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 40. That is, the Beryl was a magnifying glass.

[28] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 432.

[29] *Op. cit.* p. 404.

[30] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 30. Camillo (A. D. 1503) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 419. A house or field whose four corners have been touched by a balas ruby is safe from lightning, storms and blight.

[31] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 422.

[32] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, pp. 167, 168.

[33] Marbodus (1070) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 398.

rosaries. Coral is worn in turbans and on the handles of daggers and swords to keep off the Evil Eye. Coral ornaments are laid with the dead that vampires and other evils may not house themselves in the corpse.[34] As an amulet Bœtius and Dioscorides (about A. Dc 100) found coral efficacious against the delusions of the devil.[35] From the third century to the eleventh century A. D., coral was a talisman against enchantments, witchcraft, thunder, tempests, and other perils. Coral also preserved crops from drought, hail, caterpillars, worms and rust.[36] According to Ovid coral stops bleeding, according to Orpheus it cures scorpion stings, according to Lucullus its soft smell keeps off lightning. The Spaniards say, coral keeps off lightning, hail, and fascination. The Italians and the English agree that it saves children from witchery and the Evil Eye.[37] The chrysolite cooled wrath and boiling water, and by its pallour warned against poison.[38] The Greek gods (B. C. 500) could not stand against the power of crystal.[39] In the Scottish Highlands, from the early times of Ossian (A. D. 100-600), rock crystal and cairngorm have been known as stones of power and stones of virtue. They were a sovran remedy in disease.[40] Till the close of the Middle Ages (Camillo Leonardo, 1503), crystal worn by sleepers scared evil dreams and baffled spells and witchcraft; taken powdered and mixed with honey it filled the breasts with milk. Dees' Crystal Globe (seventeenth century) and other crystal balls, some of which have been found in tombs, have magical powers.[41] The Irish believe in the virtues of certain pebbles which they keep on the altars of their churches. Water in which the stones are steeped cures cattle. In the Highlands of Scotland, crystal balls have healing power.[42] If poison was poured into a crystal cup, the cup turned pale or broke.[43] According to King the Romans prized the diamond, not for its beauty, but for its rarity and its extraordinary powers as an amulet.[44] Its electric power of attracting, when heated by rubbing, and its phosphorence after being steeped in sunshine, fostered the belief in the magical powers of the diamond.[45] According to Serapius and Camillo Leonardo (A. D. 1503), the diamond resists poison, and if taken inwardly is itself a deadly poison; it drives away lemures or ghosts, incubi and succubi, that is, night terrors; it baffles magic, gives success in law suits and makes the wearer brave and large-hearted.[46] According to Pliny, the diamond destroys poison and cures insanity. The famous Mattan diamond of Borneo is the chief's talisman, on the possession of which depends the happiness of the Mattan family.[47] Marbodus (A. D. 1070) mentions a stone called Dionysia, which turns water into wine and keeps wine from intoxicating.[48] Among the Romans, the emerald was sacred to Mercury. The emerald gave warning of false evidence by changing colour.[49] It was good for the eyes, helpful to women in child-birth, it heartened the wearer, and turned away the plague. It was an infallible preservative of chastity.[50] In eleventh century Europe, the emerald was good in divination and increased the wearer's importance.[51] According to Marbodus (A. D. 1070), the hyacinth gives safety in travelling and in bad air.[52] According to Cardan (A. D. 1500), the hyacinth or jacinth makes rich, increases power, strengthens the heart, brightens the soul,

34 *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 215. About 1880, a piece of coral, along with a few child's bones, was found in a Buddhist stûpa or burying mound at Nasik by the late Dr. Bhagwânlâl Indrâji.

35 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 216.

36 Orpheus (A. D. 250) and Marbodus (A. D. 1070) in King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 403, 425, 426; Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 233.

37 Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 459; Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 36.

38 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 30.

39 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 17.

40 Clerk's *Ossian*, Vol. II. p. 151.

41 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 155.

42 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 94, 453.

43 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 8.

44 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 70.

45 *Op. cit.* p. 419; Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 29. Though the diamond is so lucky a stone it is remarkable (King's *Antique Gems*, p. 68) that the Hindus think the Kôhinûr a most unlucky stone. They say it ruined the Mughals, it destroyed the power of Nâdir Shâh, and after of Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, and of Rañjît Singh. Finally it caused the 1857 Mutinies.

46 Mawe on *Diamonds*, p. 13.

47 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 122.

48 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 416.

49 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 30.

50 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 135. According to Marbodus (A. D. 1070) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 396, the emerald gave wealth and eloquence.

51 Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 432.

52 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 400.

Europe, in the Middle Ages, the ruby kept the wearer in health and cheered his mind.[12] Bœtius (A. D. 520) says the ruby is sovran against plague and poison.[13] Italian women wear sard rings as an amulet to keep off sickness.[14] Up to modern times the sapphire has been regarded as medicinal.[15] The sapphire preserved sight; its influence strengthened the body as well as the soul.[16] According to Marbodus (A. D. 1070) the sapphire preserves health, disarms treachery, checks sweat, stays ulcers, clears the eyes, and strengthens the tongue. In sixteenth century Europe, serpentine or hydrius cured rheumatism and dropsy by draining out the moisture. In the eleventh century, the topaz cured hæmorrhoids.[17]

Besides their medical or healing virtues all times and peoples agree in the experience that certain gems and precious stones guard against and put to flight spiritual influences which are hostile to mankind. According to the Jews, the diamond keeps off Satan, the ruby fear, the topaz poison, the amethyst drunkenness, the emerald impious and the sardonyx unlucky thoughts.[18] Compare in *Piers the Ploughman* (A. D. 1370), mede or reward bringing rubies, diamonds, sapphires, orientals (eastern rubies), emeralds, amethysts, and images (aquamarines) to destroy envenomys, that is, poisons.[19] One of the excellences of Elias Ashmoles' (London, 1650) angelical stone was to keep all evil spirits at a distance,[20] an example of the rule that the use of precious stones was neither for their beauty, nor because of their proof of wealth, but because they were choice amulets against the Evil Eye and other evils.[21] In sixteenth century Europe (A. D. 1503), according to Camillo Leonardo, amber guarded the throat, scared venomous animals, and tested chastity.[22] The amber mouth-piece of his water pipe still keeps the Turk from inhaling pestilence.[23] In the time of Pliny (A. D. 77), amber-necklaces preserved children from witchcraft and sorcery.[24] In India, amber or amber coloured glass saves bullocks and horses from the Evil Eye and other hurtful influences. Among the Greeks and on through the Middle Ages, the wine-coloured amethyst scared or housed the spirit of drunkenness; it also sharpened the wit and overcame poison.[25] The beryl, which has the merit of keeping its lustre in artificial light, in the eleventh century, brought luck, bound love and stopped sighs.[26] In the fifteenth century, the beryl, when looked through, shewed what was before invisible.[27] In the eleventh century, the chalcedony, blest and tied to the neck, especially if on the stone was graven Mars, a robed virgin, or a laurel branch, cured lunatics, and made the wearer beautiful, faithful, strong and successful.[28] According to Marbodus (A. D. 1070), the carnelian checks frays and chases spites and quarrels.[29] In the Middle Ages, the balas ruby repressed vain and impure thoughts, restrained passion, and fiery wrath, and guarded both men and houses from lightning.[30] According to Camillo Leonardo (A. D. 1503), the grey carnelian makes the wearer victorious.[31] Both in Europe and in Asia, the cat's-eye is a gem of luck, a charm against witchcraft.[32] In the eleventh century, the fiery blase of the chrysolite, especially if strung on the hair of an ass, scared nightly terrors.[33] In India, Hindu and Musalmân religious beggars use coral beads for their

[12] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 108.
[13] *Op. cit.* p. 30.
[14] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 176.
[15] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 146.
[16] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 395; Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 41.
[17] Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 399.
[18] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 102, 103.
[19] Skeat's *Piers the Ploughman*, Part II. pp. 10-14. For the Greek and Roman belief in the virtues and magic powers of gems, see Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. pp. 118, 903. For the Arabs *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. vi. Vol. XI.
[20] Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, p. 10.
[21] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 444.
[22] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 427.
[23] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 177.
[24] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 212.
[25] Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 408; Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, pp. 30, 159; Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 154; and Chamber's *Ency. Gems*.
[26] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 398.
[27] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 40. That is, the Beryl was a magnifying glass.
[28] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 432.
[29] *Op. cit.* p. 404.
[30] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 30. Camillo (A. D. 1503) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 419. A house or field whose four corners have been touched by a balas ruby is safe from lightning, storms and blight.
[31] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 422.
[32] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, pp. 167, 168.
[33] Marbodus (1070) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 398.

rosaries. Coral is worn in turbans and on the handles of daggers and swords to keep off the Evil Eye. Coral ornaments are laid with the dead that vampires and other evils may not house themselves in the corpse.[34] As an amulet Bœtius and Dioscorides (about A. Dc 100) found coral efficacious against the delusions of the devil.[35] From the third century to the eleventh century A. D., coral was a talisman against enchantments, witchcraft, thunder, tempests, and other perils. Coral also preserved crops from drought, hail, caterpillars, worms and rust.[36] According to Ovid coral stops bleeding, according to Orpheus it cures scorpion stings, according to Lucullus its soft smell keeps off lightning. The Spaniards say, coral keeps off lightning, hail, and fascination. The Italians and the English agree that it saves children from witchery and the Evil Eye.[37] The chrysolite cooled wrath and boiling water, and by its pallour warned against poison.[38] The Greek gods (B. C. 500) could not stand against the power of crystal.[39] In the Scottish Highlands, from the early times of Ossian (A. D. 100-600), rock crystal and cairngorm have been known as stones of power and stones of virtue. They were a sovran remedy in disease.[40] Till the close of the Middle Ages (Camillo Leonardo, 1503), crystal worn by sleepers scared evil dreams and baffled spells and witchcraft; taken powdered and mixed with honey it filled the breasts with milk. Dees' Crystal Globe (seventeenth century) and other crystal balls, some of which have been found in tombs, have magical powers.[41] The Irish believe in the virtues of certain pebbles which they keep on the altars of their churches. Water in which the stones are steeped cures cattle. In the Highlands of Scotland, crystal balls have healing power.[42] If poison was poured into a crystal cup, the cup turned pale or broke.[43] According to King the Romans prized the diamond, not for its beauty, but for its rarity and its extraordinary powers as an amulet.[44] Its electric power of attracting, when heated by rubbing, and its phosphorence after being steeped in sunshine, fostered the belief in the magical powers of the diamond.[45] According to Serapius and Camillo Leonardo (A. D. 1503), the diamond resists poison, and if taken inwardly is itself a deadly poison; it drives away lemures or ghosts, incubi and succubi, that is, night terrors; it baffles magic, gives success in law suits and makes the wearer brave and large-hearted.[46] According to Pliny, the diamond destroys poison and cures insanity. The famous Mattan diamond of Borneo is the chief's talisman, on the possession of which depends the happiness of the Mattan family.[47] Marbodus (A. D. 1070) mentions a stone called Dionysia, which turns water into wine and keeps wine from intoxicating.[48] Among the Romans, the emerald was sacred to Mercury. The emerald gave warning of false evidence by changing colour.[49] It was good for the eyes, helpful to women in child-birth, it heartened the wearer, and turned away the plague. It was an infallible preservative of chastity.[50] In eleventh century Europe, the emerald was good in divination and increased the wearer's importance.[51] According to Marbodus (A. D. 1070), the hyacinth gives safety in travelling and in bad air.[52] According to Cardan (A. D. 1500), the hyacinth or jacinth makes rich, increases power, strengthens the heart, brightens the soul,

34 *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 215. About 1880, a piece of coral, along with a few child's bones, was found in a Buddhist stûpa or burying mound at Nasik by the late Dr. Bhagwânlâl Indrâji.

35 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 216.

36 Orpheus (A. D. 250) and Marbodus (A. D. 1070) in King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 408, 425, 426; Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 233.

37 Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 459; Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 36.

38 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 30.

39 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 17.

40 Clerk's *Ossian*, Vol. II. p. 151.

41 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 155.

42 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 94, 453.

43 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 8.

44 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 70.

45 *Op. cit.* p. 419; Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 29. Though the diamond is so lucky a stone it is remarkable (King's *Antique Gems*, p. 68) that the Hindus think the Kôhinûr a most unlucky stone. They say it ruined the Mughals, it destroyed the power of Nâdir Shâh, and after of Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, and of Rañjît Singh. Finally it caused the 1857 Mutinies.

46 Mawe on *Diamonds*, p. 13.

47 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 122.

48 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 416.

49 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 30.

50 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 135. According to Marbodus (A. D. 1070) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 396, the emerald gave wealth and eloquence.

51 Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 432.

52 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 400.

and makes it wise. The jacinth gives sleep and scares thunder, plague and evil spirits.[53] Cardan's own big hyacinth did not bring sleep, but then the stone was of a bad colour.[54] Jade, the holy stone of China, cures colic and the bite of venomous insects.[55] In Burmah, if poison is laid on a green jade-plate, the plate turns black.[56] According to Pliny (A. D. 70), in the East, the jasper was worn as an amulet.[57] In the eleventh century, the green jasper, when strengthened by magic rites and a silver setting, scared the terrors by night.[58] Hung round the neck, the jasper resisted sorrow and refreshed the heart.[59] In the seventeenth century, Nicols noted that many attribute power and virtue to cross-white jasper if figures and characters be graven on them.[60] Jet, according to Bœtius (A. D. 520) and Marbodus (A. D. 1070), screens from evil influences, nightly fears, spectres and ghosts. The rosaries of Catholic Saints were made of jet.[61] Jet is still used in medicine and magic as a means of fumigation.[62] In the Scottish Highlands, oblong pieces of obsidian, smooth as glass, called amulets of *leng*, have healing virtues.[63] Till the close of the Middle Ages, green jet or gagatromæus made the wearer invisible.[64] In the eleventh century, heliotrope caused storms, gifted the wearer with prophecy and made him invisible.[65] The magnet tested a wife's faithfulness, helped robbers, and graced the tongue.[66] Roman children wore ornaments of molochite, perhaps a green jade, to protect them against evil.[67] And this name for keeping evil from the cradles of children was still fresh in eleventh-century Europe. The moon-stone in the sixteenth century gave a knowledge of the future.[68] **The onyx is one of the doubtful guardians.** It cured epilepsy, but caused melancholy and strife, and, in the Middle Ages, sent confusing dreams.[69] The opal is also uncertain. From classic times to the seventeenth century the opal was thought to bring every possible good.[70] By a strange freak of fortune, which Mr. Streeter traces to Hermione's opal in Scott's *Anne of Gierstein*, it is now falsely accused of bringing ill-luck.[71] The lustre of the pearl scares evil spirits. So Bengal virgins wore pearls as a preservative of virtue, that is to scare evil thoughts and wishes.[72] The ancient Chinese highly valued the pearl as an amulet.[73] Since B. C. 500, the Corean has put in the mouth of his dead boiled panic, three unbored pearls, and a piece of jade.[74] It was as an amulet, or a houser of Hamlet's ill-luck, that the king threw a union or pearl into the cup he drank to Hamlet's better breath.[75] In the Middle Ages, in Europe, the ruby guarded against poison, plague, sadness, evil thoughts, and wicked spirits. The ruby kept the wearer in health and cheered his mind. It diminished its light to warn him of danger.[76] It scared evil spirits and bad dreams.[77] The Indian and Chinese place-spirit is

[53] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, pp. 30, 141; Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 49; *Fraser's Magazine*, May 1856, p. 585.

[54] Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 49.

[55] *Op. cit.* p. 179. Chinese officials and their wives wear jade as a badge of rank. Mrs. Gray's *Fourteen Months in Canton*, p. 126.

[56] *Advocate of India*, 20th October 1886.

[57] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 174; Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 201. One sort of jasper called grammatias was a Gnostic (A. D. 100-300) amulet. King's *Antique Gems*, p. 19.

[58] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 394.

[59] *Fraser's Magazine*, October 1856, p. 431.

[60] Streeters *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 201.

[61] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 406.

[62] *Op. cit.* p. 98.

[63] Clerk's *Ossian*, Vol. II. p. 151.

[64] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 420.

[65] *Op. cit.* p. 407.

[66] Marbodus (A. D. 1070) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 402.

[67] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 208; Marbodus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 415. King in *Antique Gems*, p. 15, says: "Molochite is not Malachite." The writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, November, 1856, p. 572, thinks it is.

[68] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 427.

[69] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, pp. 43, 167. Marbodus (A. D. 1070) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 397, gives the onyx an entirely evil character.

[70] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 164.

[71] *Op. cit.* p. 164. Petrus Arlenius (A. D. 1610) describes an opal which forced every one who saw it to love, honour and worship it. King's *Antique Gems*, p. 423.

[72] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 195.

[73] Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 243.

[74] Ross' *Corea*, p. 325.

[75] *Hamlet*, Act V. Scene 2. The case is a good instance of the rule that the drinker of a health is a scape, taking into himself the ill-luck of the person to whom he drinks.

[76] Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 108.

[77] *Op. cit.* p. 30.

chased or housed, and the safety of the building is secured, by laying under the foundations bags of small rubies.[78] The Egyptian priest wore a sapphire amulet on his breast.[79] Like the crystal among the Greeks the sapphire was the gem of gems, the most sacred of stones.[80] It prevailed against the gods. Those who consulted the oracle at Delphi, bringing a sapphire, had early and favourable answers.[81] According to St. Jerome, the sapphire wins the favour of princes, soothes enemies, and frees from enchantments. It is partly because it dulls devotion to Venus that the sapphire is worn by the priest and bishop.[82] Also, according to Mercurialis, the sapphire frees the mind from prejudice and mends manners.[83] The sapphire preserves the sight and strengthens the body as well as the soul.[84] In Middle-Age England, Richard Preston, citizen and grocer, gave to the shrine of St. Erkenwald his best sapphire stone to cure imprints of the Evil Eye.[85] On the top of the English Crown is a rose-cut sapphire, said to have been used by Edward the Confessor (A. D. 1050) for blessing cramp rings.[86] In eleventh-century Europe, a sard worn on the finger kept off dreams and charms and made the wearer a favourite with women.[87] In the eleventh century, the swallow-stone or chelidonian was good for idiots and madmen, for orators, and for tempering the ire of kings.[88] In the eleventh century, the thunder-stone, which came with the thunder-bolt, kept off lightning and all harm.[89] A famous Arab amulet was of topaz, with the Arabic words bored through it — "Success is from God alone."[90] Even unaided by a text the topaz was of high virtue. When placed near poison it grew dark, it quenched the heat of boiling water, it calmed the passions, it prevented bad dreams.[91] Till the close of the Middle Ages, according to Camillo (1503), the topaz (he calls it chrysolite), set in gold and worn on the left hand, drove out night-demons, terrors and gloomy visions. If strung on an ass's hair, it drove out devils and overthrew spells. Held in the hand, it cooled fever.[92] Among the ancient Egyptians the turquoise was a favourite amulet and charm.[93] According to Pliny (A. D. 70), the turquoise brought health and fortune.[94] The Persians hold that the turquoise has talismanic virtue.[95] In Middle-Age Europe, few stones had such guarding power as the turquoise.[96] It was especially valued by horsemen. No one wearing a turquoise would either be thrown or tire his horse. In eleventh-century Europe, to draw out the full virtue of the turquoise, a beetle and under the beetle a man should be graven on it, the stone should be bored lengthwise and hung on a swivel, blessed and set in a prepared and adorned place.[97] The Muslims added to the virtue of the turquoise by carving texts on the gem.[98] Nádir Sháh (A. D. 1737) wore as an amulet a heart-shaped turquoise graven with a verse from the *Kurân*. Many Europeans still wear the turquoise because it keeps off contagion, because it prevents damage if you fall from your horse,[99] because it foretells sickness, changing with the colour of the wearer.[100] In Italy and in India turquoise-coloured glass is the best protection of horses, camels and bullocks from the Evil Eye and other hurtful influences.[1] In the sixteenth century, zemech or lapis lazuli cured melancholy.[2]

The inherent guardian virtue of gems was increased by having them cut in certain **lucky shapes,** by having them **graven** with guardian forms, names or letters, by having them **set in certain guardian substances.** Further the gem's virtues were increased by choosing for

78 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 141.
79 Eber's *Egyptian Princess*, Vol. I. p. 56.
80 Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 122.
81 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 146.
82 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, pp. 30, 112.
83 *Fraser's Magazine*, October 1856, p. 431.
84 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 41.
85 Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Vol. VI. p. 375, and Skeat's *Piers the Ploughman*, p. 113.
86 Jones' *Crowns*, 44.
87 Marbodus (A. D. 1070) in King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 432, 433.
88 *Op. cit*, p. 401.
89 *Op. cit.* p. 406.
90 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 222.
91 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 128.
92 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 420.
93 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 182.
94 *Op. cit.* p. 182.
95 Fraser's *Khorâsân*, p. 469.
96 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 170; King's *Antique Gems*, p. 427.
97 Marbodus (1070) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 433.
98 Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 171.
99 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 23; Dieulafait's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 49.
100 Emanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 29.
1 *Op. cit.* pp. 181, 182.
2 Camello Leonardo (1503) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 427.

graving and for setting the season during which the guardian influences of the gem were at their highest. In Europe, till the end of the Middle Ages, the belief prevailed that certain gems have certain influences, and certain shapes have certain influences. The influences vary at different times. Choose the time and the subject that suits the gem and the influence of the whole will be so much the greater.[3] "In the Middle Ages," says King, "all engraved gems were worn as amulets.[4] Gnostic gems were, mainly *periapta*, that is, to be worn round the neck to keep off evil.[5] The early Christians, while taking exception to certain designs, accepted the mystic value of engraved ships." In the second century A. D. Clemens of Alexandria says: "Christians should not wear any ring but the signet, and on the signet no engraving but a pigeon, a fish, a ship, a lyre, an anchor and a fisher. The signet should not have the image of an idol which Christians are forbidden even to look at, nor a sword, nor a bow Christians being the followers of peace, nor drinking goblets Christians being sober, nor naked women."[6] In Jaspers and other precious stones, certain natural lines were thought unlucky and called *grammata* or writing.[7] King notes in the Devonshire collection of gems, an Etruscan stone set in a ring and carved with elegant and intricate filagree patterns.[8] Of lucky shapes into which gems were cut are the helmet, of which in modern crowns is the jewelled representative, and is still a guardian shape,[9] the wheel *jugx* or turbo which spun and unspun magical spells,[10] and the tongue. The belief in the influence of stars upon men and also the common attribute of light-housing, that is, the sameness of spirit in stars and in gems, made stars a favourite subject for gem engraving. The guardian star of the owner was engraved on his ring, as Capricornus is shewn in the corner of a cameo of Augustus.[11] The idea of engraving the owner's special constellation was developed into zodiac stones with all the signs of the zodiac graven on them, because each sign had a special guardian influence over a part of the body.[12] Again, the kindly influences of a constellation were secured by carving one or two of its leading stars.[13] The sun and the astrolabe, the tool with the star spirit, were also forms of special virtue.[14] As part of the general raising of the guardian form through animals to man,[15] under the Gnostics the constellations ceased to be shewn by animals and came to be figured as winged human beings holding stars. Till the close of the Middle Ages luck lived in the following animal figures, many of which were supposed to trace back their fame to Chael, an ancient Hebrew doctor of the wilderness time (B. C. 1300), as mentioned by Camillo (A. D. 1503), — the ass, bat, boar, bull, camel, dragon, falcon, frog, griffin, hoopoe, lion, raven, swallow and vulture.[16] Each of these shapes was endowed with a special virtue. In early times (B. C. 2000-500) the armoured and fight-loving scarabeus beetle, in Egypt, Phœnicia, and Etruria, was a more favourite guardian than any who has succeeded him.[17] Chneph the Egyptian Good Daemon

[3] Camillo Leonardo (1503) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 435. Compare the stone, the setting and the graving, — a triple source of power in Marbodus (1070), King's *Antique Gems*, p. 417.

[4] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 181.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 349.

[6] *Op. cit.* p. 277.

[7] *Fraser's Magazine*, October 1856, p. 430.

[8] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 486.

[9] *Op. cit.* p. 307.

[10] *Op. cit.* p. 454. Compare Horace to Canidia: — "Turn back your wheel and free from your spell."

[11] *King's Antique Gems*, p. 454. According to Grotius (A. D. 1640) among the Romans, plain iron hoops traced with cabalistic lines worked wonderful cures. The physician Alexander of Tralles (A. D. 200) had a hoop that was sovran in cases of blue devils. *Fraser's Magazine*, May 1856, p. 584.

[12] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 333.

[13] Each sign of the zodiac had power over a special part of the body: — The Ram over the Head; the Bull over the Neck; the Twins over the Shoulders; the Crab over the Breast; the Lion over the Shoulder-blades; the Virgin over the Flanks; Libra over the Haunches; the Scorpion over the Groin; Centaur over the Thighs; Capricornus over the Knee; Aquarius over the Leg; the Fishes over the Feet (King's *Antique Gems*, p. 480).

[14] King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 333-5. King (*Op. cit.* p. 335) quotes the saying of Greek astrology that three stars n each constellation, cut upon gems and known as the Decani or Lookers, charm away disease and accident.

[15] Camillo (1503) in King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 442-4.

[16] Compare King's *Antique Gems*, p. 169: — "Agreeably to the analogy of other branches of pictorial art the earliest Greek or Græco-Italian gem engravers began with representations of beasts."

[17] King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 442, 444, 448; Compare Dalyell (*Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 145.) A ship sculptured on a stone prevented shipwreck, a standard cut ensured victory, the figure of a grey hound cured lunacy and scared fiends, a hare guarded against ill-will.

or guardian, figured as an erect hawk-headed serpent, was also a favourite object on gems.[18] On early (B. C. 500-300) Greek gems are engraved the horse, lion, ox and stag.[19] According to the Arabs the guardian power of a gem is increased by having an animal engraved on it. A stone with a lion graven on it guards against wild beasts; a scorpion prevents the attacks of reptiles.[20] This idea seems to give sense to **the grylls or chimæras composed of different parts of different animals** and so housing, and by housing turning into guardians, a variety of influences.

As the power of man over beasts increased, so to man his terror of his brother man became greater than his terror of wild beasts: also as the power of man to depict the human form and face improved, **a human guardian began to emerge from the animal guardian. A human head** rules the lion body of Egypt's guardian the Sphinx. Dagon steps out of his husk of fish scales, and a human head appears between the wings of the great warders of Babylon.[21] The Assyrian guardian, who wrestles with the lion Bad-luck, is half bull half man.[22] Among the Persians (B. C. 500-300) the human head and breast of Hormazd rise out of a winged eye,[23] while in some cylinders, not only is the guardian human, but one of the evils he keeps at arms length is a man-headed bull.[24] Among the Greeks, the animal lingers in the half human Faun and Silenus.[25] The animal lingers in the snake ringlets of the guardian Medusa-head, which, from the gigantic coarse lolling tongue-mask passes to a woman-face of the calmest beauty ceaselessly guarding the wearer from the Evil Eye and other influences of death.[26] Finally, the animal guardian or home lingers in the **horned human head** on some gems, odd and curl-horned with short beard, hair-hidden ears, and up-turned satyr eye-brows.[27] In an Isis vase of the second century A. D. a horned human head supports the handle.[28] Similarly, a Babylonian cylinder (B. C. 600 ?) shews a bull-legged figure erect with a horned and bearded human head breaking the fore legs of a ramping lion.[29] How important a guardian element lay in horns is shewn by the horned Moses and still more by the horned Alexander.

But, before Alexander, the Greeks had begun to shew their guardians in simple human form. Not only was the man Hercules a special favourite on gems as a guardian whose protection assured good luck,[30] even the great gods of the Greeks and Romans, especially Jupiter and Venus were graven in **human form**.[31] In the centuries before and after Christ the head of most virtue was the hornless Alexander.[32] During the first centuries after Christ the head of Augustus to some extent took the place of the head of Alexander. That it was believed that in the graven head some of the spirit of the great guardian of the Roman people lived, is shown by the law of Tiberius that it was a crime to take into a house of ill-fame a gem graven with the head of Augustus.[33] As part of the worship of the Human even the stars had to change

---

18 The soldier theory of the beetle (*Fraser's Magazine*, February, 1856; p. 238) seems more practical than the received world-rolling explanation, which cannot have come into belief so long as men continued to hold that the earth was flat.

19 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 364. 20 *Op. cit.* p. 169. *Fraser's Magazine*, February 1856, pp. 233, 237.

21 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 335. 22 See examples in King's *Antique Gems*, plate facing p. 129, No. 3.

23 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 125. 24 *Op. cit.* pp. 130, 131. 25 *Op. cit.* pp. 129-131.

26 King (*Antique Gems*, pp. 377, 378, note) says: "The Medusa occurs in Gnostic gems (A. D. 50-300) and was apparently from its universal use an amulet to keep off the Evil Eye. On a red jasper are the talismanic words 'I guard Boromandares.'"

27 Figures in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 239. 28 *Op. cit.* p. 366. 29 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 129.

30 *Op. cit.* p. 378. As a cure for colic the learned physician Alexander of Tralles (A. D. 200) counsels the wearing of a gem of Hercules strangling the Nemean lion. King's *Antique Gems*, p. 434.

31 Julius Cæsar wore a Venus engraved on a gem, as he held himself under the special favour of Venus. *Fraser's Magazine*, February 1856, p. 234.

32 Trebellius Pollio notes that women wore Alexander's portrait and that those who wore it prospered. St. Chrysostom (A. D. 347-407) describes a brass coin of Alexander being tied to the feet and head to keep off sickness, King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 322, 323. The writer on old rings in *Fraser's Magazine*, February 1856, p. 235, says: "Alexander so bewitched posterity that the wearing of his effigy on a ring secured success."

33 King's *Antique Gems*, p. 277.

their old honoured shapes for human figures. In the fourth century A. D. instead of the sign of the constellation was graven the guardian god or angel with which the Persians and Gnostics had furnished each of the planets and of the leading constellations.[34] Till the close of the Middle Ages among the lucky figures graven on gems, were the bowman, the swordsman and the man with the upraised hand.[35]

The human form did not long remain unchallenged as the most favourite home of the guardian. Among Gnostics and other amulet-wearing mystics of the early centuries after Christ the Name composed of mystic letters was found to hold more virtue than any human or other figure.[36] So a gem has graven on it: 'Abraxas, Jao, Adonai. Holy Name, Holy Powers defend Vibia Paulina from every evil spirit.'[37] Titles, phrases and numbers all added to the natural powers of gems. Round the head of the crystal signet of king Lotharus (A. D. 960) ran the words 'O Christ, defend king Lothaire.'[38] Till the close of the Middle Ages the names of the three kings of Cologne, Casper, Melchior and Balthasar, also the words Guttu, Gutta, Thebal Ebal, I H S Nazarenus, housed special holy influences.[39] Still, in Germany, the plague is scared by a plate with the 'names of God' round the rim and in the centre a figure-pattern which read in any order gives the total 34.[40] Similarly, in the Middle Ages the decade rings had in each of the ten short cogs the spirit of an Ave and in the round head with I H S the spirit of a Pater Noster.[41] These "names-of-God" phrases and mystic figures were usually added to other images in accordance with the experience that combination increases the guardian influence of the gem. So in the time of Hadrian (A. D. 100) gems were graven with the triune God of Egypt, either Ammon (Jupiter) Ra (the Sun) and the Asp, or Athor, Bart and Achor, with in words 'Father of the world, Triple God.'[42] Some gems carry the combination of guardian influences still further. An emerald gem, probably of the time of Antoninus Pius (A. D. 130), made in Alexandria, has a central Serapis head with thunderbolt on left and cornucopia on right wreathed round by a beading of circles or eggs ending in a snake head swallowing the end of the wreath. Outside of this egg-beading is a row of human and bird heads and at the foot a large lizard.[43] King notes that in such gems the mouse, dolphin, rabbit, and lizard are favourite figures. As these animals represent the earth, the air, and the sea,[44] the object of engraving them would seem to be to choose objects likely to prove tempting homes for the three great classes of spirits. Thus, the object of this massing or housing of guardian shapes is the same as the object of the grotesque chimaeras or grylls, namely to grave shapes likely to prove attractive to different classes of spirits.[45]

(To be continued.)

[34] Firmicus in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 334. The Perso-Jewish angels were made the guardians of the leading constellations: Michael of the Bear, Gabriel of the Serpent, Suriel of the Eagle, Raphael of the Lion, Tauthabaoth of the Dog, and Erataoth of the Bull. The spirits or overlords of the seven planets were of the Sun Adonai, of the Moon Jao, of Jupiter Eoi, of Mars Salbao, of Venus Ovai, of Mercury Astaphai, of Saturn Ildabaoth. King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 348, 349. According to the Gnostics these overlords were underlords of the supreme, whom they named Abraham. *Op. cit.* pp. 348, 349.

[35] Camillo Leonardo (1503) in King's *Antique Gems*, p. 442.

[36] Compare *Revelations*, ii. 17: "To him who overcometh I will give a white stone and in the stone a new name written."

[37] King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 354-5. On another Gnostic stone are "Jao Abraxas keep from evil" (*Op. cit.* p. 434). The word Abraxas, like the word Mithras, had the figure value of 365 (*Op. cit.* p. 355), *Ency. Brit.* "Gems." Thus the name was not only a home for the time or year spirit, but was a home for the creator of the universe, since the universe had been formed to include 365 separate worlds or creations.

[38] King's *Antique Gems*, p. 305.

[39] *Op. cit.* p. 370. Camillo (A. D. 1503) mentions the 'names of God' among gravings of special virtue. King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 442-4.

[40] King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 365, 366.

[41] *Op. cit.* p. 296.

[42] *Op. cit.* p. 358.

[43] *Op. cit.* p. 337.

[44] *Op. cit.* p. 330.

[45] Compare Camillo Leonardo (1503), King's *Antique Gems*, p. 437, who explains the use of mixed forms by the figure being suitable to the different virtues of the stone.

MISCELLANEA.

A NEW KHAROSTHI INSCRIPTION FROM SWAT.[1]

TOGETHER with his interesting *Report* on the results of his mission to Swât Dr. L. A. Waddell forwarded to me some months ago two impressions of the longest **Kharoshṭhî inscription** which he had found on his tour at Kaldarra near Dargai. As the impressions have been taken on very thick country-paper, they are not sufficiently distinct to allow the whole inscription to be read. Of late, Dr. Waddell has sent in addition an excellent photograph of the document, taken by Mr. Andrews, with the help of which it can be easily deciphered.

The inscription is incised on a rough block of stone, measuring, according to the impression, about 27 inches by 9.

The lines are not quite equal in length, the last sign of line 2, *E*, protruding beyond the ends of lines 1 and 3. The letters, which vary between 1 and 2 inches in height and have been cut deeply and boldly, shew the type of the Śaka period,[2] which is known from the Taxila Copper-plate of Patika[3] and from the inscriptions of his contemporary Śuḍasa or Śoḍâsa on the Mathurâ Lion Capital.[4] With the Taxila Copper-plate they agree, particularly in the curls at the left end of the tops of *ta*, *ra* and *sa*, which Prof. Dowson erroneously considered to express the medial *i*. The only notable peculiarity is the clear distinction between *ṇa* and *na*, the signs for which are mostly identical in the later Kharoshṭhî documents. The numeral signs are ////7Ʋ or, according to Mr. V. A. Smith's notation, ICXIII. The figure for 100 differs from those in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of Gudupharna[5] or 'Υνδοφερρης and in the inscriptions of the Kushanas. The sign for ten retains almost exactly the form of the corresponding numeral figure in the Teima inscription.[6]

The close agreement of the characters with those of the Taxila Copper-plate makes it very probable that the era, according to which Dr. Waddell's inscription is dated, is the same as that used by Liaka Kusuluka's son Patika and by his contemporary Śoḍâsa or Śuḍasa. If that is so, the new document is only thirty-five years later than the Taxila Plate. The beginning of this era is still uncertain. The numismatists[7] allege that Śoḍâsa's father, Râjuvula or Raṁjubula, ruled in the beginning of the first century B. C. Hence the reign of his son could not fall later than about B. C. 65-40, and the era, used in the date of his Mathurâ inscription "the year 72," must have begun between B. C. 137-112. But the late Dr. Bhagvânlâl Indrâjî[8] held that all the Northern Kshatrapas ruled in the first century A. D. In my opinion the only certain point is that Raṁjubula and Śoḍâsa preceded Kanishka.

Transcription.

1. *Datia*[9] *putreṇa thaï Noreṇa puka-*
2. *ra(ṇi ?)*[10] *karavita savrasapaṇa*[11] *puyae*
3. *vashra ICXIII Śravaṇa s*[*u**]*dha*[12] [||*]

Translation.

"By the son of Dati, the Thera Nora, a tank (*pushkariṇî*) was caused to be made for the worship of all snakes (*in*) the year 113, (*in the*) bright half (*of the month of*) Śrâvaṇa."

The wording offers few difficulties. *Thai*, which I take to be an abbreviation of *thaïreṇa*, in Sanskṛit *sthavireṇa*, is separated from the name Nora by a considerable interval and hence must represent a word by itself. Similar abbreviations are found in the Western inscriptions from the time of Puḷumâyi (2nd cent. A. D.); see Nasik, No. 15, where *sava* occurs for *savachare* and *gi pa* for *gimhânaṁ pakhe*. *Pukaraṇi*, "a

---

[1] Reprinted from the *Vienna Oriental Journal*.

[2] See my *Grundriss der indischen Paläographie*, Tafel I. Col. VIII.-IX., and § 10, 3, § 12 of the letter-press.

[3] See my new edition according to Dr. J. F. Fleet's photo, compared with the original in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, in *Ep. Indica*, Vol. IV. p. 54 ff.

[4] *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1894, p. 525 ff.

[5] This is the fuller form of the name, discovered by Prof. Otto Franke on some coins of the Berlin Collection and visible also on some of Prof. P. Gardner's autotypes, *e. g.*, on Pl. XXII. (Nos. 7 and 9) of his Catalogue of Indo-Grecian and Scythian Coins. There the third sign of the word is ɧ or *rna*.

[6] See my *Grundriss der indischen Paläographie*, § 33.

[7] Von Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen*, p. 47 f., 65; P. Gardner, *Catalogue*, p. xxxix., and *Chart of Greek and Scythic Kings*, p. xxxii.; Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 27.

[8] *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1894, p. 542.

[9] The separation of the words strictly follows the original.

[10] The vowel is not distinct and might be read as *e*.

[11] On the photograph the middle portion of the second *sa* is not distinct, but it is plain on the impressions.

[12] The tail of the last *sa* has been lost through an exfoliation of the stone. It is hardly doubtful that it had the *u*-curve. The *prima facie* reading *sadha* would give no sense, except on the supposition that several lines have been lost. In that case it might be taken as an equivalent of *sârdham*, "together with," and as the beginning of a sentence enumerating persons associated with the donor in the pious work.

tank,"[13] stands midway between Sanskrit *pushkariṇî* and Pâli *pokkharaṇî*. The two names *Dati* and *Nora* have a foreign look. With the termination of the masc. genitive *Datia* compare *Haganaṁdia*, *Uggahiniya* and *Nandiye* from the Kushana inscriptions.[14]

The dedication of a tank for the worship of all snakes will cause no surprise to those acquainted with North-Western India, where, *e. g.* in Kashmir, every big spring is called a *nâga*, and every small one a *nâginî*, and where every lake has its tutelary *nâga*. For instance, the Vullar Lake or Ullola is considered to be the residence of the Serpent Padma. In Kashmir there are also instances, in which artificial tanks or ponds were dedicated to particular Nâgas. Thus Bilhaṇa says in his *Vikramâṅkadevacharita*, XVIII. 70:—

"At a distance of one and a half Gaus from Pravarapura lies a place with high-rising monuments, called Jayavana, where the pool (*kuṇḍa*) of Takshaka, lord of snakes, filled with pure water, resembles a war-disc, intended to cut the head of Kali who is bent on the destruction of Dharma."

In 1876 the pool of Takshak was still known at Zevan-Jayavana, though its round stone-wall had disappeared.[15] The close connexion of the snake-worship with Buddhism is well known and explains it how a Thera came to dedicate a tank or pond to this minor race of divine beings.

GEORGE BÜHLER.

February 21st, 1896.

NOTES ON BURMESE FOLK-LORE.

THE following facts, which have recently come under my notice, will be of some interest to anthropologists:—

I.

A famous dacoit chief, Bô Chô, and his two sons, were recently tried and sentenced to death for murder, as well as to transportation for various terms on different charges of dacoity. On appeal to the Judicial Commissioner of Upper Burma, the sentences of death were confirmed, and by the special order of the Chief Commissioner, Burma, they were carried out publicly at a place called Ngabâyauk in the Myingyàn District, (Upper Burma). The dying request of the condemned men, about which they were obviously very anxious, was that, after their death, the sentences of transportation on them might be remitted.

It is somewhat doubtful whether this request had its foundation on Buddhistic or animistic ideas; but it is probably to be referred to the latter, as ordinary Burmese criminals, when executed within the walls of a jail, are frequently anxious that, after death, their souls may be allowed free egress beyond the Jail walls. In the present case, there was, of course, no difficulty in assuring the condemned men that the warrants of transportation against them would be cancelled after their deaths.

II.

A well-known Burmese Head Constable, named Thaukkyâ, died recently at a place called Salê in the Myingyàn District, and shortly after his death complaints began to be made by the constables at the police station there that his ghost was causing them much annoyance by haunting the place. They said that the only way in which this could be stopped was to put up a notice in the police station informing Thaukkyâ that he was dismissed from the force, and so urgent were their complaints that the European Assistant Superintendent of Police actually stuck up a notice to this effect.[1]

When asked how they knew that Thaukkyâ was haunting the place, they replied that he constantly appeared to them in dreams.

As is well known, the Burmese have the usual half-civilised ideas as to the actuality of dream incidents and persons. Indeed, a constable at the police station at Siṅgû, not far from Salê, where a Buddhist priest wanted by the police had lately committed suicide, was seen to jump up from his sleep, seize a sword and rush violently round the station house. He explained to a European, who happened to be present, that the deceased priest had just appeared to him, and as he had done so twice before he was determined not to stand the annoyance any longer.

The above incidents illustrate the origin of the belief in ghosts from dreams.

It appears also that the influence that Thaukkyâ exerted during his life is believed to be possessed by his ghost. At any rate, on a report of a large theft of money, (Rs. 600), being lately made to his successor, another Burman, the latter on his way to the scene of the occurrence besought Thaukkyâ earnestly, (*inmadàn shikôde*), to shew him how to detect the case. As he was successful in getting back all the money and in proving the case to be a false one, it is not unlikely that

[13] Compare also the form *pushkaraṇî* in the Mathurâ inscription of the time of Śoḍâsa, Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* III. Pl. 13, No. 1.

[14] *Epigraphia Indica*, II. p. 197.

[15] *Kashmir Report*, p. 6.

[1] Since writing this I have heard, on excellent authority, of two very similar cases which occurred recently, one in the Meiktilâ, and the other in the Tharrawaddy District.

the deceased Thaukkyâ will come in time to be regarded as a godling or nàt.

III.

A superstition of the Burmans, which may not be generally known, is that it is very unlucky for a swarm of bees to alight on a house; in fact, this will occasionally entail the desertion of the latter altogether.[2] Evil spirits and influences may be, however, kept out of a house by stretching round it a thread charmed by the priests.

BERNARD HOUGHTON.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

DEAR SIR, — Muir, in his *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I., has collected, translated and illustrated "the principal passages in the different Indian books of the greatest antiquity as well as in others of comparatively modern composition, which describe the creation of mankind, and the origin of classes or which tend to throw light upon the manner in which the caste system may have arisen." He has thus afforded ample information on the bibliography of the subject; but his attention, it appears, was confined to the consideration of only the four principal castes — the Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sûdras. Not a single sentence is to be found about the other castes — the mixed classes which are more numerous than the original ones and have overgrown them.

Thus, after reading the *Orignal Sanskrit Texts*, my desire for knowledge about caste was not satisfied, but the information I gathered from this book has served rather to excite than allay my curiosity. I, therefore, set about collecting from the various *Purâṇas*, *Upapurâṇas*, *Smṛitis*, *Tantras*, etc., extracts regarding the mixed castes, in the same way as Muir has done about the original ones.

Of the *Tantras*, I am sorry, I could not lay my hands on a copy of the Rudrayâmala Tantra, regarding which Colebrooke, in his paper headed "Enumeration of Indian Classes" in Vol. V. of the *Asiatic Researches*, says:—

"One of the authorities I shall use is the Jâtimâlâ or *Garland of Classes*, an extract from the *Rudrayâmala Tantra*, which, in some instances, corresponds better with the usage and received opinions than the ordinances of Manu and the great *Dharma* (*Vṛihaddharma*) *Purâṇa*."

Monier Williams, in a note in page 131 of his *Hinduism*, a volume in the *Non-Christian Religious Systems* series, says:—"A section of it (*Rudrayâmala Tantra*) called the *Jâtimâlâ*, treating of castes, has been printed at Calcutta."

I have long been on the look out for this *Jâtimâlâ* as well as the *Rudrayâmala Tantra*, but have not been fortunate enough to get hold of either.

I shall feel much obliged if you, or any of your learned readers, will be good enough to let me know where and how I can get hold of a copy of either the *Tantra* itself, or the chapter called *Jâtimâlâ*, which, Monier Williams says, has been printed at Calcutta, where I have left no stone unturned to come by it, but in vain.

The only *Jâtimâlâ*, available here in print, contains two excerpts from the sacred books: one is from the *Brahmavaivarta Purâṇa* and the other is said to be taken from the Parasurâma Saṁhitâ. But I have not seen any *Saṁhitâ* of that name. The Sanskṛit Texts are given with a Bengali translation in verse. The Publishers do not say from what book they have taken the first extract, and it is only after my researches in the several *Purâṇas*, etc., that I have been able to trace it to the *Brahmavaivarta Purâṇa*.

Here I must again ask your learned readers to favour me with any information they may know regarding this *Parasurâma Saṁhitâ*.

Touching the *Rudrayâmala Tantra*, which is, as Monier Williams says, "one of the most deservedly esteemed and most encyclopœdic in its teaching," and is said to consist of 100,000 verses, all that I know is that it has not as yet been printed, and that a complete MS. copy is nowhere to be found, so far as I have been able to hunt for it. I myself have got a MS. copy of the *Uttara Tantra*, or last portion of the above, containing sixty-four *paṭalas* or chapters. In his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Dr. R. L. Mitra has noticed one, but it contains only a few *paṭalas*: nor is the copy in the Library of the Asiatic Society here a complete one.

NILCAMAL BASAK.

8/1, *Dewan's Lane, Calcutta.*

[2] This occurrence is, however, in some parts held to portend good fortune.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A COLLECTION OF NOTES ON MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

THE following collection of notes on marriage customs are taken from an issue of the *Pioneer*.

Brâhman ceremonies are very lengthy, but the essential portions are the following. On the wedding-day, the bridegroom, attired in *cadjan*,[1] with his books and with a bundle of rice on his shoulder, makes believe he is off to Benares to lead a holy life. The bride's father accosts him and persuades him to stay and marry his daughter. He is then accompanied to the marriage *pandal*, and the bride is made over to him. The sacred fire is kindled and worshipped, the gods are invoked and the *tâli* or *insignia* of marriage is tied round the bride's neck by the bridegroom. Both then walk round the fire, and the bridegroom, taking his bride's foot in his hands, places it seven times on a mill-stone. This is the binding part of the ceremony. After further prayers, the couple exchange garlands of flowers. Five or nine sorts of seed grains are mixed and sown in special little earthen vessels. The couple water these for four days. On the fifth day the sprouts are taken out and thrown into a tank or river. On the second night, the bride takes her husband outside and points out to him a particular star and implies thereby that she will remain as chaste as the goddess inhabiting the star.

The severely conservative Nambûri Brâhmans of Malabar have, of course, customs similar to their *congeners* of other parts, but one curious and inexplicable feature in the ceremony is, that the parties go through a pretence of catching fish.

The Bants — the chief land-owning class in South Kanara — have a long ceremonial, the essential part of which is called *dhare*. The bride's right hand is placed over the groom's, a silver vessel with water is brought, over its mouth is placed a cocoanut, and over the latter an areca palm flower. The hands are then placed over all. The parent and relatives all touch the vessel, which is thrice moved up and down. The couple are then congratulated by all present, who desire that they may become the parents of twelve sons and twelve daughters.

Among the Heggades — a shepherd class in the same district — on the second day of the ceremony, the bridegroom makes away with a jewel from the bride's person, which he pretends to have stolen. The bride's party go in search of the thief. A boy dressed to represent him is arrested by mistake. The bride's people, on this, admit their inability to find the rogue. He is then produced and formally conducted to the bride.

The Holeyas, or agrestic slaves of Kanara, have a still more quaint ceremonial. The youth's party goes to the bride's on a fixed day with rice, betel, and areca nuts, and waits all night outside the hut, the groom being squatted on a mat specially made by the bride. Next morning the bride comes and sits in front of him with a winnowing fan between them, filled with betel leaf. Those present throw rice over the heads of the couple. The ceremony lasts four days, during which it is indispensable that one of the two should continually use the mat. On the last day the couple take the mat to a river or tank holding fish, dip the mat in and catch some fish which they let go off after kissing them. A feed completes the marriage.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris are perhaps the only Indian race among whom the custom of courtship prevails. The marriage is not binding until the wife is about to become a mother. When this occurs the badge has to be promptly tied round the girl's neck.

The Kois, of Godavari, have an interesting custom. Should the youth be poor, he carries off his bride by force, and, what is more, he may select another man's wife for the purpose. The wedding ceremony is beautifully simple. The girl bends her head, the youth leans over her, friends pour water on his head, and when the water has dropped from his to the bride's head, the twain are one.

The Chenchus, a forest tribe of Karnûl, also believe in clandestine unions. Either the couple run away at night and return the next day — man and wife — or they go round a bow and arrow planted in the ground, and their relatives throw rice on them and bless them.

Among the Kurumbas — a shepherd class found in many eastern districts of Madras — a golden image, representing the hero of the clan, is taken out of a small box filled with saffron powder, in which it is usually secured, and placed before the bride and bridegroom, who call aloud the hero's name. The performing priest breaks cocoanuts on the heads of those of the tribe who hereditarily enjoy this distinction, and then ties a piece of saffron on the bride's right arm. Rice is then

[1] [See Yule, *s. v.*, in *Hobson-Jobson*. — ED.]

thrown on her head, the *tâlî* is tied round her neck by the bridegroom, and the ceremony is over. Among some divisions of the tribe other substances than saffron are employed.

With the Kallans of Trichinopoly and neighbouring districts, the most proper alliance is between a man and his paternal uncle's daughter. Failing this his niece or his aunt is most suitable. Worst of all a bridegroom — young though he may be — has to accept his fate even if the bride is fifty and toothless. His sister visits the bride's parents, presents them with twenty-one little coins and a cloth and ties some horse hair round the bride's neck. After a feast the bride and groom go to the latter's house and exchange boomerangs. A feast ensues. The bride gets a dowry of a hen and some rice and trots off to her new home.

The Maravens of Tinnevelly, a robber caste, have rather aggressive matrimonial usages. The elders arrange the wedding, and, with or without the consent of the young folks, go and tie the *tâlî* round the bride's neck, blowing conches the while. Feasts and processions follow, a cocoanut is broken before the caste deity, and certain other ceremonies complete the alliance.

Among a subdivision of the Reddîs — a cultivating tribe of Nellore and neighbouring districts — they have a lengthy marriage ceremonial, part of which consists of the worship of a number of pots especially made for the occasion, as also in the feigned anger of the bridegroom's party on the fourth day of the ceremony.

The Uṛiyas of Ganjam have to marry their girls before the period of puberty. If a suitable husband is not obtained before the time, the girl is married to an arrow.

Among the Paniyans, a labouring class in Malabar, when a man wants to marry a girl, he must take a bundle of firewood daily to her house for six months.

GEO. F. D'PENHA.

MESSRS. T. C. and E. C. JACK, Grange Publishing Works, 215, Causeway-side, Edinburgh, have asked us to state that they are publishing a new Edition of Burns, to be edited by Messrs. W. E. Henley and T. F. Henderson, and that, as the Editors are anxious to make the edition as complete and free from errors as possible, they are anxious that all owners of original MSS. should communicate with the publishers.

As it is possible that some of our readers may be in possession of original or valuable documents connected with Burns we have much pleasure in inserting this note.

I SHOULD be glad to have for reference a complete list of the *mudrâs*, or conventional attitudes, of images of Buddha, and do not know where to find one. Can any reader of the *Indian Antiquary* oblige me with a list, and give the exact definition of each *mudrâ ?*

Gorakhpur. V. A. SMITH,

[Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 324 ff., gives a vast amount of information about this subject. — ED.]

DATES OF SANSKRIT WORKS, FIXED BY REFERENCE TO TIBETAN SOURCES.

PART II. of the current volume of the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* contains some important notes by Dr. Georg Huth, of Berlin, on the chronology of certain works in the Tibetan Tanjur. Many of these are translations of, or commentaries on, Sanskṛit works, and the dates of the Tibetan writers are capable of being fixed with reasonable accuracy. Based on these premises, Dr. Huth shews, amongst other interesting facts —

(1) that the date of the composition of the *Ashṭâṅgahṛidaya-saṁhitâ*, of Vâgbhaṭa, cannot be later than the eighth century A. D.;

(2) that translations of

(*a*) the *Ashṭâṅgahṛidaya-saṁhitâ*, of Vâgbhaṭa,

(*b*) the *Padârthachandrikâprabhâsanâmâshṭâṅgahṛidaya-vṛitti*, of Chandrânanda,

(*c*) the *Dhûpayôgaratnamâlâ*, ascribed to Nâgârjuna,

(*d*) the *Vimalapraśnôttararatnamâlâ*, of Amôgôdaya,

(*e*) the *Châṇakyanîtiśâstra*,

(*f*) and a treatise on Veterinary Surgery, ascribed to Śâlihôtra,

were all made in the first half of the eleventh century;

(3) that the *Avadânakalpalatâ* and Daṇḍin's *Kâvyadarśa* were both translated in the second half of the thirteenth century;

(4) that Ratnâkara-śânti's *Chhandôratnâkara*, and Kâlidâsa's *Môghadûta* were translated in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Dr. Huth finally shews that the date of the oldest original Tibetan work in the *Tanjur* was probably the second half of the sixth, or, at latest, the beginning of the seventh century.

SEPARATE FEEDING OF THE SEXES — MUSALMANS.

WHY do Musalmân women never eat with males? The custom seems to spring from choice

on the women's part. They refuse to eat with those who may, for all they know, commit all kinds of sin out of doors without their knowledge. The women pride themselves greatly in adhering to this rule. The Sunîs of India say that the Shî'a women do not conform to the custom.

F. A. STEEL in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

SALAGRAM.

THE sâlagrâm stone, a kind of ammonite,[1] found chiefly in the Gandak River, is worshipped by some sections of Hindus. Can any one give me information on the following points connected with it? — (i) Are there more kinds than one of this stone; and if so, what are the vernacular names of the various kinds? (ii) What sort of stone is that called *Dudhi-murti* worshipped by Vaishṇavas? Where is it found, and what *gôtra* or sept of Brahmans conducts the worship? Are any offerings presented by worshippers; and if so, on what occasions? (iii) What are the peculiar marks by which the variety known as *Lakshmî Narâyaṇa* is distinguished from other kinds of *śâlagrâm*?

JOHN BEAMES in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BIRTH CUSTOMS — MUSALMANS — LYING-IN.

THE woman after child-birth lies on a *tât* (coarse canvas bag), or on a mat spread on the ground for seven days, during which time she will not lie on a *chârpâe* (bed-stead). She is fed chiefly with small pieces of bread soaked in *ghî* and sugar, and, because this is good for her milk, she is made to abstain from other articles of food. She often continues this diet as long as she is suckling.

GULAB SINGH in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

THE EFFECTS OF A CURSE.

SAMMAN DÊÔ MANHÂS, Hindû, Râjpût, the eldest son, and consequently heir to the family estate, left Jammûṅ in displeasure, and founded the village of Gamrôlâ in *ṭhânâ* Chamâl, Gurdâspûr District, from which have sprung twenty-two villages of Manhâs Râjpûts in the districts of Gurdâspûr, Siâlkoṭ, and Jammûn, but in none of these is a (*pakkâ*) dwelling of baked bricks or stone to be seen. On the death of Samman Dêô's father, a special deputation waited upon the son, to beg of him to return and assume his rightful position at Jammûṅ, but he refused, and invoked a curse on those of his race who might attempt to live in *pakkâ* buildings. Of many others, the two following instances of recent occurrence are commonly quoted in the Siâlkôṭ District as the immediate results of a violation of the honored tradition:— (i) Chaudhrî Gajjâ Siṅgh of Sâlôbâl, Tahsîl Zaffarwâl, built a *pakkâ* dwelling. Before the building was finished he died, and the members of his household died soon after; so that the family is now extinct. The building was auctioned and purchased by a Brâhmaṇ, but is now a ruin. (ii) Chaudhrî Buddhû of Gamrôlâ erected a *pakkâ* residence, and as he commenced the upper storey he died. His eldest son was appointed *zaildâr* and *lambardâr*, but forfeited both for misconduct and died.

J. T. CHRISTIE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

MARRIAGE CUSTOM — THE SIEVE.

AMONG high-caste Hindûs of the Pañjâb, the bridegroom, on entering the bridal chamber, finds a sieve hanging on the door-post, put there by the parents of the bride as a warning to him not to take her unless he chooses, as she has as many faults as there are holes in the sieve. The bridegroom always carries an iron weapon with him to drive away the evil spirits which haunt him, especially at the marriage ceremony, and with this he cuts down the sieve and throws it away, in earnest of his choice of the bride with all her faults.

MAYA DAS in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

TELUGU SUPERSTITIONS AS TO DOGS.

1. WHEN a dog flaps its ears, owing to mange or being pestered by fleas, the dog is said to bring ill luck to the owner of the house where the act was done.

2. When a stray dog barks, in the compound of a house, during the night in a low tone or plaintive manner, owing probably to bodily suffering brought on by mange or other distemper, the owner of the house, if unwell, is said to die.

M. N. VENKETSWAMI.

THE BUDDHIST ORIGIN OF NAUGAZA TOMBS.

SEE Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, 1872-73, pp. 98 ff., 130-1. The suggestion

[1] [Is the *śâlagrâm* an ammonite at all? Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.*, s. v., says, it is "an ovoid black quartzose worn by the action of water, and sometimes found impregnated with gold, bearing the impression of one or more ammonites." Bate, *Hindî Dict.*, s. v., says much the same thing. Some years back there was a quantity of *śâlagrâms*, meant, I think, for Kashmir, passing along the Pañjâb Railways, some of which at least had the appearance of having been manufactured. On the other hand I possess two, I believe, genuine *śâlagrâms* from Bangalore which are apparently unquestionable ammonites. — ED.]

that they are of Buddhist origin is due to Mr. W. Simpson, *J. R. A. S.* Vol. XIII. p. 205. It is difficult, however, to see how figures of Buddha could have come to be regarded as the tombs of Patriarchs and Muhammadan heroes. Such tombs are not likely to present signs of antiquity, as they are always kept in repair.

D. G. B. in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

SOME MODERN JAIN SECTS—HINDU ANTIPATHY TO JAINS.[1]

"BETTER jump down a well than pass a *mundêband*," said a Kaśmîrî Paṇḍit. The *mundêbands* are a sect of Jain ascetics, and are to be found in great force in a house on the north side of the Chândnî Chauk at Delhi Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjâb Ethnography*, § 255 ff., footnote to p. 130, quoting the *Bombay Census Report*, says:—"In Râjpûtânâ considerable animosity prevails between the Hindus and the Jains. There is a saying, 'it is better to jump into a well than to pass a Jain ascetic on the road; and another, 'a Hindu had better be overtaken by a wild elephant than take refuge in a Jain temple,' and 'he may not run through the shadow of it even to escape a tiger.'" He says, however, that this hatred is merely sectarian, and that the Jains are in effect Hindus. At p. 131, § 256, he says:—"They carry the reverence for animal life to an absurd extent: many of these ascetics wear a cloth over their mouths, lest they should inhale an insect or other living thing." Those who do this are the *mundebands*. At p. 132, § 257, he says:—"A more modern sect is the Dhûndîâs, so called because its followers were persecuted by the orthodox, and compelled to take refuge in ruins (*dhûnd*)." This word *dhûnd* is said to be Gujarâtî, but I believe it to be *thêṭh bhâshâ* (real speech of the people) as I have heard it in Ambâlâ. As far as I have gone in the inquiry, I should be inclined to think that the *mundêband* custom existed anterior to the rise of the Dhûndîâ sect.

M. MILLETT in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BOOK-NOTICE.

HARITA'S DHARMASUTRA.[1]

WHEN, in 1889, I put before the Eighth Congress of Orientalists at Stockholm my "Collection of Legal Quotations" from **Hârita's Dharmaśâstra,** I did not venture to hope that a complete copy of that important work might turn up at any time. It was this very consideration which caused me to make a beginning towards collecting the numerous and important fragments of that work, which are preserved in the quotations of mediæval and modern writers on Sanskṛit law. I am extremely glad to be able to announce to the Members of the Tenth Congress, now assembled, that after all a **MS. has been lately discovered in India of a Saṅskṛit composition apparently identical with the genuine old work of Hârita.**

The first notice concerning the MS. in question has been given in **Paṇḍit Vâman Śâstrî Islâmapurkar's** Preface to the first volume of his edition of the *Parâśara Dharma Saṁhitâ with Sâyaṇa's Commentary* (1893, Bombay Sanskrit Series). The Paṇḍit is quite right in stating that this MS., which he has secured from Nâśik, is a fresh discovery, no mention having been made of it either by orientalists or antiquarians. It is true that several *Smṛiti* compositions attributed to the sage Hârîta have been printed in India, and that a number of others are extant in MSS., and have been noticed in the published catalogues of Saṅskṛit MSS. But none of these works, as far as I am aware, shews the least resemblance to the *Dharmaśâstra* of Hârîta. Thus the printed *Vṛiddha Hârîta Saṁhitâ* is a lengthy sectarian production, in which Vaishṇava rites and the Avatâras of Vishṇu are constantly referred to. The other *Smṛitis* which go by the name of Hârîta are mostly brief and insignificant tracts, in which few, if any, of the numerous texts attributed to Hârîta by the standard writers on law are to be met with. All these works are entirely put in the shade by the present copy of the *Dharmaśâstra* of Hârîta, which may be reckoned among the most important recent finds in the field of ancient Sanskṛit legal literature.

Though the merit of the discovery belongs to Paṇḍit Islâmapurkar, European scholars would have been unable to test, and make use of, his discovery, unless Prof. Bühler had applied to him for the loan of the MS. This request was readily complied with, and as Prof. Bühler has kindly lent me both the MS. itself and a transcript made by himself of some important portions of it, I am in a position to offer the

[1] [Ibbetson, § 563*a*, gives "Munhband (Caste No. 220): the Jain ascetic who hangs his cloth over his mouth."—ED.]

[1] Translated, with modifications and additions, from the *Actes du X, Congrès International des Orientalistes.*

following remarks on what may be called the **Dharmasûtra of Hârîta**.

The contents, as well as the style and language, of the present work tend to shew its close analogy with the genuine *Dharmasûtras* of Âpastamba, Baudhâyana and others, the earliest relics of Sanskṛit legal literature. The following is a list of the principal subjects treated in the *Hârîta Dharmśâstra,* as this work is styled in the colophons, *viz*., the respective duties of the four orders (*âśrama*), rules of diet, almsgiving, funeral oblations, the duties of an absolved student, the five great offerings, the study of the *Vêda,* impurity and its removal, penances for various offences, the examination of witnesses, law and judgment, the obligations of women, philosophy, the chief crimes and offences, the entertainment of Brâhmaṇ guests, special penances, purificatory prayers. The treatment of these subjects is very copious for the most part, the bulk of the present work exceeding that of all other *Dharmasûtras* known hitherto, excepting perhaps the *Vishṇusmṛiti,* which work, however, abounds in modern additions. The chapters are termed Adhyâyas, as in the *Vishṇusmṛiti, Gautamasmṛiti* and other modernized *Dharmasûtras*. The language abounds in archaic terms and quotations from Vedic works. Long prose passages alternate with verses in the Anushṭubh and Trishṭubh metres, as in the other *Dharmasûtras*. Many among the versified texts recur literally in these ancient works. Thus the Trishṭubhs on Science and on Venial Falsehood in Chapters 18 and 23 recur in *Vasishṭha* 2, 8 and 16, 35 and in *Vishṇu* 29, 9; the *ślôkas* on *pañchasûnâ* and on *sabhâ* in Chapters 10 and 23 are equally met with in *Manu* 3, 68, *Vishṇu* 59, 19, and *Nârada* 1, 3, 14-17; the whole section on *prasṛitiyâvaka* in 28 corresponds literally with *Baudhâyana* 3, 6 and *Vishṇu* 48. These passages cannot have been borrowed by Hârîta from the other works, as they may be traced to their source in the floating wisdom of the ancient sages and teachers.

The authenticity of the present work may be further proved by an examination of the quotations from it in the mediæval and modern commentaries and digests, and by the quotations from, and references to, Vedic productions which it contains itself. Thus the texts of Hârîta, which have been brought together in the abovementioned Collection of Legal Quotations, may be generally traced in the present work; *e. g*., the long string of rules concerning women (3, 3 *loc. cit.*) which may be viewed as the *locus classicus* for the subject, the archaic comparison of the distribution of the family property between a father and his sons with the jars at a Sôma sacrifice, etc. Those quotations from Hârîta which occur in the first volume of Sâyaṇa's Commentary of the *Smṛiti* of Paraśâra have been verified by Paṇḍit Islâmapurkar Vâman Śâstrî. He observes that he has succeeded in tracing a majority of the author's quotations. Hârîta is constantly referred to as an authority in the bulky compilations on funeral rites, such as, *e. g*., the huge *Śrâddhakalpa* of Hemâdri. These texts have been carefully collected by Dr. Caland, who in his valuable work *Altindischer Ahnencult* (pp. 93-95) has undertaken to restore the original *Śrâddhakalpa* of Hârîta. Turning to the present work, we find that the description of funeral oblations in Chapter 12 agrees in the main with the conjectures put forward by Dr. Caland. As regards the Vedic works quoted or referred to by Hârîta, it is important to note that he seems to look up with special veneration to 'holy Maitrâyaṇi.' The authenticity of several references to that Vedic teacher is confirmed by the quotations from Hârîta in Hemâdri's and other legal treatises. It appears, therefore, that Prof. Bühler has been quite right in his surmises regarding an original connexion between Hârîta and the well-known Vedic school of the Maitrâyaṇîyas. Hârîta shews himself thoroughly acquainted with the works of that school; thus, the curious *Mantra śatadâyo vîro,* which he quotes without giving his source, may be traced in the *Maitrâyaṇî Saṁhitâ* (1, 2, 5).

The publication of this work which ranks with the earliest and most precious relics of Sanskṛit literature would be a great *desideratum*. Unfortunately, to undertake an edition of it from this single MS. is entirely out of the question. The MS. is apparently complete in thirty chapters, and has been written about the end of the seventeenth century, but clerical errors, blunders and omissions of every sort are so frequent in it that a great many passages are utterly unintelligible in spite of the excellent assistance afforded by the numerous quotations above referred to. Let us hope that other and more reliable MSS. of Hârîta's *Dharmasûtra* may soon turn up. Perhaps we may look to the Benares Paṇḍits for help in this matter, as Kṛishṇapaṇḍita's recent Commentary of the *Vasishṭha-smṛiti,* in which a text of Hârîta is quoted, has been printed at Benares. An old Commentary on the *Hârîta-smṛiti* is quoted by Hemâdri (3, 1, 559), and a Kashmirian word mentioned in this commentary seems to point to Kashmir as being the country where it has been written. Nothing could afford such good help towards preparing a correct edition of this important work than the recovery of an ancient commentary.

Würzburg. J. Jolly.

ON THE AGE OF TIRUNANASAMBANDHA.

BY P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M. A.

(*Concluded from p.* 125.)

I SHALL now try to **trace the influence of Sambandha, from the middle ages backwards to the earlier times,** confining myself to such leading facts as might be inferred from the sacred Śaiva works themselves.

Let us begin with the last of the canonized Śaiva saints, **Umâpati Śivâchârya.** Umâpati Śivâchârya is the fourth of the Santâna-Âchâryas and is the author of eight of the fourteen *Siddhânta-Śâstras,* besides six minor works devoted to sacred history and geography. Of these latter, one is on the life of Śêkkiḷâr, the author of the *Tiruttoṇḍar-* or *Periya-purâṇam,* another on that *Purâṇa* itself, while a third gives an account of the eleven sacred Śaiva books, as compiled by Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi. From all these three, I have borrowed valuable facts in the earlier parts of this inquiry. Evidently the author had a historical and critical spirit, and all his philosophical disquisitions bear ample testimony to this.[51] But the fact I would here mention in evidence thereof, is one that is directly connected with the question in hand — a fact for which Draviḍian archæology can never be sufficiently grateful. In his preface to the *Saṅkalpanirâkaraṇa,* — a subtle and able metaphysical dissertation, — he tells us the object for which the lecture was written, the audience to which it was addressed, and the date on which it was delivered. This date was the 6th day of the Âni festival in the Chidambaram temple,[52] in **the Śaka year 1235.** Here then is a date which may prove a veritable loadstar to guide us through the conjectural cloudland of current chronology. It is not a date prefixed by some unknown hand, as in Kamban's *Râmâyaṇa* or in the *Skânda-Purâṇa,* and therefore open to question. It occurs, on the other hand, just in the middle (lines 26-29)[53] of a long sentence, extending over 54 lines of Agaval metre, in which the author speaks in the first person and introduces his treatise, which immediately follows without any further ceremony or word of explanation.

If the *Saṅkalpanirâkaraṇa* was written in Śaka 1235 or A. D. 1313, Umâpati Śivâchârya must have composed his account of the *Periyapurâṇam* much about the same time. Can we seriously then seek for Sambandha in 1292? The *Purâṇa* that narrates his miracles was old enough about 1313 to need an account of its origin being written.

That *Purâṇa* itself must have been in 1313 at least a century old. For, Umâpati Śivâchârya does not write as if he were a Boswell writing the life of a Johnson. No one can read his account of the way in which the *Periyapurâṇam* came to be written, without being convinced that there was a respectable interval of time between that *Purâṇa* and his account of it.[54] To Umâpati, the author of the *Purâṇa* was already a canonized saint, worthy of worship along with those commemorated in the *Purâṇa* itself. The work had become by his time so sacred that the first line of it is ascribed to the direct inspiration of the god at Chidambaram, who is further made to announce the completion of the holy treatise to king Anapâya by *aśarîri* or 'incorporeal voice.' No doubt, myths do grow rapidly in the tropical East; but can we seriously think of ascribing those under notice to the imagination of Umâpati himself, the leading characteristic

[51] No difficult philosophical doctrine of his need be quoted to illustrate the liberal critical spirit of this writer. It is enough to point to his preface to the *Śivaprakâśa.*

[52] Umâpati Śivâchârya was one of the 3,000 Brâhmaṇ priests attached to this temple.

[53] The lines run thus: — "êḷañj=irunûṟṟ=eḍuttav=âyiram vâḷu-naṟ=chakana=maruvânirpa, etc.". Mr. Damodaram Pillai says in his preface to the *Vîraśôḷiyam* that our author composed his *Kôyil-Purâṇam* about Śaka 1200; but he does not state his authority. *The Tamil Plutarch* begins its account of Umâpati Śivâchârya dogmatically thus: — "This celebrated poet and philosopher flourished in the 17th century;" but ends with nescience and doubt. "The time of his existence is not known; but we find his name mentioned in the Introduction to the *Sidambara-Purâṇam,* which dates A.D. 1513." It is hard to conceive how the author can make the two ends meet of this, his small paragraph of twenty-three lines!

[54] See particularly verses 9 and 10.

of whose intellect was, as far as we can judge of it from his writings, a spirit of matter-of-fact, almost prosaic, realism. The myths must have been current, not only in his own age, but for some generations preceding, to have grown to some extent venerable. We are led to the same conclusion by another well known fact, *viz.*, that three Santâna-Âchâryas followed Śêkkiḻâr, the author of the *Purâṇa*, before Umâpati, the fourth in the list, appeared. I say therefore, at the very least a century must have elapsed between the composition of the *Periyapurâṇam* and the account of it, written as we have just seen in 1313. In all probability, the interval was longer. The work is unquestionably the oldest of the existing Tamiḻ *Purâṇas*. Frequent references to incidents narrated in it will be found in almost every other *Purâṇa*, including the *Skânda* itself.[55] It was composed, we are told,[56] with the express object of superseding the Buddhistic epic *Chintâmaṇi*, which was evidently the only narrative poem of any magnitude then in existence. The Chôḻa prince at whose instance Śêkkiḻâr wrote his *Periyapurâṇam*, is well known in Tamiḻ literature under the name of Anapâya Chôḻa Pallava. He is sometimes called also Tirunîṟṟu Chôḻa,[57] probably to indicate the regard he had for that symbol of the Śaiva faith. His religious fervour seems to have proved largely beneficial to the temple of Chidambaram, which he is said to have covered with gold[58] — probably in the way of repair of what was done by his forefather Parântaka I. Though it would appear from the *Tiruttoṇḍar-* or *Periya-purâṇam* that Anapâya was holding his court at Tiruvârûr,[59] near Negapatam, when that *Purâṇa* was composed, a verse[60] cited in the commentary on the Tamiḻ *Taṇḍi Alaṁkâra* leaves no room for doubt that his real capital was the same Gaṅgâpuram or Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśôḻapuram, where the successors of Parântaka bore rule. Probably he was attracted to the former city by religious considerations. In an inscription of his, at Tiruvârûr, dated in the seventh year of his reign, offering gifts of "land, gold, brass, silver and other excellent treasures" to the images of Sambandha and the other two authors of the *Dêvâra Hymns*, set up in that shrine, he calls himself Râjakêsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻadêva.[61] Referring to this inscription, Dr. Hultzsch writes: "The characters of the Tiruvârûr inscription of this prince are decidedly more modern than those of the Tañjavûr inscriptions of Râjarâja and Râjêndra-Chôḻa. Accordingly, the *Periyapurâṇam* must have been composed after their time. On the other hand, the subjoined inscription proves that the legends which Śêkkiḻâr embodied in his work were not of his own invention, but must have grown up in the time of the predecessors of Râjêndra-Chôḻa."[62] Of course, for this last conclusion we stand in no need of any proof. In the very opening chapter, Śêkkiḻâr himself expressly states how the lives of the sixty-three saints he embodies in his work were commemorated in the hymns of Sundara, and how they were subsequently amplified by Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi.[63]

But the inscription alluded to by Dr. Hultzsch is certainly a remarkable one. It records the setting up of a copper image with the rather telling legend '*Tattâ namarê kâṇ*,' or 'O Tattaṉ! He is one of us! Behold!' The reference is to the dying words of Meypporuḷ Nâyaṉâr,

[55] See for instance *Avaipuṟu-Paḍalam*, verse 52.

[56] See Umâpati Śivâchârya's *Account of the Periyapurâṇam*, verse 10.

[57] *Kôyil-Purâṇam*, Pâyiram, verse 12. Tirunîṟu means the 'holy ashes.' I am glad to find that in the preface to the *Purâṇa*, its editor, the late Mr. Âṟumuga Nâvalar, the greatest of modern Tamiḻ Paṇḍits, notes the date we have assigned above to Umâpati Śivâchârya.

[58] *Kôyil-Purâṇam*, Pâyiram, verse 12, and *Periyapurâṇam*, Pâyiram, verse 8.

[59] *Periyapurâṇam*, *Tiruvârûr-śiṟappu*, verse 12.

[60] ". . . . . *Anapâyaṉ-koy-poḻil-śûḻ-Gaṅgâpura-mâḷigai* . . . . . ;" sûtra 95, part 14. According to Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai, Gaṅgâpuram was the capital of the Chôḻa empire under Abhaya also (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 337). But the *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi*, canto xiii. verse 92, depended upon for this statement, is, at best, ambiguous. Gaṅgâpuri there appears more as a conquered place than as the capital, — so favouring Dr. Fleet's statement (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 277) that Abhaya succeeded to the Chôḻa throne not wholly as the lawful heir to it. Probably after capturing this old Chôḻa capital and with it the Chôḻa crown, Abhaya held his imperial court in the more central station Kâñchî.

[61] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 153 f. [62] *Ibid.* p. 167. [63] *Tirumalai-śiṟappu*, verses 38 and 39.

imploring his attendant, Tattaṉ by name, to spare the life of his murderer out of veneration for the form of a Saiva devotee the assassin had assumed. The date of the inscription is the third year of Râjêndra-Chôḷa's reign; and there can be no question that this Râjêndra was the immediate successor of the now well known Chôḷa emperor Râjarâja, since the person who sets up the image is the temple-manager Poygai-nâḍu Kiḷavaṉ Âdittaṉ Sûryaṉ *alias* Teṉṉavaṉ Mûvêndavêḷâṉ, figuring so frequently in the published inscriptions[64] of that great monarch. It is not unlikely that the shrewd temple-manager found his new youthful sovereign anxious to exercise a rather inconveniently strict supervision over the management of the temple endowments so profusely made by his predecessor on the throne, and in consequence, wanted to read to him a practical sermon by thus setting up the image of a king, who held it profane even to touch the hair of his own assassin, because he had come covered in Saiva garments! However that be, the question of absorbing interest to us here is, whence did our clever manager borrow his text to be thus utilized for his purposes? Is it or is it not from the *Periyapurâṇam?* If it is, it must unquestionably establish the priority of that treatise to the third year of Râjêndra's reign. The words of the legend appear temptingly similar to those in the *Purâṇa.* Dr. Hultzsch himself observes, "The words '*Tattâ namarê kâṇ*' bear a close resemblance to those of the verse '*namar Tattâ.*'" The resemblance, however, is really closer. The line in the *Periyapurâṇam* reads not '*namar Tattâ,*' but '*Tattâ namar*' exactly in the order given in the inscription. Probably the mistake arose by referring to the *Tiruttoṇḍar-Purâṇasâram,*[65] or the abstract of the *Periyapurâṇam* by Umâpati, instead of to the *Purâṇa* itself. In the face of the identity, I am not sure that Dr. Hultzsch's inference about the relative age of Sêkkiḷâr and Râjarâja will be accepted by all as conclusive. For, it is possible to contend, in the first place, whether there lived but one Anapâya, as the argument assumes, and in the next place, whether South-Indian palæography is yet in a position to be dogmatic about dates, independent of corroborative evidence *aliunde.* Nevertheless I am not inclined to contest the point, partly out of deference to the opinion of so careful a writer as Dr. Hultzsch, but more because I think I have a better hypothesis as to the source of the Tanjore temple-manager's text, than ascribing it to the *Periyapurâṇam.*

For I find in the *Andâdi* of **Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi**, upon which the *Periyapurâṇam* is avowedly based, the identical expression, letter for letter, with the simple omission of the expletive '*kâṇ*' at the end of it. It is not impossible[66] that the temple-manager added this word, '*kâṇ,*' meaning 'look' or 'behold,' not as a part of the dying exclamation of the pious king whose image he was then setting up, but as a warning of his own, a word *in terrorem,* to such impudent profanity as would venture to subject to the secular law the acts of the holy servants of god. But whether we regard it as a pure expletive or as a sly hint, the absence of '*kâṇ*' will not stand in the way of our tracing the text to Nambi's *Andâdi.* The principal word in it is '*namarê*;' and no Tamiḷ scholar can feel any scruple as to its being a classical term, unknown to colloquial Tamiḷ, even of the age of Râjarâja, if we may judge from the style of the many voluminous inscriptions of his, now placed before the public through the indefatigable labours of Dr. Hultzsch. The only question possible, to my mind at least, is whether Nambi Âṇḍâr and Râjarâja's temple-manager might not have both borrowed the expression from some common prior source in verse. But, even in the days of Sêkkiḷâr, there was no work extant on the subject except this *Andâdi* of Nambi and the famous *padigam* of Sundara. The expression not being found in the latter, the *Andâdi* is the only classical source from which the temple-manager could have borrowed his text, unless, of course, we indulge in the assumption that there existed a poem of which Sêkkiḷâr himself was not aware, and imagine also at the same time, that so practical a man as the temple-manager could have been foolish enough to believe that so rare a text could have carried home to the reader of his legend the lesson he was intent on teaching. I, for one, am

[64] See *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II. Parts I. and II.

[65] Verse 7.

[66] [This is improbable, as the word *kâṇ* precedes the relative participle *eṉṟa,* 'who said,' and thus forms part of the dying king's own words. — E. H.]

not prepared to accept such an alternative, as gratuitous as it is unavailing. It seems to me, therefore, that the best course now open to us is to take the expression as borrowed from the *Andâdi* itself. I am not aware of any fact that can militate against such a view. On the contrary, all that we are able to glean from the *Andâdi*, or the account of its author given by Umâpati, goes only to strengthen the easy inference we have drawn. According to this last authority, the patron of Nambi was Râjarâja Abhaya Kulaśêkhara Chôḷa: and we know from his Tanjore inscriptions that the glorious reign of the great Râjarâja, who in his latter days assumed the title of Sivapâdaśêkhara,[67] was exactly the period when such a grand undertaking as that of Nambi, the compilation of the Tamiḻ *Vêdas*, could have been taken up. Seldom does a great deed in letters or religion synchronize with national dejection : nor is it often that such exceptional national prosperity as the Tamiḻas enjoyed under Râjarâja, fails to leave its high-water-mark in some branch of learning or other. It is true that Nambi does not mention Râjarâja by name in his *Andâdi*, but it is well known that in the host of titles and *birudas* under which he passed, Râjarâja was but one, and one by no means the most prominent in his own days, nor the earliest assumed. Allusion, however, is made to his conquest of Ceylon, one of the early achievements of Râjarâja.[68] Nambi refers also more than once to the munificence of the Chôḷa, who covered with gold plates the roof of the temple at Chidambaram, and we know this prince is now generally taken to be Parântaka I., the forefather of Râjarâja. But from the tone in which this reference is made, as well as from the fact that Nambi embodies, in his eleventh or last volume of Śaiva sacred writings, the poems of Gaṇḍarâdityavarman, a later prince of the same dynasty, **the upper limit of Nambi's age** may be safely fixed. After the days of Gaṇḍarâditya, we know of no Râjarâja in the same dynasty, who could have encouraged Nambi in his grand undertaking, except the great Râjarâja, whose accession is now calculated to have taken place in A. D. 984-85.[69] Do not these circumstances then render it extremely probable, if not certain, that Râjarâja's temple-manager was quoting but the words of the great Śaiva sage of the period, patronized by his own old glorious sovereign master, when he engraved the inscription near the copper image set up as a practical lesson to the new Chôḷa prince Râjêndra, in the third year of his reign ? I scruple not to answer in the affirmative, and to conclude that Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi was a contemporary of the Râjarâja of the Tanjore inscriptions.[70] If then Nambi wrote his *Andâdi* before the close of the 10th century, when could Sambandha worshipped in that poem have lived ? Not surely at the end of the 13th. An inscription[71] in the Tanjore temple now places it beyond all doubt that Sambandha and his colleagues were objects of even popular worship in the age of Râjarâja. It records the setting up of the images of Nambi Ârûraṇâr (*i. e.*) Sundara, Naṅgai Paravaiyâr (*i. e.*) Sundara's consort, Tirunâvukkaraiyar and Tiruñânasambandaḍigaḷ, in the 29th year of the reign of this famous Chôḷa emperor. Adverting to this record, Dr. Hultzsch writes : "This inscription is of great importance for the history of Tamiḻ literature, as it forms a *terminus ad quem* for the time of the reputed authors of the *Dêvâram*. Dr. Caldwell was inclined to assign this poem to the end of the 13th century. But the present inscription shews that it must have been written before the time of Râjarâjadêva." It was more with a sense of

[67] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 2. [68] Verses 50 and 65. [69] See note 8, above.

[70] [The following will shew that the patron of Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi cannot have been the Chôḷa king Râjarâja, who ascended the throne in A. D. 984-85. Among the works incorporated by Nambi in the *Tiru-Iśaippâ* there is a hymn dedicated to the Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷêśvara temple (see note 90, below). By this is probably meant the temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍachôḷapuram, which is now called Bṛihadîśvara and which was founded by Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa. This name was borne by several Chôḷa kings, of whom the earliest was Râjêndra-Chôḷa, the son and successor of Râjarâja (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 323). Even if we suppose that the temple referred to in the *Tiru-Iśaippâ* was built by Râjêndra-Chôḷa himself, some time must have elapsed before the hymn in question could be deemed sacred and worthy of being included in the same class as the *Dêvâra Hymns*. Consequently Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi must have lived long after Râjêndra-Chôḷa, who built the temple to which the hymn in the *Tiru-Iśaippâ* is dedicated. — V. Venkayya.]

[71] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 38.

relief than of gratification that I received the first intimation, from Dr. Hultzsch himself, of this extraordinary confirmation of the view I ventured to advocate, four or five years previously, against the esteemed and then unquestioned authority of Dr. Caldwell. The inscription under reference puts it now beyond all possible doubt, not only that the *Dêvâram* was composed before the days of Râjarâja as concluded by Dr. Hultzsch, but also that its authors, including Sambandha, were in the days of Râjarâja objects of worship, as much to the public at large as they were to Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi, patronised in all probability, as we have just seen, by the same Chôḷa emperor.

The authors of those hymns must have lived surely long before that century. To estimate the interval that must have separated the compiler, Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi, from Sambandha and his colleagues, one has only to reflect upon the account, given by so early an authority as Umâpati Śivâchârya, of the difficulties that the former had to overcome in the course of his collection. Of 1,02,000 *padigams* that originally constituted the *Dêvâra Hymns*, Nambi Âṇḍâr was able to secure not more than 795. All the imperial authority and influence of the greatest conqueror of the age was of no avail; and the gods[72] had to interfere for securing even so small a fraction of the sacred songs. If it was so difficult to reclaim and restore to existence the works of Sambandha about the tenth century, can there be any question at least as to the centuries that could not have been graced by the living presence of that saint?

With the evidence offered by the *Tiru-Iśaippâ*, the tenth of the sacred books of the Śaivas, we may descend to still earlier ages; but even then, we find Sambandha's apotheosis as complete as it is to-day. Observe, for instance, the tone in which **Nambi Kâḍa Nambi** alludes to him in his **Kôyil Tiru-Iśaippâ.**[73] To Sundara too, who came after him, the same divine honours are paid.[74] With regard to the age of this tenth collection, we find a not altogether despicable clue in the name of one of its nine authors. **Kaṇḍarâditya** is the fifth of these nine poets, and his central position in the list may be taken, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, as significant of the average age of the whole collection. Kaṇḍarâditya describes himself as the Chôḷa king of Uṟaiyûr and 'the lord of Tanjore,'[75] and makes particular mention of a predecessor of his, who "conquered Madura and Ceylon and covered with gold the Chidambaram temple."[76] The latter, we know, is the famous Parântaka I. that "conquered the king of Laṅkâ and Râjasiṁha Pâṇḍya;"[77] and we find Kaṇḍarâditya in Dr. Hultzsch's Table, as the third in succession from Parântaka. Râjarâja, who ascended the throne in 984, being the tenth Chôḷa in the same list, **the age of Kaṇḍarâditya may be assumed provisionally as the close of the ninth century,** allowing an average of 25 years' reign for the intermediate four Chôḷa kings. If then, by the close of the 9th century, Sambandha's apotheosis was perfect, how preposterous is it to seek for him in the close of the 13th century! Surely, if literary records have any value, Sambandha must have lived long before Kaṇḍarâditya, and the only possible question is, how long before?

To answer this question precisely, we have no materials in sacred Tamiḻ literature, so far as I can recollect at present. Still, there are several indications to shew that the interval between Kaṇḍarâditya and Sambandha must have been of considerable length, — nothing short of three or four centuries. Among these, I may mention the following: —

(1) We have already alluded to the fact that **Tanjore** was not in existence in the days of Sambandha, or even in the days of Sundara who came a few generations after him, say, a century. Kaṇḍarâditya speaks of himself, as we have just seen, as the "lord of Tanjore." Karûr Dêvar, another of the nine authors of the *Tiru-Iśaippâ*, describes Tanjore as a flourishing town of considerable extent and importance. He uniformly speaks of it as 'the fortified

72 See the *Tirumuṟai-kaṇḍa-Purâṇam*, verses 18 to 20.

73 See verse 4.

74 *Ibid.* verse 5.

75 See his *Tiru-Iśaippâ*, verse 10.

76 See his *Tiru-Iśaippâ*, verse 8.

77 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 112.

Tañjai.'[78] Possibly, the old Tañjai of Sundara came to be called 'Pottai Tañjai' or 'open Tanjore,' by way of contrast to the 'fortified Tañjai' of Karûr Dêvar. Thus then, it was in the interval between Sundara and Kaṇḍarâditya, that our modern Tanjore rose into existence, and developed itself into that fortified and flourishing city of which the latter so proudly speaks of himself as the lord.

(2) Nowhere in the *Dêvâra Hymns* — not even in those dedicated to Chidambaram — is there any mention of the celebrated **Chôḷa, Parântaka I.**, who covered that temple with gold and who preceded Kaṇḍarâditya by two or three generations.[79] This silence is certainly remarkable, considering the unique celebrity of the victorious and religious-minded Chôḷa and the zeal with which every opportunity is taken by later writers to allude to him. Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi, for instance, often goes out of his way to compliment Parântaka. In his account of Pugaḻ-Chôḷa, he refers to Parântaka's conquest of Ceylon, in that of Iḍaṅgaḻi-Nâyaṉâr, to his victory over Râjasiṁha-Pâṇḍya and to his roofing the Chidambaram temple with gold, and again in his notice of Kôchcheṅgaṉ Chôḷa, he recurs to the same act of extraordinary munificence.[80] Sêkkiḻâr, the author of the *Periyapurâṇam*, is equally anxious to commemorate the pious gift. Is it not then remarkable that, if Sambandha lived after Parântaka, he should not have a word for this glorious monarch, even when he was standing before and celebrating the glories of that very temple which Parântaka covered with gold? The Brâhmaṇ priests of the place are referred to, but not the king Parântaka. Appar is as silent on the point as Sambandha, and so too is Sundara, who followed them after some generations. The fact that Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi claims three royal saints, of equal rank with Sambandha, — *viz.*, Pugaḻ-Choḷa, Iḍaṅgaḻi and Kôchcheṅgaṇṇâṉ, as remote progenitors of Parântaka, is suggestive of the distance of time by which Sambandha must have preceded Parântaka.

On the other hand, it might be argued that, as the expression *Poṉṉambalam* occurs in the hymns of Appar,[81] both **Appar** and his younger contemporary, Sambandha, lived after Parântaka, who on the authority of the *Koṅgu Chronicle*[82] is generally believed to have built that 'Golden Hall' at Chidambaram. But this last supposition appears to me a grave error, though a common one. *Poṉṉambalam*, first translated by Sanskṛit Paṇḍits as *Kanakasabhâ* and then rendered by modern scholars as the 'Golden Hall,' was originally but an endearing name for the temple at Chidambaram. It is sometimes known simply as 'Kôyil' or *The* Temple. Parântaka's covering the roof of it with gold plates was, perhaps, only an illustration of the curious, but well-known, tendency of names to realize themselves. The pious Chettis of to-day, too, assign no other reason for their costly undertaking to cover the roof and walls of the same temple with gilt plates, but the fact that it is called *Poṉṉambalam!* Probably, in his age, Parântaka was actuated by no better reason. At any rate, Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi of the eleventh century, who surely ought to know better than the *Koṅgu Chronicle*, gives Parântaka, in the very act of proudly and flatteringly alluding to his munificence, only the credit of having covered the roof of the hall with gold, but not of having constructed the hall itself.[83] It must be further remembered that according to Śêkkiḻâr,[84] his own patron, Anapâya, had also the honour of gilding the roof of this same temple. Umâpati 'Sivâchârya, who lived in the 14th century, and to whose statements we are bound to accord some consideration, ascribes the building of the Golden Hall and the town itself to a certain Hiraṇyavarman of immemorial antiquity.[85]

[78] See his *Tiru-Iśaippâ on Râjarâjêśvaram.*

[79] See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 112.

[80] See his *Tiruvandâdi*, verses 50, 65 and 82.

[81] Ramasvami Pillai's edition, p. 5, verses 4 to 6.

[82] I am not sure whether the *Koṅgu Chronicle* itself is responsible for this error, or only its translators. But the Leyden grant speaks of Parântaka as only having '*covered* the Śaiva temple at Vyâghrâgrahâra with gold.'

[83] "*Muḻadu-koṅgil kanakam-aninda;*" *Tiruvandâdi*, verse 65.

[84] See the *Periyapurâṇam*, Pâyiram, verse 8.

[85] See the *Hiraṇyavarma-Sarga* of the *Kôyil-Purâṇam*. Hiraṇyavarman is here said to have constructed the temple with a gold roof: and it is not impossible, that Parântaka was himself anticipated in his 'golden feat' by a remote predecessor of his, exactly as the Chettis of our days are by himself. Or may it be that the temple was called *Poṉ-Ambalam*, because built by Hiraṇyavarman? As to the era that Hiraṇyavarman is said to have commenced, see the *Tiruviḷâ-Sargam*, verse 5.

But whoever built the Poṉṉambalam, in the days of Mâṇikkavâśagar, or well nigh the classical, or the *Saṅgam*, period of the Tamiḷ literature, the name had not any more connotation about it than its well known synonym Puliyûr, or 'Tiger-village.' From the mere occurrence, therefore, of the expression *Poṉṉambalam* in the hymns of Appar, we cannot jump[86] to the conclusion that Appar lived after Parântaka. Such an inference would be not only unwarranted, but absurd also, in the face of the facts we have mentioned above. In fact, we have unmistakable evidence to shew that in the *Dêvâra* period, Chidambaram was not even a Chôḷa possession, but a strong-hold of the Pallavas.[87] After it was re-annexed[88] to the Chôḷa dominions under the dynasty of Parântaka, the town did not go out of the hands of his successors, till long after the days of Anapâya, the patron of Śêkkiḷâr. The period of Pallava supremacy at Chidambaram must have been, therefore, long anterior to the reign of Parântaka; — an inference that strongly supports the conclusion we have otherwise arrived at, with respect to the relative age of Sambandha and that sovereign.

(3) The only Chôḷa that Sambandha refers to is the 'red-eyed' **Kôchcheṅgaṇṇâṉ,**— the hero of an archaic poem of Poygaiyâr, called *Kaḷavaḷi-Nâṟpadu*, — one of the eighteen didactic pieces compiled by the Paṇḍits of the old Madura college. The dynasty of Parântaka I. is a distinctly different line, probably an offshoot of an alliance of the old Chôḷa family with the Pallavas of Kâñchî. *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi*, the historical poem we have already referred to, seems to break off rather abruptly[89] with this red-eyed king, in its poetical account of the old Chôḷa line, and to begin afresh when it takes up the story of the dynasty of Parântaka. A long period of confusion would seem to have prevailed between the demise of Kôchcheṅgaṇṇâṉ and the establishment of the new Chôḷa-Pallava dynasty to which Parântaka and Kaṇḍarâditya belonged. **Sambandha, most probably, lived in this period of transition,** when the old Chôḷa kingdom had gone to pieces, and the new Pallava-Chôḷa kingdom was in the course of formation. At any rate, such is the impression left on my mind by the *Dêvâra Hymns*, and if it is confirmed by the experiences of others, the estimate here formed of the interval between Sambandha, in whose memory the old Chôḷa line was still fresh and green, and Kaṇḍarâditya, one of the later princes of the new dynasty, will not be regarded as excessive.

(4) The same conclusion would be forced on us, if we consider the practical extinction that had come over the Buddhistic religion by the time of Kaṇḍarâditya. The creed that was, in the days of Appar and Sambandha, so universally predominant, as to lead to the former's persecution, and to need the curse of the latter in every one of his *padigams*, evidently attracts little attention from the authors of the *Tiru-Iśaippâ*.

Do not such considerations as these (and they may be multiplied, if necessary)[90] raise a strong presumption in favour of a long interval of time between Sambandha and Kaṇḍarâditya of the ninth century?

Thus then, we need not go beyond the sacred literature of the Śaivas, to establish two important positions, with respect to the question in hand. In the first place, the facts I have mentioned enable us to trace the influence of Sambandha successively backwards through the 14th, 12th and 10th centuries to the close of the 9th, the age we have assigned to Kaṇḍarâditya. If there is any force in facts, these prove beyond all doubt, that **Sambandha could not have lived later than the 9th century.** In the second place, certain other typical facts that

[86] For an example of such a jump in the dark, see *The Madura Country*, Part III. Chapter II. p. 63.

[87] See Sundara's *Kôyil-Padigam*, verse 9, where he speaks of the god of Chidambaram as a terror to those who refuse rightful subsidies to the Pallava rulers.

[88] For, according to the *Kôyil-Purâṇam*, the town was founded by a Chôḷa prince. Again, in the *Periya-purâṇam*, the Brâhmaṇs of Chidambaram are said to have declined to crown Kûṟṟuva-Nâyaṉâr on the ground that the Chôḷas were alone entitled to that honor.

[89] See canto viii. verse 19; but much stress cannot be laid on the arrangement of verses in this work. The whole poem requires careful editing by capable Tamiḷ scholars in touch with the modern historical spirit of inquiry.

[90] For instance, the rise of the temple of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷêśvara at the capital of the revived Chôḷa dynasty of Parântaka, which finds no place in the *Dêvâra Hymns*, but which has a *Tiru-Iśaippâ* for itself.

I have grouped together conjointly point to a probability of his having lived a considerable time, say three or four centuries, before the Chôḷa king and poet, Kaṇḍarâditya. But there are one or two other considerations to enforce the same conclusion, and I shall now proceed to explain them.

Let us, for example, inquire whether **Sanskṛit literature** can throw any light on the subject, corroborating our position or otherwise. From the summary inquiry we held in a previous part of this paper, we found reasons for believing that Sambandha preceded, not only Râmânuja and Madhvâchârya, but **Śaṁkara** also, the greatest of modern Hindû philosophers. Now the age of Śaṁkarâchârya is diversely estimated. The Hon'ble Mr. Telang[91] adduces certain sound reasons for placing Śaṁkara in the sixth century, while Dr. Fleet[92] has equally cogent reasons for believing that he lived about 630-655 A. D. The latest date yet assigned to this philosopher, as, for instance, by Mr. Pathak, is the eighth century. We have then in Śaṁkara an Indian celebrity who lived about two or three centuries before Kaṇḍarâditya, or much about the time to which we have been able to trace Sambandha by means of purely literary records in Tamiḷ. The history of the religious development in Southern India, pointing as it does in the same direction, raises a strong antecedent probability in favour of finding Sambandha somewhere about the time of, or immediately before, Śaṁkara.

The presumption thus raised is verified beyond all expectations by a verse of Śaṁkarâchârya himself. The tone of veneration in which this philosopher refers to Sambandha, proves beyond doubt, not only that the latter lived before him, but that there was a considerable interval of time between the two. The verse referred to is the 76th in a poem called *Saundaryalaharî*, a well-known and evidently genuine work of Śaṁkara, and particularly sacred with the Śâktas and Tântrikas. The first forty stanzas, which by themselves constitute the first part called *Ânandalaharî*, are especially so with them; and they do not allow their composition to be ascribed even to Śaṁkarâchârya himself. That revered philosopher is not sufficiently remote in their view; and they vouchsafe to him only the honour of having completed this holy fragment, found inscribed on the mountain of Kailâsa by a certain Ṛishi called Pushpadanta, and handed down to Śaṁkara by his master, Gauḍapâ da.[93] The epigraphical tradition, however, does not affect the authenticity of the verse under reference; for all parties agree that the last sixty *ślôkas* of the work are of the Âchârya's own making. It runs thus :—

"O daughter of the mountain! I consider thy breast milk an overflow of the sea of wisdom from thy heart. For by tasting it, the '**Draviḍa child**' to whom it was so mercifully granted, became such a charming poet among the great poets."[94]

To those that know the story of **Sambandha**, the allusion is as clear as daylight. Even to purely Sanskṛit scholars, the knowledge of the incident referred to ought not to be difficult of access. They have only to open chapter 47 of the Sanskṛit treatise *Bhaktavilâsa*, where Sambandha's life is given in full detail. We cite below three verses[95] which narrate the

[91] *Ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 95. [92] *Ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 41.

[93] See the Introduction to the Tamiḷ *Saundaryalahari* by Ellappa Nâvalar, verses 3 and 4.

[94] तव स्तन्यं मन्ये धरणिधरकन्ये हृदयतः
पयःपारावारं परिवहति सारस्वतमिति ।
दयावत्या दत्तं द्रविडशिशुरास्वाद्य तव यत्
कवीनां प्रौढानामजनि कमनीयः कवयिता ॥

[95] अथ मूर्तिमती देवी जगतां जननी शिवा ।
आगत्यास्यान्तिकं बालमङ्कं कृत्वा शुचिस्मिता ॥
दुग्ध्वा स्तन्यामृतापूर्णं चषकं हेमनिर्मितम् ।
ददौ गृहीत्वा तद्वक्त्रे क्षुधितस्य च तत्पपौ ॥
वेदान्तबोधमयमम्बिकया वितीर्णं
स्तन्यामृतं तदनु पीतवतोऽर्भकस्य ।
उद्गारपूर इव सूक्तिसुधाप्रवाहो
वक्त्रादजायत जगत्त्रयतापहारी ॥

miraculous nursing of the Draviḍa child by the goddess Pârvatî. That this very incident was the most distinguishing feature in the life of Sambandha, will be clear from the opening verse of the chapter which may be thus rendered :—

"O saint! I shall now tell you the story of Jñânasaṁbandha, to whom the daughter of the Himâlaya mountain vouchsafed the nectar of her breast milk, and acted, therefore, the part of a mother."[96]

The interpretation of Lakshmîdhara,[97] otherwise known as Lôlla, which identifies the 'Draviḍa child' with the author Śaṁkarâchârya himself, deserves therefore no refutation. It is, no doubt, on account of such blunders as these, that Bhâskararâya, who flourished in the last century, treats him with such unqualified contempt. "Such nonsense," says Bhâskara in another connexion, "can proceed only from madness."[98]

The word '*śiśu*' or 'child' in the verse which has given room for such gross misapprehension, is peculiarly appropriate when applied to Sambandha. The proper name in Tamiḻ of the famous saint, at the time when the goddess was supposed to have appeared to him, was, as I have already pointed out, **Piḷḷai** or **Âḷuḍaiya Piḷḷai**—literally meaning 'child.'

In his *Sivabhujaṁga*[99] and *Sivânandalaharî*,[100] the Âchârya pays similar homage to four other saints, of whom one was a contemporary of Sambandha, and another a huntsman or *Kirâta* by birth, but none of them half as well known as our Brâhmaṇ saint of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*.

---

96 अथ वक्ष्ये कथां ज्ञानसंबन्धस्य मुनीश्वर ।
स्तन्यामृतप्रदानेन यस्य धात्री हिमाद्रिजा ॥

97 My attention was first drawn to this interpretation of Lakshmîdhara by Mr. V. Venkayya, the Assistant Epigraphist to the Madras Government. It would appear, Prof. Aufrecht adopts the same mistaken interpretation in his *Catalogue of Oxford Manuscripts*. But the absurdity of it is nevertheless self-evident. The Âchârya was no poet at all; his fame rests entirely upon his philosophical exegetics called *Bhâshya*. To identify the *Draviḍaśiśu* with Śaṁkara himself would be, therefore, to charge that revered thinker with unbounded arrogance; but even supposing he had the vanity to speak of himself as 'the distinctly lovable among great poets,' where do we find any tradition of his having been suckled by Pârvatî, when he was an infant? The old metrical Tamiḻ translation of this verse (see p. 118) by Vîrai Kavirâya Paṇḍitar gives the correct rendering here adopted. The distinguished Tamiḻ poet, of the last century, Śaiva Ellappa Nâvalar, proceeds also upon the same view in his commentary on that translation. Indeed, the absurdity of Lôlla's interpretation is so patent, that every Sanskṛit Paṇḍit (including that foremost Sanskrit scholar in Southern India, the Valia Koil Tampuran of Travancore, to whom I shewed the stanza) heartily agrees with me in condemning it.

98 इति लोल्लेन यत्प्रलपितं तत्प्रामादिकम् ॥

99 न शक्नोमि कर्तुं परद्रोहलेशं
कथं प्रीयसे त्वं न जाने गिरीश ।
तदा हि प्रसन्नो ऽसि कस्यापि कान्ता-
सुतद्रोहिणो वा पितृद्रोहिणो वा ॥
॥ इति शिवभुजंगः ॥

[From the absence of any reference to Śaṁkara in the *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* of Sundara, it may be inferred that the former lived after the latter. The verse quoted above supports this view. The expression *kântâ-drôhin*, 'one who betrayed his wife,' probably refers to Sundara, who, without the knowledge of his wife Paravai, married a woman named Śaṅgili at Tiruvoṟṟiyûr near Madras. If the *Sivabhujaṁga* is a genuine work of Śaṁkara, this reference would establish that he lived after Sundara. The other two devotees, who are referred to in the samn verse by the terms *suta-drôhin* and *piṭri-drôhin*, are Śiṟuttoṇḍa, who cooked his only son for the sake of Śiva ie the disguise of a devotee, and Chaṇḍêśvara, who cut off the leg of his father when the latter interfered with his worship of Śiva. — V. V.]

100 मार्गावर्तितपादुका पशुपतेरङ्गस्य कूर्चायते
गण्डूषाम्बुनिषेचनं पुररिपोर्दिव्याभिषेकायते ।
किंचिद्भक्षितमांसशेषकवलं नव्योपहारायते
भक्तिः किं न करोत्यहो वनचरो भक्तावतंसायते ॥
॥ इति शिवानन्दलहरी ॥

[This verse refers to Kaṇṇappa-Nâyaṇâr, who is believed to have worshipped Śiva at Kâḷahasti in the North Arcot district. A hill south of Kâḷahasti even now bears a shrine called Kaṇṇappêśvara. — E. H.]

The conclusion then is irresistible, that in the days of Saṁkarâchârya, Sambandha was a well known character — an inspired poet, worthy of being spoken of as the distinctly lovable among the greatest poets of India, and a saintly person, sufficiently remote in time for it to be then believed that he had been suckled by the goddess Pârvatî herself. Taking then the age assigned to Śaṁkara by Dr. Fleet, we may now safely assert that Sambandha could not have lived later than the seventh century; and that in all probability, there was an appreciable distance of time between Śaṁkara and himself. What this interval actually was, it is impossible to determine with the existing materials. We cannot, however, be far wrong if we take it as a century or two.

That we are not attributing too high an antiquity, will appear from the age usually assigned to Sambandha by enlightened native scholars, of whom I shall here mention but two or three.

Mr. Simon Casie Chitty, the author of the *Ceylon Gazetteer* and the *Tamil Plutarch*, says in the latter work of his : — " In our opinion, as the date given in the *Chôḷapûrvapaṭṭayam* for the accession of Śêramâṉ Perumâḷ seems to admit of no doubt, we may place the period of the existence of Sundara and his two fellow champions in the fifth century of the Christian era for a certainty; and thereby clear it from the monstrous chronology of the *Purâṇas*."[1] Mark the last expression. In the opinion of this native Christian Tamiḻ scholar, to assign Sundara to the fifth century — not the 13th as advocated by Dr. Caldwell — is *only* to clear the age of that author from the monstrous chronoloy of the *Purâṇas* ! If Sundara lived in the fifth, Sambandha, who, as we know, preceded him by a few generations, must have lived somewhere about the fourth century. But until we know more of the history of the *Chôḷapûrvapaṭṭayam* here depended upon, we cannot afford to be as positive as Mr. Chitty. We know also, on the other hand, the slippery indefiniteness that is inherent in so vague and general a designation as Śêramâṉ Perumâḷ, — perhaps as misleading as its notorious counterpart, Sundara-Pâṇḍya. Anyhow, the opinion of so well-informed a person as Mr. Casie Chitty, and the *Chôḷapûrvapaṭṭayam* he cites, cannot but show that it is not a violent assumption to allow an interval of a century or two between Sambandha and Śaṁkara of the seventh century.

The second native scholar I have in view is Mr. Damodaram Pillai, the erudite editor of so many valuable Tamiḻ classics. He is decidedly of opinion that Kûn Pâṇḍya (and therefore Sambandha) lived more than 2,000 years ago. To support this conclusion, primarily based upon the usual Purâṇic lists of Pâṇḍyas, he makes a statement[2] which, if historically correct, ought to enable us to arrive at a more or less accurate approximation. The present head of the Tiruñnaâsambandha *maṭha* of Madura, it would appear, claims himself to be the 114th in lineal succession from the Śaiva devotee, in whose name the monastery is established. If this assertion is well-founded, it will indicate, no doubt, a lapse of fifteen to twenty centuries, according to the average we assume for each of the 113 deceased heads of the monastery. To urge an antiquity of 2,000 years, appears to me to be rather unsafe. It would scarcely leave time for Jainism to develop itself in Southern India, and to assume those formidable proportions, which brought about the reaction in the age of Sambandha. But, however that may be, Mr. Damodaram Pillai himself announces, in another foot-note,[3] a fact that cannot but affect the value of the testimony for scientific purposes. The present *maṭha* in Madura, it would appear, was established only as a branch or subordinate monastery

[1] See p. 21.

[2] Preface to *Vîraśôḻiyam*, p. 17. According to Mr. Nelson, the present head is the 277th hereditary manager. Mr. Damodaram Pillai explains the discrepancy as due to Mr. Nelson's including in his account even those anointed as heirs-apparent. It is with the deepest regret that I have now to record a change in the personnel of this *maṭha*. The late revered head of the monastery, Rai Bahadur Svâminâtha Dêśika Svâmigaḷ, breathed his last on the morning of the 29th January 1896. No Hindû *maṭha* had ever an abler or more enlightened head.

[3] Preface to *Vîraśôḻiyam*, p. 20.

to another of the same name in Tinnevelly, of which, however, no trace is now left. Nor was the Tinnevelly *matha* itself the original institution. Until, therefore, more of the history of this interesting institution is known, particularly of the way in which the tradition as to lineal succession has been preserved, it is possible to exaggerate the probative force of the statement in question. But we are citing the fact and Mr. Damodaram Pillai's conviction only as shewing that, in the opinion of competent native scholars, **to assign Sambandha to the fifth or the sixth century is not to advocate an extravagant theory.**

The Hon'ble P. Kumarasvami[4] of Colombo argues that, since **the miracle of the vanni tree**, with which Sambandha is associated in the *Tiruvilaiyâdal-Purânam*, is alluded to by the heroine of the *Silappadigâram*, said to have been born in the reign of Karikâla, the grandfather of Senguttuvan, who was visited by Gajabâhu of Ceylon between the years 113-135 A. D., the age of Sambandha ought to be accepted as at least prior to the birth of Christ. Supposing the age of the exceedingly interesting poem, *Silappadigâram*, is determined beyond all question with the help of the old chronicles of Ceylon, where more than one Gajabâhu is mentioned, I am not sure whether the first link in the chain of argument, which alone connects Sambhandha with that ancient classic, will be accepted by all parties as sound and irrefragable. For, however admirable as a work of art, the *Tiruvilaiyâdal-Purânam* is not distinguished for historical accuracy, and it stands alone in associating the *vanni* tree story with Sambandha. Nor does it agree in its account with the earlier and the more authoritative treatise, the *Periyapurânam*, even as far as the latter goes. As the matter is of some real importance, I would first solicit attention to the difference in the two versions of the tradition itself.

The *Periyapurânam* version of the story is briefly this :— A trader of the Vaniga caste in the town of Vaippûr, by name Tâman, promises to give in marriage to his nephew[5] the eldest of his seven daughters, but tempted by lucre, he repeatedly forgets his promise and gives away to different other parties his first six daughters in succession. The seventh, moved by love and pity for the disappointed suitor, escapes with him, proposing to solemnise their marriage in the village of the poor nephew. On their way, they halt at a place called Maruganûr,[6] near Negapatam, where Sambandha was then sojourning. Here the intended bridegroom is bitten by a snake, and in a few hours he expires, leaving his lonely love in indescribable sorrow. Her cries of anguish, however, reach the ears of Sambandha who, repairing to the spot and becoming aware of the melancholy situation, improvises a hymn invoking the mercy of the local deity; and the man revives as if from sleep. Sambandha then observing the decorous behaviour of the Vaniga woman who, because a virgin, would, neither in the worst moments of her sad tribulation nor in the rebound of joy, go within touching distance of her lover, although he was but her cousin, causes the wedding to be solemnised at once, so that they might be a help to one another even on their way; and the married couple resume their journey; while he himself returns to Sengâttangudi at the request of that famous devotee who, when required, scrupled not to slaughter and cook his only child as food for Siva. Such is the *Periyapurânam* version[7] of the story from which the *Tiruvilaiyâdal*[8] chooses to differ in some essential particulars. Shocked probably by the amount of freedom which the earlier version would allow the fairer sex, this comparatively recent production gives an account of its own of the way in which the lonely couple came to be travelling together. Instead of the seven daughters and the six successive disappointments to the poor nephew, this *Purâna*

[4] His last letter to me on this subject is dated 1st March 1895.

[5] It is usual in this caste to marry a maternal uncle's daughter.

[6] The name of this village is significant. It means the *town of the nephew*. Could it be that it was so named because of this very incident? If it bore this name in the days of Sambandha, would not the tradition be still older?

[7] See the *Tirunânasambandhamûrti-Purânam*, verses 473-484. The particular hymn of Sambandha referred to by the *Purâna* does not lend any support to the story; on the other hand, verses 3 and 10 of it are distinctly against any such construction: see Ramasvami Pillai's edition, p. 622.

[8] See the *Tiruvilaiyâdal-Purânam*, chapter 64.

would allow but one daughter to the Vaṇiga merchant, whose name and native place, however, it does not care to specify. This Vaṇiga again is here not a sordid but a superior person, who, instead of selling his daughters as in the old tradition, piously promises away all his wealth, and his only child too, to a nephew of his in Madura, who, to boot, is already married and well settled in life. Some time after making known to his townsmen this his wish and will, the trader dies, and his widow dies with him on his funeral pyre — a poor substitute for the more natural acts of feminine heroism which this later version feels bound to suppress. The fortunate nephew in Madura is then for the first time informed of the gifts made to him by his deceased uncle, including his only daughter, and he forthwith hurries to the spot to remove them all to his own city. But for reasons not so easy to understand, he sends in advance, not only all the treasures he so inherits, but also all his relatives, excepting the virgin girl — an arrangement extremely unnatural from a Hindû point of view. It is thus, the couple come to travel together according to this *Purâṇa*. The cobra bite and death, the subsequent revival through the virtue of Sambandha's verse, and the improvised marriage ceremony at the instance of that saint, all follow in due course, though there would seem to be no necessity for the unseemly haste in that last act, since according to the *Purâṇa* there were all along plenty of servants, man and maid, near at hand to render all needful service on the way. Such are the two versions of the story, and it does not require much insight to see what liberties are taken with the old tradition in the later of the two. I mention the fact, as I believe it would prove helpful to us in appreciating the historical value of the episode, which this later version adds to the story, and on which the argument of my friend entirely turns.

The scene of this episode is laid in Madura. To that city the married couple return, and in due course is born a son. A childish quarrel between this boy and the children of the first wife gives occasion for an altercation between the mothers, during the course of which the first wife ventures to question the legal status of the second, and tauntingly inquires as to what sort of proof the latter could offer for her alleged marriage on the way. Unable to adduce better evidence, the innocent woman cites the *vaṉṉi* tree, the temple well and the Siva *liṅga* before which the marriage was solemnised at the melancholy spot of cobra fame, which, according to this *Purâṇa*, is not Marugaṉûr as in the earlier version, but Puṟambiyam,[9] which I am unable to identify. "Good witnesses and meet indeed!" jocosely replies her rival; and it may indeed well surprise any one why she had such confidence on these inanimate objects, and none at all on any of the many servants of her husband who according to the *Purâṇa* accompanied her from her father's house to Madura, and some of whom at least must have witnessed the rite, even supposing Sambandha and his large retinue had retired to their lodgings before the actual ceremony was performed. Anyhow, one and all the three witnesses cited did present themselves next morning, within the precincts of the Madura temple, to the joy of innocent faith and the discomfiture of ill-natured jealousy. Such is the episode of the *vaṉṉi* tree miracle[10] found tacked on to the story in the *Tiruviḷaiyâḍal-Purâṇam*; and the question for us is, whether, on the strength of this *Purâṇa*, the incident may be taken to have occurred in the life of that very Vaṇiga lady whose marriage was arranged at Marugaṉûr by Sambandha.

As already pointed out, the earlier and the more reliable treatise, the *Periyapurâṇam*, is silent on this point. But this negative evidence in itself cannot carry much weight, since it may be met by the consideration that it is no part of the business of that *Purâṇa* to relate all the incidents in the lives of every one with whom its own heroes come in contact. There being, then, as far as I know, no extraneous evidence, for or against, the accuracy of the episode has to be accepted or rejected, according to the estimate we may form of the general historical

[9] [See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 381, note 1. — E. H.]

[10] The miraculous nature of the incidents here dealt with is no objection to their being used, under certain conditions, for sifting historical testimony. If tradition invariably ascribes a particular incident, however miraculous, to a given historical individual, it serves in innumerable ways, direct and indirect, in estimating the age of that individual. Subjective belief in such cases is tantamount to objective existence.

veracity of the *Purâṇa* in which it is found. It is not possible in this connection to open an explicit discussion on the historical value of the *Tiruviḷaiyâḍal-Purâṇam*, but from what has been already said with regard to the version contained in it of the earlier part of the very story in question, I trust it may be inferred that it is not altogether a safe ground to build historical theories on.[11] My own impression is that in adding on this episode, the *Purâṇa* is but trying to patch together two independent old traditions. Who knows whether this penultimate chapter in the *Purâṇa* is itself not written to flatter the pride of the Nâyaka rulers of the times ?[12] That this and the two chapters immediately preceding it should have Sambandha for their hero, would seem also not devoid of meaning, when we remember that the author belonged to a monastery which still claims Sambandha for its founder. It is quite possible, too, that the life of Mâṇikkavâśagar is given in an earlier chapter just to enable the author to conclude his work with the life of Sambandha, the patron saint of his convent. But such speculations apart, I would earnestly beg to repeat that, for my part, I would prefer to wait till better evidence is found to take the tradition of the *vaṉṉi* tree miracle as originating with or in the time of Tiruñânasambandha.

This position would appear to be further confirmed by the way in which the miracle is alluded to in the *Śilappadigâram*. There the heroine couples with the tree that appeared in the temple to attest the marriage, not a well and the Śiva *liṅga* as in the *Purâṇa*, but a kitchen.[13] The Vaṇiga lady for whose sake the tree appeared, is claimed again as a native of Pûmbugâr in the Chôḷa kingdom, and not a nameless sea-port town in the Madura country as in the *Purâṇa*. The version of the episode in the *Tiruviḷaiyâḍal-Purâṇam* then would seem to differ in essential particulars from the one referrêd to in the *Śilappadigâram*, nearly as much as the earlier part of the same story in the work does from what is found in the more trustworthy treatise of Śêkkiḻâr. Taking then into consideration these suspicious variations in details, as well as the conspicuous absence of the historical sense in the *Tiruviḷaiyâḍal*, I humbly submit, I am not prepared to take the allusion in the *Śilappadigâram* to the *vaṉṉi* tree miracle as proving that Sambandha lived before the composition of that indisputably old and genuine classic. On the other hand, critics may not be wanting who may look upon this very allusion in the more ancient work as discrediting the date assigned to the miracle in the *Tiruviḷaiyâḍal*. Nevertheless the opinion of so able and enlightened a gentleman cannot but be of immense value for the purpose for which it is here cited, *viz.* to attest the modesty of the theory I am advocating.

To the opinions of these native scholars, I am glad, I am now in a position to add the view of so esteemed an authority in South-Indian epigraphy as Dr. Hultzsch. He writes: "As poems in the Tamiḻ language are thus proved to have been composed in the time of the early Chôḷas" (*i. e.* Karikâla and Kôchcheṅgaṇṇâṉ), "there is no objection to assigning the authors of the *Dêvâram* to the same period."[14] The moderation of the hypothesis here advocated which assigns them to a later period cannot, I hope, be then questioned.

For after all, we allow, it is only a hypothesis. **All that we are sure of is that the age of Śaṁkarâchârya is the lower limit of the age of Sambandha**; — whatever century we assign to Śaṁkara, the sixth, seventh or the eighth as may be hereafter finally determined, — that century will form the latest period that can be assigned to Sambandha. We reach this conclusion in a diversity of ways. The religious history of Southern India points to the priority of Sambandha to Śaṁkara. The absence of all traces of non-dualistic philosophy in the *Dêvâra* songs is a well-known fact enforcing the same conclusion. The independent historical facts gathered from the sacred Śaiva works, not only enable us to trace the influence of Sambandha,

---

11 I mean no disparagement to the *Purâṇa* as a literary work. So charming is its diction and so great its powers of clear description that for years together I have been in the habit of reading a few verses of it every day.

12 The word Nâyaka appears several times in this chapter itself; see for instance verse 11.

13 See the *Śilappadigâram*, chapter xxi. lines 5 to 35.

14 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 153.

step by step, from the thirteenth backwards to the close of the ninth century, but raise also a strong presumption of his having lived three or four centuries earlier. And finally, the verse we have quoted from 'Saṁkarâchârya's *Saundaryalaharî* serves to demonstrate that Sambandha did actually precede that revered philosopher. We scruple not, therefore, to maintain that the age of 'Saṁkara constitutes the lower limit to the age of Sambandha. If with Dr. Fleet, we believe that 'Saṁkara lived between 630 and 655 A. D., the opening of the seventh century is the latest possible period that can be assigned to Sambandha.

We should be glad, if with equal certainty, the upper limit could also be ascertained. It is impossible to undertake this part of our problem without transgressing the bounds we have set to this paper. We can here only indicate one of the main lines of inquiry we should like to pursue. We have already pointed out that Sambandha frequently refers to the famous Chôḷa prince **Kôchcheṅgaṉṉâṉ**, the hero of the classical war-song called *Kaḷavaḻi*. On one occasion, he speaks of a temple at Vaigal, a village near Kumbakôṇam, as having been constructed by Kôchcheṅgaṉṉâṉ in "former days."[15] Clearly then, Sambandha must have lived a considerable time after this temple-building red-eyed Chôḷa. But when did this red-eyed Chôḷa live? The question opens a field of inquiry as wide as the whole range of ancient classics in Tamiḻ — a sphere obviously more beset with historical difficulties than that of the sacred 'Saiva literature with which we have been hitherto concerned.

The farther we proceed into antiquity, the darker naturally becomes the view around; and it is well, for more than one reason, to leave this part of our subject to be taken up on a future occasion, for an independent and separate handling which the range and importance of those ancient classics would otherwise also demand.

All that we would, therefore, now say with regard to the upper limit of the age of Sambandha is, that it would be found in the age of Kôchcheṅgaṉṉâṉ. Sambandha, in fact, forms the line of partition between ancient and modern Tamiḻ. With regard to the lower limit, no such indefiniteness need any longer be allowed. The facts we have mentioned demonstrate as conclusively as the nature of the subject will admit, that Sambandha could not have lived later than the opening years of the seventh century.

In conclusion, we may indicate the main purposes subserved by this paper.

(1) It gives a bird's-eye view of the sacred Tamiḻ literature of the 'Saivas.

(2) It shews the position of Sambandha as a 'Saiva saint and a lyrical Tamiḻ poet, and also as the first great adversary of Jainism in Southern India.

(3) It controverts the opinions of Dr. Burnell with regard to the antiquity and value of Tamiḻ literature.

(4) It proves the utterly unfounded nature of the hypotheses advocated by Dr. Caldwell and Mr. Nelson, with regard to the age of Sambandha.

(5) An attempt is made to trace an outline of the religious history of Southern India with a view to fix the relative ages of Sambandha, 'Saṁkara, and Râmânuja.

(6) Facts are deduced to prove with the help of the latest archæological researches that Sambandha could not have lived in any period later than the early years of the seventh century, leaving the upper limit to be fixed by an inquiry into the age of Kôchcheṅgaṉṉâṉ.

Standing as Sambandha does at the close of the ancient and the opening of the modern period of Tamiḻ literature, the attempt we have made here to fix his age will, it is hoped, prove

[15] *Vaiyaga=magiḻdara Vaigaṉ=mêṟ-ṟiśai, Śeyya-kaṇ-Vaḷavaṉ, muṉ śeyda kôyilê;* Ramasvami Pillai's edition, p. 442.

of some service to further inquiries into the history of the Tamiḻ language and of Draviḍian civilization in general. At any rate, I earnestly trust, the few mile-stones in that history discovered in the course of this investigation will serve to ward off future speculation from altogether losing its way.

Postscript.

Since the above was written, epigraphy has offered a direct solution of the long-standing question as to the age of Tiruñânasambandha. Visiting Conjeveram in December 1895, I found that the archaic Pallava temple, now called **Kailâsanâtha**, is the same as the one called Kachchi Mêṟṟaḷi in the *Dêvâra Hymns*. If Mêṟṟaḷi means the 'Western Shrine,' the name is certainly well suited to the direction in which the shrine now stands. But I am afraid it is a mere mistake for *Kaṟṟaḷi* or 'Tirukkaṟṟaḷi,' a name which occurs in several of the inscriptions of the temple.[16] The substitution of 'Tirukkaṟṟaḷi' for 'Tirumêṟṟaḷi,' wherever found in the hymns, only improves their rhythm. The local *ôduvârs* or habitual reciters of the hymns know of no place in Conjeveram answering to the name 'Tirumêṟṟaḷi,'[17] and patient inquiry on the spot leads to the same nescience. We have therefore either to suppose that the temple of **Tirumêṟṟaḷi**, celebrated in the *Dêvâra Hymns*, is now gone to such ruins as to leave no trace whatever of it behind, or to take that name to be an error for Tirukkaṟṟaḷi. I decidedly prefer the latter course, as the result of all the inquiries I was able to make at the spot. Other temples commemorated in the hymns are yet in existence, and if Tirukkaṟṟaḷi were not Tirumêṟṟaḷi, there would be no mention in the *Dêvâra Hymns* of the one temple in Conjeveram, which, of all the shrines, is the most ancient-looking. If the identity, then, is permitted of Tirukkaṟṟaḷi with the Tirumêṟṟaḷi of the printed *Dêvâra Hymns*, an important inference will force itself upon us. From the published inscriptions of the Tirukkaṟṟaḷi or the Kailâsanâtha temple, otherwise known also as **Râjasiṁhêśvara**, we learn that it was built by the Pallava prince **Râjasiṁha**, the son of Ugradaṇḍa, the destroyer of Raṇarasika.[18] We owe to Dr. Hultzsch the identification of Raṇarasika with Raṇarâga, the Western Chalukya prince,[19] and if he is correct in it, it naturally follows that our Râjasiṁha was at least a contemporary of Pulikêśin I., the immediate successor of Raṇarâga on the Chalukya throne. Now Pulikêśin I. being the direct predecessor of Kîrtivarman, whose first year of reign was Śaka 487 or A. D. 567, Dr. Hultzsch rightly places the construction of the temple of Tirukkaṟṟaḷi or Râjasiṁhêśvara about 550 A. D.[20] If, then, we are right in taking the word Tirumêṟṟaḷi in the *Dêvâra Hymns* of Appar,[21] the elder contemporary of Sambandha, as a mistake or an equivalent for Tirukkaṟṟaḷi, the middle year of the 6th century would form the upper limit of the age of that great Tamiḻ saint, which we left to be determined by an inquiry into the age of the Chôḻa king Kôchcheṅgaṇṇâṉ.

But a still closer and safer approximation seems to be rendered possible by a circumstance recorded both in Mr. Foulkes' grant of Pallavamalla and in the Kûram grant respecting a successor of our Râjasiṁha. These two important Pallava documents agree in declaring that **Narasiṁhavarman I.** defeated the Chalukya king Pulikêśin and destroyed his capital Vâtâpi,[22]

16 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. Nos. 82 to 88 and 145 to 150.

17 [There is, however, a temple named Mêṟṟaḷi in the Weavers' Quarter. See my *Annual Report* for 1892-93, p. 4 f., where I have tried to identify those Conjeveram temples which are mentioned in the *Periyapurâṇam* and *Nâlâyiraprabandham*. — E. Hultzsch.]

18 *Ibid.* No. 24. Verse 11 of this Sanskrit inscription would seem to offer some justification for the modern popular name of the temple. It is there said to rob Kailâsa of its beauty, and probably it came to be called Kailâsanâthar, kôyil on that account.

19 *Ibid.* p. 11.

20 *Ibid.* p. 12.

21 Ramavsami Pillai's edition, p. 998. That the Pallavas continued in possession of Conjeveram later on is proved by a line of Sundara, who, in the last verse of his hymn, speaks of it as 'the great and fortified city of the Pallavas;' see p. 999.

22 Vâtâpi, as known to the *Purâṇas*, is the Protean brother of the miserly giant Ilvalaṉ of the city of Maṇimâti, who used to spite his Brâhmaṉ visitors, and to save his money at the same time, by changing for the nonce Vâtâpi into a lamb and cooking him up as food for his holy guests. For Vâtâpi, once within the intestines of the

i. e. Bâdâmi in the Bombay Presidency. Now, since, according to Dr. Fleet, Vâtâpi was wrested from the Pallavas and made the Western Chalukya capital only in the days of Pulikêśin I., the contemporary of Râjasiṁha, the founder of the Conjeveram Kailâsanâtha temple,— the Pulikêśin, who was overthrown by Narasiṁha I. of the same line and in whose reign that capital was destroyed, may be safely identified, as has been done by Dr. Hultzsch, with Pulikêśin II., who reigned from about **Saka 532**,[23] or about the early years of the 7th Christian century. Now it will be observed that, throughout the foregoing pages, we have been trying to make out that we must look for Sambandha somewhere in this century. It is therefore with no small gratification we note Mr. Venkayya's discovery that the **conquest of Vâtâpi**, almost the only event we are sure of in the history of the Tamiḻ countries for that century, is recorded in the *Periyapurâṇam* as a memorable fact in the life of *Śiṟuttoṇḍa*, a contemporary of our Sambandha.[24] According to this *Purâṇa*, the historical veracity of which we have more than once in the preceding pages found reason to assert, one of the many military exploits of Śiṟuttoṇḍa in the service of his royal master was the conquest of Vâtâpi 'in the north,' which, in the picturesque language of the poem, he is said "to have reduced to dust."[25] Who then could have been that royal master in whose service Śiṟuttoṇḍa reduced Vâtâpi to dust but the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman, whom the Kûram grant and the grant of Pallavamalla agree in distinguishing as the destroyer of Vâtâpi? There can be, then, no question as to Śiṟuttoṇḍa having lived in the early years of the 7th century along with his master Narasiṁhavarman. But we have Sambandha's own evidence to shew that Śiṟuttoṇḍa and himself were contemporaries. For in the last verse of a hymn celebrating his friend's native village of Śeṅgâṭṭaṅguḍi, Sambandha distinctly says that it was composed at the special request of Śiṟuttoṇḍa.[26] It is no longer therefore a venturesome hypothesis of mine, but a veritable historical fact, that Tiruñânasambandha, who converted Kûn Pâṇḍya of Madura and rolled back the tide of Jainism in the south, lived and laboured in the 7th century of the Christian era: at any rate, it is a fact capable of as much direct proof as any yet established in the history of Southern India. This, then, is the remotest mile-stone we are yet able to plant with anything like scientific certainty in the history of the Tamiḻas. But it should never be forgotten that this, the earliest epoch for which we are able to assign a date, marks but the dawn of what is unquestionably the modern period in their literature. Not in vain, however, would this long and laboured essay prove, should the date which it has all along sought to establish, be found to offer a foothold for scaling yet higher in the neglected antiquities of an undeniably ancient and interesting people.

---

unsuspecting Brâhmaṇs, would turn into a goring goat and find his way out, to be similarly used when fresh visitors arrive. The brothers continued to play the trick till Agastya came round, raising subscriptions to celebrate his nuptials with his bride Lôpamudrâ. Vâtâpi, changed and cooked up as usual, found the peritoneum of the Tamiḻ sage too tough to be rent open, and his mortal parts were accordingly digested, his ghost alone passing out as wind! What the meaning of this old myth may be, it is hard to discover. It turns up, however, in almost all the leading *Purâṇas*, and the Tamiḻas are particularly proud of it, as it redounds to the glory of the Vêdic Ṛishi, whom tradition, however, absurdly reckons as the founder of their language. For a version of the story in Sanskṛit, see *Mahâbhârata, Araṇyaparvan, Tîrthayâtrâsarga*, chapter 96.

[23] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. page 11.

[24] See Mr. Veṅkayya's third article on *the Study of Vernaculars* in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for November 1893, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 277 f.

[25] *Śiṟuttoṇḍanâyaṉâr-Purâṇam*, verse 6: "Maṉṉavarkku toṇḍê pôy vaḍa-pulattu Vâdâvi toṉ-ṉagaram tugaḷ-âga, etc."

[26] Ramasvami Pillai's edition, p. 613: "Śiṟuttoṇḍaṉ avaṉ vêṇḍa." Śiṟuttoṇḍa, meaning 'humble servant,' is evidently an assumed title. May not his real name be Gaṇapati, since his temple at Śeṅgâṭṭaṅguḍi is called *Gaṇapatîśvara*?

ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARD.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,
by Geo. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 102.)

123. Thou hadst been sent

		Masculine.				Feminine.	
by me ...	چھ سوزمت	مِہ اُوسُمک	*me ôs^{u}-ma-k*	*tsa sûzmut*	چھ سوزمژ	مِہ آسمک	*me ôsạ-ma-k*	*tsa sûzmuts*
by thee ...			—				—	
by him ...		تَمِ اُوسُک	*tạmi ôsu-k*[68]			تَمِ آسک	*tạmi^{i} ôsạ-k*[68]	
by us ...		اَسِہ اُوسُک	*asi ôsu-k*			اَسِہ آسک	*asi ôsạ-k*	
by you ...			—				—	
by them ...		تِمو اُوسُک	*timau ôsu-k*[68]			تِمو آسک	*timau ôsạ-k*[68]	

124. He (she) had been sent

		Masculine.				Feminine.		
by thee ...	سُہ سوزمت	چِہ اُوسُتھن	*tse ôs^{u}-tha-n*	*su sûzmut*	سُہ سوزمژ	چِہ آستھن	*tse ôsạ-tha-n*	*so sûzmuts*
by you ...		تُہِہ اوسُون	*tohi ôs^{u}-va-n*			تُہِہ آسون	*tohi ôsạ-va-n*	

[This form is only used in the second person.]

125. We had been sent

		Masculine.				Feminine.		
by me ...	اَسِ سوزمِت		—	*asi sûzmati*	اَسِ سوزمژہ		—	*asi sôzumatsa.*
by thee ...		چِہ آست	*tse ôsi-t*			چِہ آسَت	*tse ásạ-t*	
by him ...		(تَمِ) آسِن	(*tạmi^{i}*) *ôsi-n*			(تَمِ) آسَن	(*tạmi^{i}*) *ásạ-n*	
by us ...			—				—	
by you ...		تُہِہ آسوہ	*tohi ôs^{i}-vạ*			تُہِہ آسوہ	*tohi ásạ-vạ*	
by them ...		(تِمو) آسک	(*timau*) *ôsi-k*			(تِمو) آسک	(*timau*) *ásạ-k*	

[As elsewhere in the case of the first person, *tạmi^{i}* and *timau* must be omitted when the suffixes *n* and *k* are used. See § 89.]

[68] Instrumental suffix omitted, as the pronoun in the instrumental is given: thus, اُوسُک *ôsu-k* for اُوسُنک *ôs^{u}-na-k*, and اُوسُھک *ôs^{u}-ha-k*, as in aorist and perfect. See § 113, note 59.

126. You had been sent

	Masculine.			Feminine.		
by me ...	توٚہۍ سوزِمٕت	مہ آسموہ *me ôsi-ma-vạ*	*tohi süzmati*	توٚہۍ سوزِمژہ	مہ آسموہ *me ásạ-ma-vạ*	*tohi sôzạmatsa.*
by thee ...		——			——	
by him ...		تمہ آسوہ *tạmi ôsi-vạ*[69]			تمہ آسوہ *tạmi ásạ-vạ*[69]	
by us ...		اسہ آسوہ *asi ôsi-vạ*			اسہ آسوہ *asi ásạ-vạ*	
by you ...		——			——	
by them ...		تمو آسوہ *timau ôsi-vạ*[69]			تمو آسوہ *timau ásạ-vạ*[69]	

. 127. They had been sent

	Masculine.			Feminine.		
by thee ...	تِم سوزِمٕت	چہ آستھک *tse ôsi-tha-k*	*tim süzmati*	تِمہ سوزِمژہ	چہ آستھک *tse ásạ-tha-k*	*timạ sôzạmatsa.*
by you ...		تُہہ آسوک *tohi ôsi-va-k*			تُہہ آسوک *tohi ásạ-va-k*	

[This form is used only in the second person.]

The Causal verb is conjugated exactly like the simple one, and need not be given. All that is necessary is to substitute the corresponding forms of the past participle passive, as explained above in § 119.

Future Perfect and Dubitative.[70]

128. I. — Subject—a Noun.

		Singular.					
		Masculine.			Feminine.		
It will or may have been sent (a)	by me ...	آسہ سوزِمٕت	مہ *me*	*ási süzmut*	آسہ سوزِمژ	Pronouns in Instrumental as in masculine.	*ási süzmuts*
	by thee ...		——				
	by him ...		تمہ *tạmi*[71]				
	by us ...		اسہ *asi*				
	by you ...		——				
	by them ...		تمو *timau*				

[69] Instrumental suffix omitted as before.

[70] Only in Mp.

[71] By her, تمہ *tami.*

It will or may have been sent

Singular.

		Masculine			Feminine		
(b)	by me ...	سوزمت { آسم	مه me âse-m	} sûzmut	سوزمچ { آسم	Pronouns in Instrumental as in masculine.	âse-m } sûzmuts
	by thee ...	آست	چه tse âse-t		آست		âse-t
	by him ...		—		—		—
	by us ..		—		—		—
	by you ...	آسوہ	تُهہ tohi âsi-vạ		آسوہ		âsi-vạ
	by them ...		—		—		—
(c)	by me ..	آسم }	سوزمت sûzmut	{ âse-m	آسم }	سوزمچ sûzmuts	{ âse-m
	by thee ..	آست		âse-t	آست		âse-t
	by him ...	آسن		âse-n	آسن		âse-n
	by us ...	—		—	—		—
	by you ...	آسوہ		âsi-vạ	آسوہ		âsi-vạ
	by them ...	آسک		âse-k	آسک		âse-k

They will or may have been sent

Plural.

		Masculine			Feminine		
(a)	by me ...	آسن سوزمت	{ Pronouns in Instrumental as in masc. sg. }	âsan sûzmati	آسن سوزمچہ	{ Pronouns in Instrumental as in masc. sg. }	âsan sôzamatsa
	by thee ...						
	by him ...						
	by us ...						
	by you ...						
	by them ...						
(b)	by me ...	سوزمت { آسنم	Pronouns in Instrumental as in masc. sg.	âsana-m } sûzmati	سوزمچہ { آسنم	Pronouns in Instrumental as in masc. sg.	âsana-m } sôzamatsa
	by thee ...	آسنت		âsana-t	آسنت		âsana-t
	by him ...	—		—	—		—
	by us ...	—		—	—		—
	by you ...	آسنوہ		âsana-vạ	آسنوہ		âsana-vạ
	by them ..	—		—	—		—
(c)	by me ...	آسنم }	سوزمت sûzmati	{ âsana-m	آسنم }	سوزمچہ sôzamatsa	{ âsana-m
	by thee ...	آسنت		âsana-t	آسنت		âsana-t
	by him ...	آسنس		âsana-s[72]	آسنس		âsana-s[72]
	by us ...	—		—	—		—
	by you ...	آسنوہ		âsana-vạ	آسنوہ		âsana-vạ
	by them ..	آسنک		âsana-k	آسنک		âsana-k

72 Not âsana-n, see § 53, 1, b.

II.—Subject—a Pronoun.

129. As in the examples of the Perfect and Pluperfect.

[Thus چهٔ آسٕتهس بهٕ سوزمت *tse áse-tha-s bo súzmut,* I may have been sent by you; you may have sent me.

Note that before suffixes consisting of a single consonant, the *i* of *ási* becomes *e.*]

CAUSAL.

130. As in the Primitive verb, substituting مارنوومت *máranóvmut,* etc., for سوزمت *súzmut.*

131. **Optative Perfect.**

مےٚ آسهه سوزمت *me ásihe súzmut,* had I sent (Passive construction).

مےٚ آسهه مارنوومت *me ásihe máranóvmut,* had I got killed (Passive construction). As in the Perfect Indicative. *Ásihạ* may be substituted for *ásihe.*

132. [The *c* forms of the simple verb may be given as further examples.

		Singular.	
		Masculine.	Feminine.
(c)	by me	آسهم سوزمت *ásihe-m súzmut*	Auxiliary same as in the masculine; the past participle in the feminine, سوزمژ *súzmuts.*
	by thee	آسهت سوزمت *ásihe-t súzmut*	
	by him	آسهن سوزمت *ásihe-n súzmut*	
	by us	—	
	by you...	آسهوٕ سوزمت *ásihe-vạ súzmut*	
	by them	آسهك سوزمت *ásihe-k súzmut*	

		Plural.	
		Masculine.	Feminine.
(c)	by me	آسهنم سوزمتِ *âsahana-m sûzmati*	Auxiliary same as in the masculine plural; the past participle in the feminine plural, سوزمڅہ *sôzamatsa*.
	by thee	آسهنت سوزمتِ *âsahana-t sûzmati*	
	by him...	آسهنس سوزمتِ *âsahana-s sûzmati*	
	by us	—	
	by you...	آسهنوہ سوزمتِ *âsahana-va sûzmati*	
	by them	آسهنک سوزمتِ *âsahana-k sûzmati*	

When the subject is a pronoun, the example of the Perfect and Pluperfect Indicative is followed. *E. g.*, ڇہ آسهتهس بہ سوزمت *tse âsihe-tha-s bo sûzmut*, had I been sent by thee, hadst thou sent me. *Âsiha-* may be substituted for *âsihe* throughout.]

183. Conjugation of the Aorist of the verbs دین diun (or dyun), to give, and its similars.

Subject—a Noun.

			Singular.	
			Masculine.	Feminine.
Was given	(a)	by me ...	دیُت { مِہ *me* } *diutu*	دِڅ { Pronouns in Instrumental as in Masc. } *dits*
		by thee ...	—	
		by him ...	تَمِ *tam*[73]	
		by us ...	اَسہ *asi*	
		by you ...	—	
		by them ...	تِمو *timau*	
	(b)	by me ...	مِہ دیُتم *me diutu-m*	مِہ دِڇم *me ditsa-m*
		by thee ...	ڇہ دیُتت *tse diutu-t*	ڇہ دِڇت *tse ditsa-t*
		by him ...	—	—
		by us ...	—	—
		by you ...	تُهِہ دیُتوہ *tohi diutu-va*	تُهِہ دِڇوہ *ditsa-va*
		by them ...	—	—

[73] By her, تَمِہ *tami*.

		Singular.			
		Masculine.		Feminine.	
Was given (c)	by me ...	دیُتُم	diutu-m	دِچم	ditsa-m
	by thee ...	دیُتُت	diutu-t	دِچت	ditsa-t
	by him ...	دیُتُن	diutu-n	دِچن	ditsa-n
	by us ...	—		—	
	by you ...	دیُتُوَہ	diut^u-va	دِچوَہ	ditsa-va
	by them ...	دیُتُک	diutu-k	دِچک	ditsa-k

		Plural.			
		Masculine.		Feminine.	
Were given (a)	by me ...	دِت	Pronouns in Instrumental as in masc. sg. diti	دِچہ	Pronouns in Instrumental as in masc.-sg. ditsa
	by thee ...				
	by him ...				
	by us ...				
	by you ...				
	by them ...				
(b)	by me. ...	مِہ دِتِم	me diti-m	مِہ دِچم	me ditsa-m
	by thee ...	چہِ دِتِت	tse diti-t	چہِ دِچت	tse ditsa-t
	by him ...	—		—	
	by us ...	—		—	
	by you ...	تُہِہ دِتوَہ	tohi dit^i-va	تُہِہ دِچوَہ	tohi ditsa-va
	by them ...	—		—	
(c)	by me ...	دِتِم	diti-m	دِچم	ditsa-m
	by thee ...	دِتِت	diti-t	دِچت	ditsa-t
	by him ...	دِتِن	diti-n	دِچن	ditsa-n
	by us ...	—		—	
	by you ...	دِتوَہ	diti-va	دِچوَہ	ditsa-va
	by them ...	دِتِک	diti-k	دِچک	ditsa-k

[*Diut-* may be spelled *dyut-* throughout.]

134. The verb هیُن *heun* (or *hyun*), to take, [nearly] follows دیُن *diun* (or *dyun*) in the formation of its Aorist. [Its *c* forms are sing., masc. *heutu*, fem. *hets;* plur., masc. *heti*, fem. *hetsa*.] زیُن *ziun* (or *zyun*), to be born, follows یُن *yun*, to come (§ 66). The following are the *a* and *c* Aorist forms of نیُن *niun* (or *zyun*), to take away:—

(a)	m. sg.	(نیو, نو), نیو, تمو, اسہ, تم, مے	*me, tami, asi, timau*	*niu* (*niu, nyû*)
	f. sg.	نیہ	,, ,, ,, ,,	*niya*
	m. pl.	نی	,, ,, ,, ,,	*niyi*
	f. pl.	نیہ	,, ,, ,, ,,	*niya*

Subject.

		Singular.		Plural.	
		Masculine.	Feminine.	Masculine.	Feminine.
(c) Was (were) taken away	by me ...	نیوم *niû-m*	نیم *niya-m*	نیم *nî-m*	نیم *niya-m*
	by thee ...	نیوت *niû-t*	نیت *niya-t*	نیت *nî-t*[74]	نیت *niya-t*
	by him ...	نیون *niû-n*	نین *niya-n*	نین *nî-n*[75]	نین *niya-n*
	by us ...	——	——	——	——
	by you ...	نیووہ *niû-va*	نیوہ *niya-va*	نیوہ *nî-va*	نیوہ *niya-va*
	by them ...	نیوک *niû-k*	نیاک *niya-k*	نیک *nî k*	نیاک *niya-k*

[*Nyû-* may be substituted for *niû-* throughout.]

135. So also are conjugated the transitive verbs کھیُن *kheun* (or *khyun*), to eat, and چیُن *cheun* (or *chyun*), to drink: *e. g.*, کھیون *kheô-n*, کھین *kheya-n*. I, however, also find the following additional forms of the 3rd person of the Aorist:—

Singular.		Plural.	
Masculine.	Feminine.	Masculine.	Feminine.
کھیو *khyau*	کھییہ *kheyêya*	کھیی *kheyêy*	کھییہ *kheyêya*
چیو *chyau*			

[74] چہ نیت رت چیز *tse ni-t rati chiz*, by thee were good things taken, thou receivedst good things.—Luke, xvi. 25.

[75] نین پنن بہ چاٹ *nîn panani bah tsâṭ*, by him were his twelve disciples taken, he took his twelve disciples with him.—Matth. xx. 17.

Thus following گو *gav* (§ 79). [All these forms are really Plup. II. The true Aorist of these two verbs is not used.]

The conjugation of the intransitive verb پیُن *peun*, to fall, will be found under the head of Intransitive verbs (§ 154).

THE PASSIVE VOICE.

136. All the verbal forms hitherto treated are active ones, and have (with the exception of the Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect) also active meanings. The three tenses last mentioned, as we have above explained (§ 88), although passive in their literal meaning, must be classed under the active voice, and treated as representatives of the English Past, Perfect and Pluperfect Active; for 'by him was sent,' تَمِ سُوز *tami sûzu*, means 'he sent;' 'by him had been sent,' تَمِ سوزمُت اوس *tami sûzmut ôs*, means 'he had sent.' If, however, the Agent (answering to the question, 'by whom?') is not expressed, the sentence becomes a true passive, the formation of which we now proceed to treat.

Thus, نوکر سوزنہ آو *naukar sôzana âv*, 'the servant was sent,' is a true passive; but پادشاهن سوز نوکر *pâdshâhan*[76] *sûzu naukar*, by the king was the servant sent, *i. e.*, the king sent the servant, is a true active, in a passive construction.

137. The true Passive is formed by a circumlocution; *i. e.*, by compounding the oblique base of the masculine infinitive[77] of the main verb with the Auxiliary verb یُن *yun*, to come. *E. g.*, 'the man was sent,' مهنیو سوزنہ آو *mahanyuv sôzana âv* (here the Agent is not expressed) 'the man will be sent,' مهنیو سوزنہ ییہ *mahanyuv sôzana yiyi.* For the conjugation of یُن *yun* see §§ 66ff.

138. The following are the principal parts of the conjugation of a Passive verb.

139. Imperative.

2nd sg. سوزنہ یِہ *sôzana yi*, etc.

140. Infinitive, سوزنہ یُن *sôzana yun.*

141. Participles.

Present,	سوزنہ یوان	*sôzana yivân.*
(Perfect,	سوزمُت	*sûzmut*).
Future,	سوزنہ یِوُن	*sôzana yivavun.*
Participle Absolute,	سوزنہ یِت	*sôzana yit.*

Simple Tenses.

142. Indicative.

Present Indefinite, and Future, سوزنہ یِمہ *sôzana yima*, etc.

---

[76] The Agent can also be expressed by the words واسِطہ *vasîlah*, by means of; سِیت *sit*, with; or اتھہ *atha*, by the hand of.

[77] [That is the oblique (ablative) masculine, see § 20, (*d*). The idiom is exactly the same as the Hindî *dêkhn mên ânâ*, to come into seeing, to be seen. So *sôzana yun* means literally, 'to come into sending,' hence to be sent.']

Aorist, آس سۄزنہ *á-s sôzaną*, etc.

(Pluperfect II. آیوٗس سۄزنہ *áyô-s sôzaną*.)

143. Optative and Past Conditional.

سۄزنہ یمہہ *sôzaną yima-hą*, etc.

Precative, سۄزنہ یزھہ *sôzaną yizihe.*

Compound Tenses.

144. Indicative.

Pres. Def. سۄزنہ یوان چھس *sôzaną yivân chhu-s*, etc.

Imperf. سۄزنہ یوان اوسس *sôzaną yivân ôsu-s*, etc.

Perfect, سۄزنہ آمت چھس *sôzaną ámut chhu-s*, etc.

Pluperf. سۄزنہ آمت اوسس *sôzaną ámut ôsu-s*, etc.

145. Dubitative.[78]

Singular.

	Masculine.	Feminine.
(1)	سۄزنہ آمت آسہ *sôzaną ámut ásą*	سۄزنہ آمژ آسہ *sôzaną ámuts ásą*
(2)	سۄزنہ آمت آسك *sôzaną ámut ása-k*	سۄزنہ آمژ آسك *sôzaną ámuts ása-k*
(3)	سۄزنہ آمت آسہ *sôzaną ámut ási*	سۄزنہ آمژ آسہ *sôzaną ámuts ási*

Plural.

	Masculine.	Feminine.
(1)	سۄزنہ آمت آسو *sôzaną ámąti ásau*	سۄزنہ آمژہ آسو *sôzaną ámatsą ásau*
(2)	سۄزنہ آمت آسو *sôzaną ámąti ásiu*	سۄزنہ آمژہ آسو *sôzaną ámatsą ásiu*
(3)	سۄزنہ آمت آسن *sôzaną ámąti ásan*	سۄزنہ آمژہ آسن *sôzaną ámatsą ásan*

146. The Causal is treated similarly, *e. g.*,

Imperative مارناونہ یہ *máranávaną yi*, and so on.

(*To be continued.*)

[78] So in Mp.

MISCELLANEA.

DATES OF THE KOLLAM OR KOLAMBA ERA.

(*Continued from* p. 56.)

MR. P. SUNDARAM PILLAI has sent me two more dates of the Kollam era which admit of exact verification.

16. — The year 782, Kaliyuga 4708; the 6th day of Mêsha, **Friday, the first tithi of the dark half, Jyôti** (?)[1] *nakshatra*, **Siddhi** *yôga*, the sign of **Karkaṭaka** rising; Jupiter in **Mîna**, and Saturn in **Dhanus**. — In Śaka-Saṁvat 782 + 747= 1529 = Kaliyuga 4708 expired the Mêsha-saṁkrânti took place on the 28th March A. D. 1607, by the Sûrya-siddhânta 19 h. 52 m., and by the Ârya-siddhânta 17 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise; and the month of Mêsha therefore commenced on the 29th March, and the 6th of Mêsha was **Friday**, the 3rd April A. D. 1607. On this day **the first tithi of the dark half** ended 6 h. 48 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Svâti** for 11 h. 50 m., and the *yôga* **Siddhi** from 2 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise. At noon Jupiter's mean place was 11s 5° 55′, and his true place 11s 9° 16′, in both cases in **Mîna**; and Saturn's mean place 8s 23° 37′, and his true place 8s 26° 19′, in both cases in **Dhanus**. The sun's longitude at sunrise was 5° 4′, and the sign of **Karkaṭaka** therefore was rising about midday.

17. — The year 412, the month of Makara, **Sunday, Rêvatî** *nakshatra*, Jupiter in **Dhanus**. — In Śaka-Saṁvat 412 + 746 = 1158 expired the month of Makara commenced on the 26th December A. D. 1236, and the day of the date is **Sunday**, the 4th January A. D. 1237, when the *nakshatra* was **Rêvatî** about the whole day. Jupiter's mean place was 8s 18° 42′, and his true place 8s 17° 42′, in both cases in **Dhanus**.

It will be seen that in these two dates it practically makes no difference whether we take the statements regarding Jupiter's position to refer to his mean place or to his true place. And the same may be said of the dates Nos. 2 (Jupiter in Mêsha), 3 (in Kumbha), 10 (in Dhanus), 14 (in Vṛiśchika), and 15 (in Vṛishabha). The two remaining dates that mention Jupiter's place, Nos. 4 and 13, each offer a difficulty.

The date No. 13, as we have seen, corresponds to the 11th November A. D. 1581, and it records that Jupiter then was in **Dhanus**. But by the Sûrya-siddhânta rule *without bîja* Jupiter's mean place on the 11th November A. D. 1581 was 9s 15° 17′, and his true place 9s 1° 47′, *i. e.*, Jupiter in either case was in Makara, not in Dhanus. If we might calculate Jupiter's true place from his mean place *with bîja*, we should indeed obtain 8s 28° 57′, with Jupiter in **Dhanus**, but are we allowed to do so?[2]

The date No. 4 (the year 348, the month of Mîna, Thursday, Anurâdhâ *nakshatra*, Jupiter in **Karkaṭaka**), judging by the other dates, should fall in A. D. 1173, but in that year the month of Mîna contained no Thursday on which the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ; and the probability therefore is that the corresponding date is Thursday, the 16th March A. D. 1172, when the *nakshatra was* Anurâdhâ. If this were absolutely certain, the position of Jupiter, referred to in the date, would undoubtedly be his mean one; for on the 16th March A. D. 1172 Jupiter's mean place was in **Karkaṭaka** (3s 1° 48′), as required by the date, and his true place in Mithuna (2s 25° 25′).

The seventeen dates treated of do not enable us to say whether the years of the Kollam era are ordinarily quoted as current or expired years. In fifteen of them (Nos. 1 and 2, and 5-17) the difference between the given year and the year A. D. (from about the middle of August to about the middle of August), in which the date falls, is 824-25; but in No. 3 that difference is 825-26, and in No. 4 it is 823-24. This shows that either the given year of No. 3 or that of No. 4 is certainly wrong (whether current or expired), and that neither of them can be utilized to decide the question whether the years of the other dates are current or expired ones.

Göttingen. F. KIELHORN.

[1] This apparently should be *Svâti*.

[2] This note was written in April 1896, before the publication of *The Indian Calendar* by Mr. Sewell and Mr. Dikshit. According to that book, we apparently *are* allowed to calculate Jupiter's true place from his mean place *with bîja*.

THE DISTRICT OF CUKHSA.

THE last number of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV., Part ii., brings us a new critical edition and translation by Prof. Bühler of the so-called Taxila copper-plate, which records the erection of a monastery at a place called **Chema**, to the north-east of Takkhaśila or Taxila. In this document the donor, **Patika** by name, is called the son of **Liaka Kusuluka**, who himself is designated as **Chahara-Cukhsasa ca chatrapasa**.

Professor Bühler is unquestionably right in explaining these words to mean "that Liaka

ruled as Satrap over the districts of **Chahara and Cukhsa.**" General Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, V., p. 68, had proposed to identify both names with that of the modern **Sir-Sukh,** the place where the inscription has been found. But Prof. Bühler rightly points out that according to the text itself the place was called Chema.

Professor Bühler ingeniously connects the name **Cukhsa,** which might possibly be read also **Cuskha,** with "the curious Sanskrit **coska,** which, according to the *Trikâṇḍaśeṣa* means 'a horse from the districts on the Indus.'" And he adds: "Might not *coska*, like *saindhava*, 'a horse from Sindh,' be a purely territorial name denoting some particular district on the Indus, and a variant of *Cukhsa* or *Cuskha?*"

On perusing these remarks we are forcibly reminded of the name of the fertile tract now known as **Cac** (or **Chach**), which forms part of the Attock Tahsîl of the Rawalpindi District. It stretches as a low-lying level plain along the left bank of the Indus above Attock; on the east it is bounded by the range of the Gandgaṛh hills. Its length from south-west to north-east is about 25 miles and its greatest breadth about 12 miles.

Through this plain, which in the *Gazetteer* of the District (revised edition, 1893-94) is described as extremely fertile and rich in wells, led the old road which connected **Taxila-Shâhdhêrî** with **Udabhâṇḍa,** the ancient capital of Gandhâra on the right bank of the Indus, the modern **Und.** Hiuen-Tsiang, when he proceeded on his return journey in three marches from **Ta-ch'a-shi-lo** (Takṣaśila) to **U-to-kia-han-ch'a** (* Udakahâṇḍa, the Udabhâṇḍa of the Râjataraṅgiṇî), must have crossed the Cac plain; *cf. Life*, transl. Beal, p. 191, and my paper *Zur Geschichte der Çâhis von Kâbul* in *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, 1893, p. 203.

The phonetic facts permit of our deriving the modern name from the Cukhsa of the inscription. The former is spelt both *Cac* and *Chach* in the District *Gazetteer* (see *e. g.* pp 3, 47 and 103, 144 sqq.) and other works. I regret that when I followed on a tour in 1892 the track of Hiuen-Tsiang to Udabhâṇḍa-Und, I did not pay attention to the actual pronunciation of the name by the inhabitants.

If we assume that the correct form was Cach we can account for the phonetic changes of the name without difficulty. *Ch* for *khsa* is what we have to expect after the analogy of Skr. *kṣa* > *ch* of Prakrit and Indo-Aryan Vernaculars (see Beames, *Compar. Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages*, I., p. 309). The change of Skr. *u* > *a* is also well known to the phonology of the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars (see Dr. Grierson's essay, *ZDMG.* xlix., p. 406).

General Cunningham has correctly observed in his *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 109, that the traditional designation of the territory in which Shâhdhêri or Taxila is situated is **Cac-Hazâra,** and a glance at the map shews that the Cac plain must have formed part of any larger territorial division which had its administrative centre at Taxila. General Cunningham came thus close enough to the identification of Cac with Cukhsa, but seems yet to have missed it. He explains in the above-quoted passage Cac-Hazâra as a 'corruption of *Śirṣa-sahasra,*' and subsequently (*Archæol. Survey Reports*, V., p. 68) he has looked for Cukhsa in the name of the modern village Sir-Sukh near Shâhdhêri.

The name **Chahara** (or **Chaharata,** as restored by Dr. Bhagvanlal) I am at present unable to trace. I am similarly prevented by press of work from looking for earlier references to the name Cac in Muhammadan works and elsewhere, which might possibly furnish us with the missing links between the modern form and its Prakrit original.

M. A. STEIN.

Lahore: 8th April, 1896.

THE ELEVENTH ORIENTAL CONGRESS, PARIS, 1897.

THE Orientalists who met at Geneva in Sept. 1894 unanimously decided that the next Congress should be held at Paris during 1897.

The French Orientalists have consequently been discussing the date of this Congress, the constitution of its different sections, and the provisional arrangement of the proceedings they propose to hold in conjunction with their colleagues in Europe, America and the East — in short, the steps necessary for the furtherance of efforts made for more than twenty years by previous Congresses on behalf of Oriental Languages, History and Archæology.

The duration of the Congress has been fixed from the 5th to the 12th September 1897, and below will be found a list of the Sections and Committees of Management. The Committees will be very glad to include in the Sections all the savants who care to join. Later on notice will be given of the facilities which will be granted to Orientalists by the French Railway Administrations and of the manner in which their days will be employed during their stay in Paris.

M. Ernest Leroux has been appointed treasurer and publisher to the Congress, and it has been decided to fix the fees at 20 francs.

International Congress of Orientalists : XIth Session, Paris, September, 1897.

Patron.

The President of the Republic.

Standing Committee.

President: M. Charles Schefer, Rue de Lille, 2.

Vice-President: M. Barbier de Meynard, Boulevard de Magenta, 18.

Secretaries: Prof. Maspero, Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24; Prof. Henri Cordier, Place Vintimille, 3.

Members: M. E. Aymonier, Rue du Général Foy, 46.

M. Em. Guimet, Place d'Iéna.

Prof. Jules Oppert, Rue de Sfax, 2.

M. G. Schlumberger, Avenue d'Antin, 27.

M. Em. Senart, Rue François Ier, 18.

Marquis de Vogüé, Rue Fabert, 2.

Treasurer and Publisher: M. Ernest Leroux, Rue Bonaparte, 28.

General Managing Committees.

First Section.

Aryan Languages and Archæology.

(a) India.

MM. Barth, Bréal, Senart, Vinson: *Secretary,* M. Sylvain Levi.

(b) Persia.

MM. Carrière, Dieulafoy, Drouin, Blochet: *Secretary,* M. Meillet.

(c) Linguistics.

MM. Bréal, V. Henry, Ed. Specht: *Secretary,* M. Louis Duvau.

Second Section.

Languages and Archæology of the Far East.

(a) China and Japan

MM. Cordier, Devéria, Guimet, DeRosny, Ed. Specht: *Secretary,* M. Ed Chavannes.

(b) Indo-China, Malay Countries and Polynesia.

MM. Aymonier, Bonet, Cordier, Marre: *Secretary,* M. P. Lefèvre-Pontalis.

Third Section.

Musalman Languages and Archæology.

MM. Barbier de Meynard, Devenbourg, Houdas, Schefer: *Secretary,* M. Casanova.

Fourth Section.

Semitic Languages and Archæology.

(a) Aramaic, Hebrew, Phœnician, Ethiopic.

MM. Ph. Berger, Rubens Duval, Marquis de Vogüé: *Secretary,* M. L'Abbé Chabot.

(b) Assyrian.

MM. Henzey, J. Oppert, L'Abbé Quentin, Thureau-Dangin: *Secretary,* R. P. Scheil.

Fifth Section.

Egypt and the African Languages.

MM. Guieysse, General Hanoteau, Lefébure, Maspero, Pierret: *Secretaries,* MM. René Basset and Moret.

Sixth Section.

The East, Greece, Greek Relations with the East, and Turkey.

MM. D. Bikélas, E. Legrand, G. Schlumberger: *Secretaries,* MM. Jean Psichari and Théodore Reinach.

Seventh Section.

Ethnography and Folk-lore of the East.

Prince Roland Bonaparte, Dr. E. T. Hamy, M. Girard de Rialle: *Secretary,* M. F. Grenard.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A NOTE ON ORIENTATION.

THE fourth prayer of the Musalmân day, known in Arabic as *Sulâtu'l-Maghrib* (the prayer at sunrise), in Persian as *Namâz-i-Shâm* (evening prayer), in Pashtu as *Nmâ-Kkhâm* (evening prayer), is appointed to be said a few minutes after sunset — *i. e.*, after the orb of the sun has disappeared from the view. It is a tradition that the object of Muhammad in fixing the time was to avoid any suspicion of his followers holding the Sabian tenets and worshipping the sun, as also to remove from them all temptation to orientation or sun-worship. This latter is the primary cause of the Hindu worshipping the *pûrab* (east), and apparently of the Christians of the Greek, Latin, and even Reformed Protestant Churches bowing to the east at certain portions of their Church Service. The Jews, Semitic brethren of the Arabs, shared with them their abhorrence of orientation. See Ezekiel's horror-stricken vision (*Ezekiel,* viii. 16).

T. C. PLOWDEN, in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

PANDUKESVAR PLATE OF LALITASURADEVA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

THIS plate is preserved in the temple of Yôga-badarî at **Pâṇḍukêśvar,** in the Garhwâl district of the Kumâun division of the North-Western Provinces.[1] A rough translation of the inscription which it contains was published, in 1875, by Mr. E. T. Atkinson, B. C. S., in a collection of inscriptions[2] from the temples of Kumâun and Garhwâl, translated by a Calcutta Paṇḍit, and circulated with the object of endeavouring to identify the localities and personages mentioned in them. And the text of the inscription was afterwards edited, with a good photolithograph, by the late Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra,[3] in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877, p. 71 ff. I now re-edit the inscription from the published photolithograph.

The plate is a single one, inscribed on one side only. It is said to measure 24″ broad by 16″ high, not including a handle-like projection, said to be 5″ high, on the proper right side.[4] In the middle of the projection is let in a lead **seal,** 3″ in diameter, which projects about ½″ above the front and ¼″ above the back of the plate. This seal has, on a countersunk surface, the figure of a bull couchant, facing the proper left, and beneath it a **legend** in three lines the text of which will be given below. The projection, besides, contains the word *śrî*, which is engraved on the proper left of the seal, opposite to the head of the bull. The engraving apparently is very deep and most carefully executed, and the writing, which runs across the breadth of the plate, is in a perfect state of preservation. — The **size of the letters** must be between ¼ and ⅜″. — The **characters,** which in line 23 include the ordinary numeral figures for 1, 2, and 3, belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are of the same type as those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna, and closely resemble those of the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II.[5] That they have to be assigned to comparatively early times is shown by the circumstance that such letters as *p*, *m*, *y*, and *s* throughout are open at the top, by the forms of the initial *â* and the medial diphthongs,[6] by the use of the final form of *t* (in *samvat*, l. 23, and *vasêt*, l. 27), and by the fact that in the conjunct *ry* the sign for *r* is everywhere written on, not above, the line. They are undoubtedly more antique than the characters of the two British Museum inscriptions (from Northern India) of the [Vikrama] years 981 and 983,[7] published *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 250 ff., and even than those of an unpublished British Museum inscription of the second year of the reign of Mahêndrapâladêva (of Kanauj); and they may, in my opinion, be assigned with confidence to about the middle or the second half of the 9th century A. D. — In respect of **orthography,** it will suffice to state that the letter *b* everywhere is denoted by the sign for *v*, that *t* throughout is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, and that the sign of the *upadhmânîya* is employed in *Dhûrjjaṭêḥ=prasâdât*, l. 3, and the letter *n* instead of *anusvâra* in *anyâns=cha*, l. 15. — Except for nine benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 24-30, the whole text is in prose, which is not wanting in the quality of *ôjas*. It is remarkable for the long list of officials[8] enumerated in lines 11-16, and contains several technical terms (pointed out in

---

1 See Dr. Führer's *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 46.

2 I owe a copy of this probably very rare publication to Dr. Hoernle. — It is a great pity that the texts of these inscriptions have not yet been made generally accessible. So far as I can see from the rough translations, the inscriptions are really of some importance, and they apparently contain sufficient data to enable one to calculate the times of the kings of whom they treat.

3 His text has been reprinted by Mr. Atkinson in his *Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces*, Vol. XI. p. 473 ff., and in the *Prâchînalêkhamâlâ* of the *Kâvyamâlâ*, Vol. I. p. 216 ff.

4 The shape of the plate is similar to that of the Gôrâkhpur plate of Jayâditya; see *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 169.

5 See Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Plates xxviii. and xxix. B.

6 The ordinary superscript sign of *ê* is used 60 times, the more antique form of *ê* 17 times; the corresponding figures for *ô* are 44 and 14; for *ai*, 2 and 10; and for *au*, 9 and 4.

7 Not 781 and 783.

8 In this respect the inscription no doubt resembles the copper-plate inscriptions of the Pâla kings, but the agreement with the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II. (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 216) is almost closer. That inscription (in line 9) also seems to have *pramâtṛi-sarabhaṅga*, like the Mungir plate of Dêvapâla, but e. g. line 10 it certainly reads *kiśôravaḍavâgômahishyadhikṛita*, differing in this from the Pâla plates, and agreeing exactly with the present inscription, line 14.

my notes) which are of rare occurrence or have not yet been met with at all in other inscriptions.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara* **Lalitaśûradêva,** the son, from the queen **Vêgâdêvî,** of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara* **Ishṭagaṇadêva,** who was the son, from the queen **Nâśûdêvî,** of **Nimbara,**[9] who apparently was the founder of the family. And by it **Lalitaśûradêva,** from the city of **Kârttikêyapura,** (in lines 16-22) informs the officials and people concerned that **on the day of the winter-solstice** he gave three villages (*pallikâ*) in the **Kârttikêyapura** *vishaya* (*viz.*, a village in the possession of Khashiyâka and situated in **Gôrunnasârî,** and two villages in the possession of Guggula and situated in **Palibhûtikâ**) to (a temple of) the god Nârâyaṇa that had been founded at **Gôrunnasârî** by the *Mahâdêvî* **Sâmadêvî.**[10] That this lady was Lalitaśûradêva's queen is not stated in the present inscription, but is proved by the fragmentary inscription from Bagêśvar, published[11] in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 1058. — The inscription is **dated** (in line 23) **on the 3rd of the dark half of Mâgha of the 21st year of the king's reign.**

If **this date** refers, as it very probably does, to the *Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti* on which the donation was made, it will help to fix the time of Lalitaśûradêva, as soon as the other inscriptions of the same dynasty, which are dated in a similar manner, have been published. For the present, I can only say that in the second half of the 9th century A. D. the day which would best suit the requirements of the date of the present inscription, is the 22nd December A. D. 853. For on this day the *Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti* took place 9 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, during the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha, which ended 13 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise of the same day.[12]

Of the **localities** mentioned, **Kârttikêyapura** is reported to be the modern village of Baijnâth or Vaidyanâth in Kumâun; **Gôrunnasârî** and **Palibhûtikâ** have not been identified.

TEXT.[13]

The Plate.

1 Ôṁ[14] svasti [\|\|*] Srîmat-Kârttikêyapurât=sakal-âmara-ditítanuja-manuja-vibhu bha[kt]ibhâva-bhara-bhâr-ânamit-âmit-ôttamâṅga-saṁgi-vikaṭa-mukuṭa-kirîṭa-vitaṅka-kôṭi-kôṭi-ś[v]êt-aikatâ-

---

[9] The three names Nimbara, Ishṭagaṇadêva and Lalitaśûradêva are also given on the seal.

[10] According to the account in the *Proceedings Beng. As. Soc.*, referred to above, the villages were given 'to a Brâhman named Pârâyaṇa — apparently a misprint for Nârâyaṇa — Bhaṭṭâraka, for the worship of a goddess in the village Saurunnosâ.'

[11] The published text, after mentioning Nimbara (called *Nimbaratadêvaḥ*), his wife Nâśûdêvî (called *Dâsudêvî*) their son Ishṭagaṇadêva (called *Îshṭaraṇadêvaḥ*) and his wife Vêgâdêvî (called *Dharâdêvî*), and their son Lalitaśûradêva, goes on: *tasya putraḥ tatpâdânudhyâta(tô) râjñî mahâdêvî śrî-Sâyadêvî tasyâm-utpanna[ḥ*]*. There can be no doubt that *Sâyadêvî* here is put wrongly for *Sâmadêvî.*

[12] In Mr. Atkinson's collection of rough translations, referred to above, there is another grant of Lalitaśûradêva's, which is dated in the 22nd year of his reign, on the 15th day — according to the printed copy, of the *bright* half, but, according to a manuscript correction of it — of the *dark* half of Kârttika, while the donation recorded in the grant, according to the translation, was made on the meritorious day of the *vernal* equinox. Considering that the date falls in the month Kârttika, it is exceedingly probable that the expression '*vernal* equinox' has been erroneously used by the native translator for '*autumnal* equinox,' and that the original has simply *vishuva-saṁkrântau.* Now, if the date of the inscription here published, which is of the 21st year of Lalitaśûradêva's reign, fell in December A. D. 853, the date of the other inscription, of the 22nd year of the king's reign, would be expected to fall, in the first instance, in A. D. 854. And it is, at any rate, a curious coincidence that the date of the 22nd year does work out quite faultlessly for A. D. 854. For in that year the *Tulâ-vishuva-saṁkrânti* took place 2 h. 44 m. before mean sunrise of the 25th September, and this day was wholely occupied by the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Kârttika. The two dates by themselves do not fix the time of Lalitaśûradêva with absolute certainty, but on palæographical grounds the inscription here published might well have been written in A. D. 853, and in the whole of the 9th century A. D. there are no two consecutive years which would suit the two dates so well as A. D. 853 and 854 do.

[13] From Plate i. in *Proceedings Beng. As. Soc.* 1877.

[14] Expressed by a symbol.

2 n-ânâyaka-pradîpa-dîpta-dîdhiti-pâna-mada-rakta-charaṇakamal-âmala-vipula-va(ba)-hula-kiraṇa-kêsar-âsâra-sârit-âśêsha-viśêsha-môshi-ghana-tamas-têjasas=Svardhunî-dhauta-jaṭâjû-

3 ṭasya bhagavatô Dhûrjjaṭêḥ=pras[â]dân=nija-bhuj-ôpârjjit-aurjjitya-ni[r*]jjita-riputimira-lavdhô(bdhô)daya-prakâśa-dayâ-dâkshiṇya-satya-sattvaśîla-śaucha-śaurya-audârya-gâmbhîrya-maryâd-âryavṛitt-âścharya-

4 kâryavary-âdi-guṇa-gaṇ-âlaṁkṛita-śarîraḥ[15] mahâ-sukṛiti-santâna-vîj-âvatâraḥ kṛitayug-âgama-bhûpâla-lalita-kîrttiḥ[16] Nandâ-bhagavatî-charaṇakamala-kamalâ-sanâtha-mûrttiḥ śrî-**Nimva(mba)ras**=tasya ta-

5 nayas=tatpâd-ânudhyâtô râjñî mahâdêvî śrî-**Nâśûdêvî** tasyâm=utpannaḥ paramamâhêśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ śita-kṛipâṇa-dhâr-ôtkhâta-mattêbha-kumbh-âkṛisht-ôtkṛishṭa-muktâvalî-yaśaḥpaṭâk-ô-

6 chchhrâya-chandrik-âpahastita-târâgaṇaḥ paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrîmad-**Ishṭagaṇadêvaḥ**[17] stasya puttras=tatpâd-ânudhyâtô râjñî mahâdêv śrî-**Vêgâdêvî** tasyâm=utpannaḥ paramamâ-

7 hêśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ kali-kalaṅka-paṅk-âtaṅka-magna-dharaṇy-uddhâra-dhârita-dhaurêyavara-varâha-charitaḥ sahaja-mati-vibhava-vibhu-vibhûti-sthagit-ârâtichakra-pratâpadahanaḥ[18] ativaibhava-saṁbhâr-ârambha-saṁ-

8 bhṛita-bhîma-bhrukuṭi-kuṭila-kêsari-saṭâ-bhîtabhît-ârât-îbhakalabha-bharaḥ[19] atuṇḍa-raṇat-kṛipâṇa-va(bâ)ṇa-gaṇa-prâṇa-guṇa-haṭhâkṛisht-ôtkṛishṭa-salîla-jayalakshmî-prathama-samâliṅgan-âvalô-

9 kana-vê(vai)lakshya-sakhêda-surasundarî-vidhûta-kara-skhalad-valaya-kusuma-p[r*]a-kara-prakîrṇ-âvataṁsa-samvaddhita[20]-kîrtti-vîjaḥ Pṛithur=iva dê(dô)rddaṇḍa-sâdhita-dhanurmmaṇḍala-va(ba)l-âvashṭambha-vaśa-

10 vaśîkṛita-gô-pâlanâ-niśchalîkṛita-dharâdharêndraḥ paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrîmal-**Lalitaśûradêva**[ḥ*] kuśalî ı[21] asminn=êva śrîmat-**Kârttikêyapura**-vishayê samu-

11 pagatân=sarvvân=êva niyôgasthân=râja-râjanaka-râjaputtra-râ[j]âmâtya-sâmanta-mahâsâmanta-ṭhakkura-mahâmanushya-mahâk[â*]rttâkṛitika-mahâpratîhâra-mahâ-daṇḍanâyaka-mahârâjapramâtâra-śa-

12 rabhaṅga-kumârâmâty-ôparika-dussâdhyasâdhanika-d[â*]śâparâdhika-chaurôddharaṇi-ka-śaulkika-gaulmika-tadâyuktaka-viniyuktaka-paṭṭakâpachârik-âśê(sê)dhabhaṅgâ-dhikṛita-hastyaś[v*]ôshṭra-

13 va(ba)lavyâpṛitaka-dûta-prêshaṇika-d[â*]ṇḍika-d[â*]ṇḍapâśika-gamâgami-khâḍgik-â-bhitvaramâṇaka-râjasthânîya-vishayapati-bhôgapati-tarapaty-aśvapati-khaṇḍaraksha-pratiśûri-

14 ka-sthânâdhikṛita-vartmapâla-kôṭṭapâla-ghaṭṭapâla-kshêttrapâla-prântapâla-kiśôravaḍa-vâgômahishyadhikṛita-bhaṭṭa-mahattam-âbhîra-vaṇik-śrêshṭhi-purôgân=sâshṭâdaśa-prakṛi-

15 [22]tyadhishṭhânîyân=Khasha(śa)-Kirâta-Draviḍa-Kaliṅga-Gauḍa-Hûṇ-Ôḍra-Mêd-Ândhra-chânḍâla-paryantân=sarvva-samvâsân=[23]samasta-janapadân= bhaṭa-ch[â*]ṭa-sêvak-âdîn=anyâns=cha[24] kîrttitân=akîrttitân=asma-[25]

---

[15] Read -*śarîrô*.

[16] Read -*kîrttir*=.

[17] Read °*dêvas*=*tasya*.

[18] Read °*hanô*=*ti*°.

[19] Read -*bharô*=*tuṇḍa*-.

[20] Read -*saṁvarddhita*-.

[21] Read *kuśaly*=*asminn*=.

[22] The actual reading of the original may possibly be *tyâdhi*°.

[23] Read -*saṁvâsân*=.

[24] Read =*anyâṁś*=*cha*; the following *kîrttitân* appears superfluous.

[25] Read °*tân*=*svapâda*°.

16 tpâdapadm-ôpajîvinaḥ prativâsinaś=cha vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôttarân=yathârhaṁ m[â*]-nayati vô(bô)dhayati samâjñâpayaty=astu[26] vas=saṁviditam=uparinirdishṭa-vishayê **Gôrunnasâryâṁ**[27] prativa(ba)ddha-Khashiyâka-

17 paribhujyamâna-pallikâ tath[â*] **Palibhûtikâyâṁ** prativa(ba)ddha-Guggula-paribhujyamâna-pallikâ-dvayaṁ[28] êtê mayâ mâtâpitṛôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê pavana-vighaṭṭit-â-

18 śvattha-pattra-chañchala-taraṅga[29]-jîvalôkam=avalôkya jala-vudvud-âkâram[30]=asâraṁ ch=âyu[r*]=dṛishṭvâ gajakalabha-karṇṇâgra-chapalatâñ=cha lakshmyâ [ma*]tvâ paralôka-niḥśrêyasârtha[ṁ*] saṁsâr-ârṇṇava-taraṇârthañ=cha

19 puṇyê=hani[31][ut]tarâ[ya]ṇa-sa[ṁ*]kr[â*]ntô(ntau) gandha-pushpa-dhûpa-dîp-ôpalê-pana-naivêdya-va(ba)li-charu-nṛitya-gêya-vâdya-sattr-âdi-pravarttanâya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṁskaraṇâya[32] abhinava-karmma-karaṇâ-

20 ya cha bhṛitya-pâdamûla-bharaṇâya cha **Gôrunnasâryâṁ** mahâdêvî-śrî-**Sâmadêvyâ** śva(sva)yaṁkârâpita-bhagavat-śrî-Nârâyaṇa-bhaṭṭârakâya[33] śâsana-dânêna pratipâditâḥ prakṛiti-parihâra-yuktaḥ[34]

21 a-châṭa-bhaṭa-pravêśâḥ[35] akiñchitpragrâhyâḥ[36] anâchchhêdya[37] â-chandr-ârkka-kshiti-sthiti-samakâlikâḥ[38] vishay[â*]d=uddhṛita-piṇḍâs=svasîmâ-gôchara-pra(pa)-ryâ(rya)ntâs=sa-vṛiksh-ârâm-ôdbhêda-prasravaṇ-ôpê-

22 tâḥ[39] dêva-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-bhukta-bhujyamâna-varjitâḥ [|*] yatas=sukhaṁ pâraṁparyêṇa paribhuñjataś=ch=âsy=ôparinirdishṭair=anyatarair=vvâ dharaṇa-vidhâraṇa-paripanthan-âdik-ôpadravô manâg=api na kartta-

23 vyô=tô=nyath=âjñâ-hânau mahân=drôhas=syâd=iti [||*] **Pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê**[40] **êkaviṁśatimê saṁvat 21 Mâgha-vadi 3** [||*] D[û]takô=ttra mahâdânâkshapaṭalâdhikṛita-śrî-Yîjakaḥ | Li-

24 khitam=idaṁ mahâsandhivigrahâkshapaṭalâdhikṛita-śrîmad-Âryaṭavat[ê]n=âṭâṁ[ṅ]k=ôtkirṇṇâ[41] śrî-Gaṅgabhadrêṇa |(||) [42]Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=ta-

25 sya tasya tadâ phalaṁ |(||) [43]Sarvvân=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pârthiv-êndrân=bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ [|*] sâmân[y*]ô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtu[r*]= nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ [||*] [44]Sva-dattâm=para-dattâm=vâ[45] yô ha-

26 rêta vasundharâṁ [|*] [46]shashṭim=varsha-sahasrâṇi śva-vishṭhyâ[ṁ*][47] jâyatê kṛimi[ḥ*] |(||) [48]Bhûmêr=d[â*]tâ yâti lôkê surâṇâṁ haṁsai[r*]= yuktaṁ yânam=âruhya divyaṁ [|*] lanbhê(hê) kumbhê taila-purṇṇâ[49] sutaptê bhûmêr=ha-

[26] Read °*yati* | *Astu vas=saṁviditam* | *Upari*°.

[27] One would have expected here °*sârî-prati*°, and in the next line °*tikâ-prati*°.

[28] Read -*dvayam=êtâ*.

[29] This is not quite grammatical. The writer perhaps meant to say -*chañchalataraṁ jîvalôkam*, or -*chañchalaṁ taraṅgavaj=jîvalôkam*.

[30] Read -*budbud*-.

[31] Read =*hany*=.

[32] Read °*ṇây=âbhi*°.

[33] Read -*bhagavach-chhrî*-.

[34] Read -*yuktâ*.

[35] Read -*pravêśâ*.

[36] Read °*grâhyâ*.

[37] Read °*chchhêdyâ*.

[38] Read °*kâlikâ*.

[39] Read *tâ*.

[40] Read -*saṁvatsara êkaviṁśatitamê saṁvat*.

[41] Read °*vatêna* | *âṭaṅk=ôtkîrṇṇâ*. I am doubtful about the correctness of the word *âṭaṅkâ* which I have not found elsewhere.

[42] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[43] Metre : Śâlinî.

[44] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[45] Read -*dattâṁ vâ*.

[46] Read *shashṭiṁ varsha*-.

[47] *Vishṭhî* for *vishṭhâ* is most unusual.

[48] Metre : Śâlinî.

[49] Read -*pûrṇṇê*.

27 rttâ pachyatê· Kâla-dûtaiḥ ‖(‖) [50]Shashṭim=varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ [‖*] âchchhêttâ [ch]=ânumant[â*] [cha] tâny=êva narakê vasêt [‖*] Gâm=êk[â*]ñ=cha suvarṇṇâ(rṇṇa)ñ=cha bhûmêr=apy=êkam=aṅgulaṁ [‖*] hṛitvâ nara-

28 kam=âyâti yâvad-âhûti(ta)saṁplavaṁ [‖*] [51]Yân=îha dattâni purâ narêndrair= dânâni dharmm-ârtha-yaśaskarâṇi [‖*] nirmmâlya-v[â*]nta-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhu[ḥ*] punar=âdîtaḥ[52] [‖*] [53]Asmat-kula-

29 kramam=idaṁ[54] samudâharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dânam=idam=abhyanumôdani(nî)yaṁ [‖*] lakshmyâs=taḍit-salilavudvuda-chañchalâyaḥ[55] dânaṁ phala[ṁ*] para-yaśaḥ-paripâlanañ=chaḥ[56] ‖(‖) Iti[57] kamala-dal-âmvu(mbu)-

30 vindu-lôlâ[ṁ*] śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jîvitañ=cha ‖ sakalam=idam= udâhṛitañ=cha vudhvâ[58] na hi purushaiḥ para-kîrttayô vilôpyâ[ḥ] [‖*]

The Seal.

1 **Śrî-Nimva(mba)ras**=tatpâdânudhyâtaḥ ‖[59]

2 śrîmad-**Ishṭagaṇadêvaḥs**[60]=tatpâdânudhyâ[taḥ*]

3 śrîmal-**Lalitaśûradêvaḥ** kshitêr=[bharttâ ‖?]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm. Hail!

(Line 1.) From the prosperous (*city of*) **Kârttikêyapura.**[61]

By the grace of the holy Dhûrjaṭi (Śiva) who has destroyed the might of the dense gloom that robs of all discrimination, by assailing it with the abundant wide-spread pure rays — the filaments of the lotuses — his feet, which are red with intoxication from imbibing the bright beams of those lights that bring about a uniform white colour — the billions of handsome points of the beautiful crowns and coronets of the innumerable heads of all the lords of immortals, Daityas and men, bowed down under the weight of the burden of devotion; (*and*) whose matted hair is washed by the celestial stream; —

(L. 3.) (*There was*) the glorious **Nimbara,** who had his body adorned with the splendour that shone forth, when, by the strength acquired by his arms, he overcame his adversaries, (*as the sun overcomes*) the darkness of night, with clemency, courtesy, truthfulness, virtuous disposition, purity, heroism, munificence, depth of character, rectitude, noble conduct, wonderful achievements, and a host of other excellencies; who was an incarnation of the seed of a long lineage[62] of virtuous men; who was possessed of fame as pleasing as that of the rulers of the earth at the advent of the golden age; (*and*) whose person was endowed with fortune (*derived*) from (*the worship of*) the lotus-feet of the holy Nandâ.[63]

(L. 4.) His son, who meditated on his feet, born from the queen the glorious *Mahâdêvî* **Nâśûdêvî,** (*was*) the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), devoted to Brahma, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara,* the glorious **Ishṭagaṇadêva,** who, because he extracted excellent rows of pearls from the frontal globes of furious elephants, split open

[59] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse. Read *Shashṭiṁ varsha-.*

[51] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[52] Read *=âdadîta.*

[53] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[54] Read *=imaṁ.*

[55] Read *°budbuda-chañchalâyâ.*

[56] Read *=cha.*

[57] Metre: Pushpitâgrâ.

[58] Read *buddhvâ.*

[59] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[60] Read *°dêvas=.*

[61] In the original all the words from here up to the word *samâjñâpayati* in line 16 form really a single sentence.

[62] The word *santâna* also denotes one of the trees of Indra's paradise; the king was 'an incarnation of the seed of the great *santâna* tree of the blessed.' For the double meaning of *sukṛitin* compare *ante,* Vol. XX. p. 189; compare also the *Jâtakamâlâ,* p. 208, l. 21, *sukṛit=îva Nandanê.*

[63] *I. e.,* the goddess Durgâ; after her one of the principal mountains in the Kumâun division is called Nandâdêvî.

with the edge of his sharp sword, eclipsed the array of the stars by the moonlight — the elevation of bis banner of fame.

(L. 6.) His son, who meditates on his feet, born from the queen the glorious *Mahâdêvî* **Vêgâdêvî,** (*is*) the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), devoted to Brahma, the *Parama-bhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Lalitaśûradêva,** who, in lifting up the earth when it had sunk into the distressing mire of the sin of the Kali age, acted the part of the boar[64] most fit for the burden; who is a fire of prowess to the circle of his adversaries who vanish before the force of his natural genius and his omnipresent power; who, when preparations for war are made[65] of more than ordinary might, by the terrific frown of his brows again and again frightens the multitude of his enemies, as the lion does the elephant cubs by his curling mane; the seeds of whose fame were made to grow up into garlands, thrown on him in the shape of the wreaths of flowers of the bracelets which dropped from the trembling wrists of the damsels of heaven, distressed with bashfulness at seeing him first embrace the excellent wanton Fortune of victory, when she was forcibly drawn to him by the superior power of his mute, yet loudly ringing, sword and showers of arrows; (*and*) who has subjugated the earth by having recourse to the strength of his bow, bent by his massive arm, and by his rule of it has kept (*other*) kings of the earth at peace, resembling thus Pṛithu who, in order to tend the cow whom he had brought into subjection by means of his bent bow, firmly fixed the chief mountains in their places.[66]

(L. 10.) He, being in good health, makes known and issues the following commands to all the functionaries assembled in this prosperous district (*vishaya*) of **Kârttikêyapura**, to the *Râjas*,[67] *Râjanakas*,[68] *Râjaputras*, *Râjâmâtyas*, *Sâmantas*, *Mahâsâmantas*, *Ṭhakkuras*, *Mahâmanushyas*,[69] *Mahâkârtâkṛitikas*, *Mahâpratîhâras*, *Mahâdaṇḍanâyakas*, *Mahârâjapramâtâras*,[70] *Sarabhaṅgas*,[71] *Kumârâmâtyas*, *Uparikas*, *Duḥsâdhyasâdhanikas*, *Dâśâparâdhikas*,[72] *Chaurôddharaṇikas*, *Śaulkikas*,[73] *Gaulmikas*, *Tadâyuktakas*, *Viniyuktakas*, *Paṭṭakâpachârikas*,[74] *Âsêdhabhaṅgâdhikṛitas*,[75] to those engaged with the elephant, horse, and camel troops, to the *Dûtas*, *Prêshaṇikas*, *Dâṇḍikas*, *Dâṇḍapâśikas*, *Gamâgamins*,[76] *Khâḍgikas*,[77] *Abhitvaramâṇakas*, *Râjasthânîyas*,

---

[64] *I. e.*, the god Vishṇu in his boar incarnation.

[65] *Viz.*, by his adversaries.

[66] The story is that Pṛithu uprooted the mountains and piled them upon one another, in order that the earth, who had assumed the form of a cow, might let her milk, the seed of all vegetation, flow everywhere around. — Our author may have had in his mind the words of the *Kâdambarî* : *Vainya iva châpakôṭi-samutsârita-sakalârâtikulâchalaḥ*. — I have some doubts about the exact translation of the words *pâlanâ-niśchalîkṛita*.

[67] For some of the more common of the following titles of officials, see Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 15, 16, 52, 69, 148, 157, 169, 170, 217, 218, and 284.

[68] *Râjanaka* also occurs in line 44 of the Khâlimpur plate of Dharmapâla (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV.) and in line 30 of the Bhâgalpur plate of Nârâyaṇapâla (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 306). It may be equivalent to the term *râṇaka* in line 31 of the Mungir plate of Dêvapâla (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 256).

[69] The title *mahâmanushya*, literally 'a great man, a noble,' I have not found elsewhere; the mention of the *ṭhakkuras* also is unusual.

[70] *Mahârâjapramâtâra* would be 'the great *râjapramâtâra*.' The Mungir plate of Dêvapâla in line 32 has *pramâtṛi*, which also occurs in line 32 of the second Baijnâth *praśasti* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 115, *nṛipa-pramâtṛi*=*râja-pramâtâra*), where it has been suggested 'to denote some kind of spiritual councillor.' And the Madhuban plate of Harshavardhana (*ibid.* p. 72) in line 9 has *pramâtâra*, and in line 17 *mahâpramâtâra* which we also find in line 36 of the Benares plate of Karṇadêva (*ibid.* Vol. II. p. 309).

[71] *Śarabhaṅga* occurs, spelt *sarabhaṅga*, in line 32 of the Mungir plate of Dêvapâla, and very probably in line 9 of the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II. I have not found the word elsewhere and am unable to explain its meaning.

[72] As the *chaurôddharaṇika* was an official who had to look after the catching of thieves, so the *dâśâparâdhika* apparently was one whose duty it was to inflict punishment for 'the ten offences'; see *Gupta Inscr.* p. 189,

[73] 'Superintendents of tolls (*śulka*) and of woods (*gulma*).'

[74] *Paṭṭakâpachârika* is another term which I have not met with elsewhere; it may denote an official who had to investigate offences against royal edicts or copper-plate grants (*paṭṭaka*).

[75] If my alteration of the text is correct, the *âsêdhabhaṅgâdhikṛita* probably was an official who had to prevent flight from prison or legal restraint.

[76] These are usually called *gamâgamikas*.

[77] *Khâḍgika*, which may have been been put erroneously for *khaḍgika*, would literally mean 'a swordsman.'

Vishayapatis,[78] *Bhôgapatis*, *Tarapatis*, *Aśvapatis*, *Khaṇḍarakshas*,[79] *Pratiśûrikas*,[80] *Sthânâdhikṛitas*,[81] *Vartmapâlas*, *Kôṭṭapâlas*, *Ghaṭṭapâlas*, *Kshêtrapâlas*, *Prântapâlas*, to the superintendents of colts, mares, cows, and buffalo-cows, to the *Bhaṭṭas*, *Mahattamas*, cowherds, merchants, foremen of guilds, and to the remaining *Sâshṭâdaśaprakṛityadhishṭhânîyas*[82] down to the Khaśas, Kirâtas, Draviḍas, Kaliṅgas, Gauḍas, Hûṇas, Uḍras, Mêdas, Andhras, and Châṇḍâlas, to all habitations, to the entire people, to the regular and irregular soldiers, servants and others, and to others enumerated[83] (*and*) not enumerated who live in dependance on his lotus-feet, and to the neighbouring people, — paying due respect to all of them, especially to Brâhmaṇas: Be it known to you!

(L. 16.) Observing the living world, like a billow, to be as unsteady as the leaves of the holy fig-tree shaken by the breeze, and seeing that life, like a bubble of water, is void of substance, and knowing fortune to be as vacillating as the tip of an elephant cub's ear,— in order to attain beatitude in the next world and to cross the sea of this life, I, to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, on the auspicious day **when the sun enters upon his northern course,** have assigned by the grant of an edict, in the above-stated district, the village situated in **Gôrunnasârî** which is in the possession of Khashiyâka,[84] and also the two villages situated in **Palibhûtikâ** which are in the possession of Guggula, to the holy Lord Nârâyaṇa who by the personal order of the glorious *Mahâdêvî* **Sâmadêvî** has been set up at **Gôrunnasârî,** for providing perfumes, flowers, incense, lights, ointments, offerings of eatables, sacrifices, oblations of rice, &c., dancing, singing, music, charities, &c., for the repair of what may be damaged or broken, as well as for the execution of new work, and for the maintenance of servants and attendants; [85] (*the said villages*) to be exempt from (*the molestation of*) officials,[86] not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers, not in any way to be seized, not to be resumed, (*to belong to the donee*) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, as pieces taken out of the district (*to which they belong*),[87] as far as their proper boundaries and pasture land, together with and including their trees, gardens, springs of water and cascades, (*but*) without whatever has been or is in the possession of gods and Brâhmaṇas. Wherefore (*the donee*), enjoying (*this grant*) in comfort in regular succession, shall not in the slightest degree be troubled by the above-mentioned people or by others with seizure, restraint, robbery, or in any other way. Whoever may act contrary to this, will, in violating my order, commit a great offence.

---

78 'Chiefs or superintendents of districts (*vishaya*), of subdivisions of districts (*bhôga*), of ferry-boats (*tara*), and of horses (*aśva*).' The term *tarapati* also occurs (in addition to *tarika*) in line 35 of the Mungir plate of Dêvapâla.

79 *Khaṇḍaraksha*, which I am unable to explain, also occurs in line 34 of the Mungir plate of Dêvapâla and in line 34 of the Bhâgalpur plate of Nârâyaṇapâla. Instead of it, the Dinâjpur plate of Mahîpâla (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXI. P. I. p. 85, l. 36) and the Âmgâchhî plate of Vigrahapâla (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 167, l. 29) have *aṅgaraksha*; and the Chambâ plate of Sômavarmadêva and Âsaṭadêva (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 11, l. 14) has *khaḍgaraksha*.

80 *Pratiśûrika* is another term which I am unable to explain. I can only compare with it *pratisaraka* which with *vartmapâla*, occurs in line 22 of the Sorath plates of Dharasêna II. of Valabhi (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 70), and *pratinartaka* in line 76 of the Alînâ plates of Śîlâditya VII. (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 180).

81 Superintendents of places (? *sthâna*), guardians of roads (*vartman*), of forts (*kôṭṭa*), of landing-places or steps on the side of a river (*ghaṭṭa*), of fields (*kshêtra*), and of boundaries (*prânta*).' The *ghaṭṭapâlas* are not mentioned in other inscriptions which enumerate the other guardians.

82 This term, again, I cannot explain. The *sâshṭâdaśaprakṛitis* are mentioned as officials in line 15 of the Chambâ plate of Sômavarmadêva and Âsaṭadêva (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 12); and the Saṁgamnêr plates of Bhillama II. in line 80 have the expression *sâshṭâdaśaprakṛity-ôpêtam*, qualifying the land granted by the king. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 220).

83 This word apparently is superfluous.

84 I am somewhat doubtful whether the two words *Khashiyâka* and *Guggula* denote individuals or are names of tribes or castes.

85 The term *pâdamûla* occurs in the same sense in line 51 of the Khâlimpur plate of Dharmapâla; in verse 74 of the Sâsbahû temple inscription of Mahîpâla (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 39) we have *pâdakula* instead of it.

86 This appears to be the meaning of the phrase *prakṛiti-parihâra-yukta*, which is employed in the place of the more common *parihṛita-sarvapîḍa*.

87 I am not sure that this is the exact meaning of *vishayâd-uddhṛita-piṇḍa*, which hitherto I have only found in line 11 of the Madhuban plate of Harshavardhana (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 73).

(L. 23.) **In the twenty-first year of the increasing reign of victory; the year 21, the 3rd of the dark half of Mâgha.** The *Dûtaka* in this matter is the *Mahâdânâkshapaṭalâdhikṛita*,[88] the illustrious Yîjaka. This is written by the *Mahâsandhivigrahâkshapaṭalâdhikṛita*,[89] the illustrious Âryaṭavata. The engraving (?) is executed by the illustrious Gaṅgabhadra.

(L. 24.) [Nine benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

SOME SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY, M. E.

BY P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A., M. R. A. S., F. R. H. S.

Introductory Remarks.

IN a former paper (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 249-259, 277-285, 305-311, and 333-337), I noticed a series of dated inscriptions enabling us to infer, among other matters of historical importance, the names of the sovereigns who ruled over Travancore, or, as it was then called, Vênâḍ, in apparently unbroken succession from 301 of the Kollam era to 427. I also adduced some reasons for suspecting that for upwards of half a century subsequent to that date, Vênâḍ was more or less in a state of confusion, probably in consequence of foreign aggression and annoyance. But the last document which I brought to notice proved that the confusion, whatever its cause, was of a temporary description, and that by 491 the ancient principality had regained her authority and was once more pursuing her even course of progress under **Srî-Vîra-Udayamârtâṇḍavarman II. alias Vîra-Pâṇḍyadêva.** As there was reason to infer from the same document that this prince had begun his rule only four years previously, we may safely presume that his reign saw the close of the fifth Malabar century.

I propose now to discuss some later documents relating to the same royal house. I regret that the records I possess are not such as to give a continuous account of the period over which they extend. Most of them have been in my hands for more than three years, and I have waited thus long before attempting to give an interpretation of them in the hope that I should be able to fill up the gaps in them, or at least to piece them together so as to throw light on a tolerably large portion of the period to which they refer. But I have not succeeded to the extent of my desire. Still, however disconnected and fragmentary these records may be, they constitute the only reliable data yet available for the future historian of the land.

XV.[1]

The first of the documents I have relating to the royal family of Travancore subsequent to 500 M. E. is a Sanskrit distich, inscribed on the northern wall of the **Gôśâlâ Kṛishṇa temple at Trivandrum,** which, for the reasons given *ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 279, we may presume to be the oldest of the shrines in this town, with the exception of those at Mitrânandapuram. When freely rendered into English the *ślôka* runs as follows:—

No. $\frac{15}{52}$. $\frac{\text{Old Malayâḷam}}{\text{Sanskṛit}}$. **First Trivandrum Inscription of Âdityavarman.**

"Hail! Prosperity! Ho! In the **year Chôḷapriya,** when Jupiter was in the sign Leo, king **Sarvâṅganâtha** of fair reputation, moved by piety and devotion, and desirous of fame and (the merit of) charity, constructed in the town of **Syânandûrapura** the Gôśâlâ temple, the fair lamp-house, and the *maṇḍapa* (in front) of the shrine of Kṛishṇa."

In this inscription, **Syânandûrapura** is the term used to designate the town of Trivandrum. It will be remembered that in the inscription[2] of 365 M. E., the word **Syânandûra** was found good enough for the purpose. Why the name is now lengthened out by the addition of the

---

[88] *I. e.*, 'the great record-keeper of gifts.'

[89] *I. e.*, 'the great record-keeper of peace and war.'

[1] The numbers in this paper follow on those of the last.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 279.

unmistakable Sanskrit word *pura* I cannot say, though it is not unreasonable to suspect that the motive may have been to secure additional sanctity to the village by giving its name a clearly classical air.

Having already met with the temple of Krishna in 365 M. E., when Âditya-Râma presented to the god a 'mountain-like' drum, we have to take the *Gôśâlâ*, here said to have been constructed, as referring only to the outer rectangular hall, in the middle of which now stands the real inner shrine. Architecturally, too, this hall bears evidence of a later origin. Probably it was put up in this rectangular form, which is rather unusual in the sacred architecture of Southern India, to suit the original name of the temple, Gôśâlâ, which means literally 'a cowshed.'

The 'fair lamp-house' referred to can be nothing else than the wooden railings with small iron lamps that now surround the rectangular structure. It is even now regarded in the country as a specially meritorious act to provide an illumination thus round a temple, when the village folks turn out in their holiday garments to amuse themselves with innocent games and pastimes till midnight arrives, when the local beauties, lamp in hand, begin to move in procession thrice round the temple, while the brave and the sturdy, standing apart, shout 'Haiyu!' at the top of their voices, in the hope of frightening away sickness, famine, and devils! There is no evidence to shew that they succeed thus in frightening away pestilence or famine; but over the last mentioned source of evil they sometimes completely triumph. For on certain occasions, as the procession goes on, a weak-minded village woman suddenly stops and shivers, and the devil possessing her poor soul, his ears thus assailed by the yell which proves too much even for his infernal tympanum, solemnly promises to surrender his prey then and there! Such illuminations and '*ârppu*,' as the hideous howling is technically called, must have become about the time of the inscription frequent enough in the rising village of Trivandrum to require the provision of a permanent lamp-house.

The *maṇḍapa* spoken of is also still in existence, and the wood carvings on the ceiling and the pillars are really admirable in their way. The carved figures are meant to illustrate some of the leading events narrated in the *Mâhâbhârata* and the *Râmâyaṇa*, and are entitled to better care than they appear to be receiving in an age when the art of carving may be said to be rapidly on the decline.

But we are here more concerned with king Sarvâṅganâtha than with his wood carvings, however exquisite. Evidently, the name **Sarvâṅganâtha** is more a descriptive title than an individual appellation. It occurs more than once in the worn out inscription on the conspicuously high altar or *bali-pîṭha* in front of the shrine further to the east of the *maṇḍapa*. Exposed as this altar is to the sun and rains, it is no wonder that of the inscriptions with which it is literally covered, nothing more is now decipherable. As it is in a prominent situation and within easy reach, I would recommend these inscriptions on the altar to such as may be curious to see and know for themselves the condition to which most of these valuable historical records on the West Coast of India have been reduced through exposure. But I should add that if anyone should at the same time feel tempted to try his skill at deciphering, he ought to be prepared for similar exposure; for between twelve and two in the day is the only time suited in this case for leisurely inspection, and umbrellas are objectionable appendages within the precincts of all Malabar temples. In this particular case, a decipherer would have also to take care that the day he selected for his visit did not synchronize with the one on which a certain pious individual among the temple guards is on duty. But with all precautions, I doubt whether anyone would make out anything more from those obliterated engravings than the word Sarvâṅganâtha, which, as I have already said, occurs more than once among them. The word literally means 'master of all the constituents of a kingdom,' which under the name of *daśâṅga* are usually enumerated thus: — mountain, river, arable land, towns, garlands, horses, elephants, drums, banners, and sceptre, making ten

in all. The allusion might be also to the twenty-one insignia or marks of royalty which are counted as essential before one is crowned king. These are according to Tamiḻ lexicons the following :— crown, umbrella, hair-fans, elephant-hook, drums, the discus weapon, elephants, banners, fortress, festoons, pots full of water, conches, seas, the sword-fish, garlands, turtles, a pair of carp-fish, lions, lamps, bulls, and a throne. Why this particular king came to be noted for the complete possession of all these marks of ancient Hindû royalty it is now impossible to say. Perhaps the occurrence of a fortress in the latter list might suggest that after the bitter experience of the previous century, the Vêṇâḍ kings found it desirable to protect their kingdom by fortifying some of their rising towns. Mr. Shungoonny Menon (p. 93) writes: "'Srî-Vîra-Râma-Mârtâṇḍavarman, who was then in his 28th year, was installed on the *masnad* in 510 M. E. This king reconstructed the palace near the pagoda at Trivandrum and built a fort round it." If we could be sure of this architectural activity, our conjecture would receive some sort of confirmation; but it is impossible to be positive about the facts stated. There would appear to have been in this early century no regular palace in Trivandrum, the site now occupied by the palace being known, even in the extant old land records, as Pulluviḷâgam.

But whatever may have been the circumstances that led to the king's assuming the title of Sarvâṅganâtha, there can be no question as to the date of this inscription. **Chôḷapriya** signifies, in the Kaṭapayâdi system, the number **1296,** and the word 'abda' usually refers to the 'Sakâbda, or the 'Saka year. Sarvâṅganâtha then constructed the beautiful *maṇḍapa* in front of the temple of Kṛishṇa, as well as the rectangular enclosure called *Gôśâlâ*, in the 'Saka **year 1296, corresponding to the Kollam year 550 or A. D. 1374.** It is rather remarkable that this first mention of the 'Saka year in the Travancore inscriptions should be by a word which signifies also 'dear to the Chôḷas' — it being known that with the Pâṇḍyas and the Chêras the Kollam year was the more favoured one. If Mr. Shungoonny Menon be correct, then in his account of this early period, Sarvâṅganâtha might be taken as a surname either of 'Srî-Vîra-Râma-Mârtâṇḍavarman, who according to this writer ruled over Travancore from 510 to 550, or of his successor Ravivarman, who died in 557.

XVI.

But another inscription belonging to the same shrine leads us to a different conclusion. It consists of five Sanskṛit *ślôkas* engraved on the basement wall of the very *maṇḍapa*, the construction of which is here recorded as having taken place in 'Saka 1296. The *ślôkas* might be rendered thus :—

No. 16/54. Old Malayâḷam/Sanskṛit. Second Trivandrum Inscription of Âdityavarman.

"Hail ! Prosperity ! **Âdityavarman,** the brave among the brave, is he who has erected the *Gôśâlâ*, Kṛishṇa's shrine, and the *maṇḍapa*, for the use respectively of cattle, the god Kṛishṇa, and the gods of the earth (*viz.* Brâhmaṇs). Lo ! there stand visible to all, the *Gôśâlâ*, the *maṇḍapa*, and the temple of Kṛishṇa : O dear friend ! what else shall I say ? May all behold with admiration these three works executed by king Âdityavarman, and worship Kṛishṇa with devotion. The pictures (*i. e.* the wood carvings) that adorn the ornamental *maṇḍapa* in front of Kṛishṇa are such as attract and delight the eyes of all spectators. Stand, therefore, around this delightful *maṇḍapa*, and gaze on those pictures so gratifying to the eyes !"

These ecstatic lines no doubt represent the feelings with which the author, along with the simpler folks of his times, beheld the elegant carvings on the *maṇḍapa*, as they stood fresh from the chisels of the carpenter. We wish, however, he had been somewhat more calm in his enjoyment; for then he could have embodied in these five *ślôkas*, so laboriously incised into the stones, far more useful facts of history than his own æsthetic impressions and rhapsodic exhortations. For instance, he could have for one thing told us the date of these works, about which we should be left utterly in the dark but for the inscription we have just explained.

If chronology was not in his line, he could have at least utilized the words he so lavishly wastes, to recite the glories of his sovereign, Âdityavarman, in the fashion of the Chôḷa inscriptions, affording thereby some scope for further historical investigations. But the most unpardonable of his offences, from our point of view, is his omission to insert somewhere in his five *ślôkas* the title Sarvâṅganâtha of his sovereign. For then we could have been certain that 'Sarvâṅganâtha' of the previous record and Âdityavarman of the present are but names of one and the same king of Vêṇâḍ. In the face, however, of the substantial agreement between the two documents, there can be little question as to the truth of the identification. No doubt, the more imaginative of the two instruments substitutes in place of the 'fair lamp-house' the inner shrine of Kṛishṇa itself, which, however, could not have been constructed along with the *maṇḍapa* in which it is inscribed, since we know that it was in existence as early as 363 M. E. The word *navatva* used in this inscription signifies usually only 'renewal,' and may be so taken to apply to that inner shrine, which probably was touched up and repaired when the adjacent new works, the *maṇḍapa*, and the rectangular enclosure, with the railings for lamp posts, were completed. I have no hesitation, therefore, in inferring that in 550 Vêṇâḍ was governed by **Âdityavarman surnamed Sarvâṅganâtha.** In view of this extremely probable conclusion, Mr. Shungoonny Menon's statements would seem to require modification. Either Śrî-Vîra-Râma-Mârtâṇḍavarman did not live till 550, or Ravivarman was not his immediate successor. Mr. Shungoonny Menon indeed (p. 93) mentions an Âdityavarman with whom in truth his chronology begins: but he is indefinitely said to have reigned in the fifth century M. E., to have adopted two females from Kôlathnâḍ on the other side of Calicut, and to have extended his sovereignty to Vycome in 505, statements that do not look at first sight probable in themselves, particularly by the side of our inscription of 491. At any rate, they require further examination and verification. Meantime we may conclude with the help of the records now before us that in 550 the throne of Vêṇâḍ was occupied neither by Vîra-Râma-Mârtâṇḍavarman nor by Savivarman, but by Âdityavarman, the Sarvâṅganâtha.

XVII.

Our next inscription comes from a different quarter. It is engraved on four sides of a tablet posted in front of a temple, now said to be sacred to Âḻvâr, about three miles to the south of Padmanâbhapuram in South Travancore. It consists of two parts — a Sanskṛit *ślôka* and a prose record in Tamiḻ. The part in verse may be thus translated :—

No. $\frac{17}{72}$. $\frac{\text{Old Tamiḻ Grantha}}{\text{Sanskṛit}}$. First Padmanâbhapuram Inscription of Vîra-Kêraḷa-Mârtâṇḍavarman.

"In the **Saka year Sâkhâlôka,** when the sun was in his own house, the chief of the gods in Sagittarius, and the moon in the constellation Yâmya, the prosperous ruler, **Mârtâṇḍavarman,** of boundless fame and mild disposition, the chief among the kings of Kêraḷa, instituted, granting lands of great value for the purpose, regular offerings at daybreak for the god Śaṁbhu of the temple of Śivagiri."

This rather cleverly composed couplet is certainly more satisfactory than those of the temple of Kṛishṇa. The chronogram **Sâkhâlôka** according to the Kaṭapayâdi system of notation means the year **1325,** and the Śaka era being specially mentioned, there can be no doubt that the date recorded corresponds to the Malabar year 578 (**A. D. 1402**). The sun being said to be in his own house, current astrology would lead us to infer that the month was Chiṅgam or Siṁha, the sign Leo being the one now believed by astrologers to be peculiarly the sun's own constellation. But as we shall see presently, the Tamiḻ portion of the inscription specifies the month as Mêsham. This must be due either to an alteration in astrological conventions since 578 M. E., or to an error on the part of the composer of the Sanskṛit distich, who mistook the heavenly position where the sun is reckoned to be at the zenith of his glory for the sign specially considered to be his own — a pardonable error, no doubt, on the part of one

not acquainted with the intricacies of astrological conceptions. For what is more natural than to suppose that one would be at the height of one's power in one's own house rather than under the roof of another? But such a supposition would imply ignorance of an important branch of Indian letters, not only on the part of the writer of the *ślôka,* but also on the part of those court *paṇḍits* and other scholars of the age, who must have examined the verse before allowing it to be inscribed on a tablet specially prepared for it. The two alternatives being thus equally difficult to accept, I leave the solution of the problem to those better versed than myself in the history of Indian astrology. There can be, however, no similar doubt as to the position of the chief of the gods — Jupiter. He was in 578 in the sign of Sagittarius, — just the position where we should have expected him, having found him 28 years previously in Leo. The lunar mansion of the day was Yâmya or Bharaṇî, as the star is now more commonly called.

More important to us than all these items of astronomical information is that the king of Vêṇâḍ of the day was **Mârtâṇḍavarman,** who is described as of boundless fame and of mild disposition, the latter of which descriptions at least must be taken as answering to fact. If the third descriptive clause, "the chief among the kings of Kêraḷa," is meant to be equally significant, it would clearly prove that there were **others in Kêraḷa, exercising sovereign powers** at the time — a supposition of some historical value, as we shall see further on. But it appears to me quite possible that the expression is a mere expletive introduced to fill up the metre. The subject of the grant is described as lands of great value, and its object a particular divine service consisting of offerings to be made at the early dawn of each day.

XVIII.

This inference is fully borne out by the Tamiḻ portion of the record, which when translated reads thus:—

No. $\frac{18}{72}$. $\frac{\text{Old Malayâḷam}}{\text{Mediæval Tamiḻ}}$. Second Padmanâbhapuram Inscription of Vîra-Kêraḷa-Mârtâṇḍavarman.

"In the **Kollam year 578,** the sun being 26 days old in Mêsham, on Saturday, new moon, [the lunar mansion being] Bharaṇî, was instituted a dawn offering by **Śrî-Vîra-Kêraḷa-Mârtâṇḍavarma-Tiruvaḍi of Kiḻappêrûr,** to be made to the Mahâdêva of Śivagiri at Raṇasiṁhanallûr, and the arrangements made for the expenses thereof are as follow:—

'The husked paddy required per day being in home measure . . . . . the total paddy required per year is 24 *kaḷam,* and the cost of condiments amounts to . . . . To meet this total charge, six *kalam* are to be taken out of the tax due on . . . . and for the remaining 18 *kalam* is to be utilized the tax due on the paddy lands beginning with the piece called Akkirappullan Perai among the Âḻvâr temple lands in Tiruvikramapuram, thus making the total 24 *kalam* in all. The clarified butter required for the divine service and for *vaiśvadêva* being per month two *nâḻi* in home measure, the land called Mavaraimûlaippirayiḍam is also made over for the purpose. All these properties shall be taken possession of and enjoyed by the Vâriyan of Śâttanûr, by name Âdityan Âdityan, and he shall furnish the supplies for the offering and also a holy garland out of the flower garden to be formed by him. (In return for his labour) he shall take the offering of cooked rice. If the supply is not made for any one day when the property is enjoyed in pursuance of this arrangement, double the default shall be paid; but if the failure continues for a month, a fine shall, in addition to double the quantity defaulted, be imposed. If, however, the failure is due to the obstruction of any in the *sabhâ,* a complaint shall be lodged at the door (of the temple ?) and the obstruction shall then be removed. Thus in lineal succession, and as long as the moon and the stars endure, shall these paddy lands and garden be enjoyed, the rent recovered every harvest, and the divine service conducted without failure. This copy of the royal writ is inscribed on this stone by Îchuran Iravi of the temple.'"

Thus it will be seen that this Tamiḻ portion of the inscription adds a few particulars to those found in the Sanskṛit verse above cited. A fracture having occurred on the lower right-hand corner of the front part of the tablet, a few words of the royal writ are irrecoverably lost. But fortunately these words happen only to be those describing the lands from which the smaller portion of the supply, *viz.* six *kalam* of paddy, is to be drawn. It will be noticed that even as late as 578, the measure used was called *kalam* and not *kôṭṭai, marakkâl,* or *parai,* as at present. The word *perai* occurs as a part of the name of a particular piece of land, and it seems to me that the underivable modern term *parai,* used in Trivandrum and North Travancore both as land and paddy measure, might be traced to *perai* and therefore to *peṟu,* meaning 'to contain,' 'to be worth,' or 'to multiply.' I have rendered the *illaḷavu* as 'home measure,' and if I am right in my interpretation it will imply that some foreign measure was also then current in the country. The word *vaiśvadêva* usually means certain offerings to departed forefathers, and since clarified butter alone is provided for, we have to take the offerings as having been of the nature of a sacrificial fire. As in our former documents, so in this we find reference made to the village councils of those days, which, it would appear, had influence and independence enough to obstruct the provisions of a royal charter. In the case of such obstruction, however, provision was made for an appeal to be taken to the 'door,' which we may take to be the door[3] of the temple, and, therefore, to the Government authorities connected with the temple. The curious caste name **Vâriyan** occurs in this inscription: and the attempts made to explain the term are so typical of the spirit of myth-making, so characteristic of Eastern scholarship, that I am tempted to borrow a passage on the subject from the pages[4] of the last Census Report of Travancore :—

"Srî-Paraśurâma," so runs the paragraph on *The Origin and Caste Derivation of Vâriyars,* "having brought in Brâhmaṇs from outside to colonize Malabar, detailed the Śûdras to do menial services for them. The Brâhmaṇs finding the Śûdras unfit from a religious point of view for pagoda service, they prayed to Paraśurâma to help them in their difficulty. Srî-Paraśurâma appeared unto them and created out of water a new caste for pagoda service. They were called Vârijanmar (from the root *vâri* — water), which gradually became Vâriyanmar." Thus in the attempt to trace a clear Draviḍian word to a Sanskṛit root, the special creation hypothesis is strained to breaking point. But the derivation, however gratifying to the Sanskṛit grammarian, does not satisfy the Nambûri philosopher, as it leaves unsettled the water-made Vâriyar's position in the Âryan hierarchy. A new tradition is therefore invented, and the paragraph goes on to add :—" There is also another tradition current about their origin, according to which a certain Śûdra woman was doing menial service in the pagoda. She was ordered by the Brâhmaṇs employed in the temple to sweep away the bones, etc., that lay within the precincts of the pagoda. She did so, in consequence of which her caste people excommunicated her from their order. But the Brâhmaṇs allowed her to remain in the pagoda service separate from her own caste people. She and her descendants were permitted to live on terms of *sambandha* with Brâhmaṇs, thus constituting them into a separate caste, and fordidding them to interdine with Śûdras. According to the ordinances of Yâjñavalkya, the offspring of a mixed connection of a Brâhmaṇ with a Śûdra woman were termed Vâriyars." Thus, then, does the Nambûri seek to check the undue aspirations of his cleanly Vâriyar colleagues in the temple by assigning to them a Śûdraic origin. But the Vâriyars themselves are not wanting in inventive genius, and so the paragraph concludes with yet another tradition of their origin. "According to the *Bhûgôlapurâṇa,*" continues the Report, "there lived in Trichur a certain old Nambûri Brâhmaṇ married to a young Brâhmaṇ girl. Wishing for progeny she commenced a course of devotion to the village god, one portion of which was the making of garlands of flowers

[3] Till recently the official term for a revenue district was *maṇḍapattum vadukkal,* meaning the 'door of the *maṇḍapa.*' This Malayâḷam word is fast giving way to the Hindustâni term *tâluk.*

[4] See page 746.

daily for the god. This is considered one of the modes of propitiating a Hindû god, who heard her prayer, and she in due course conceived. Her old husband, however, suspected her of infidelity and discarded her. From that day forward the pagoda authorities also refused to accept the garlands of flowers she used to make for the deity. She was, however, resolute in her pious work, and placed the garlands daily on the temple steps notwithstanding and returned home. The flower garlands which she so left on the steps used to be seen the next day on the god's image, day after day. This miracle attracted the notice of the holy Brâhmaṇs, who therefrom declared her immaculate, and said that the conception was the result of divine will. She was not, however, taken back into their own community, but a separate caste was started for her from that day, her occupation being making of flower garlands and other such temple service."

We are thankful to the Census Commissioner for having embodied these traditions in his *Report;* but it would be idle indeed to criticise them. They would have been even beneath our notice but for the currency and credence such false derivations receive in this land, even when the etymology of a word lies, as in this case, unmistakably on the surface. 'Vâriyan' is obviously the man with the *vâri*, and *vâri* in Tamiḻ means a broomstick or rake — *vârukâl* and *vâriyal* being other derivatives, in everyday use, from the same root, *vâr*, to collect, clean, or sweep. Sweeping the inner court of the temple was undoubtedly one of the special duties of the original Vâriyar or Vârer, however much his descendants may now prefer the more leisurely and dignified function of tying up flower garlands for the use of the deity inside. Our Vâriyan, Âdityan Âdityan of Sâttanûr, it will be observed, had also a garland of flowers to supply, but the extra payment of the cooked rice offerings fixed by the grant would shew that he had other functions to discharge and other remunerations to receive.

But whatever were the duties and emoluments of the Vâriyan in question, it is more important for us to note that the full name of the sovereign who ruled over Vêṇâḍ in 578 was **Srî-Vîra-Kêraḷa-Mârtâṇḍavarman,** which the metrical necessities of the *ślôka* contracted into king Mârtâṇḍa. Equally, if not more important is the mention of the **Kiḻappêrûr** family name. It will be remembered that the earliest of our inscriptions giving this family designation is the one taken from Kaḍinaṅkuḷam, dated 389.[5] I have not yet succeeded in finding out how the Vêṇâḍ royal house came to be associated with a village so far north as Kiḻappêrûr in the Chirayinkil tâluk. Further on we shall see how in subsequent times an important branch of the original stock assumed an exclusive right to this title. Already perhaps the royal family was getting split up into distinct branches, and it was found necessary thus to designate the branch to which the reigning sovereign of the time belonged.

But these doubts are nothing by the side of a more serious difficulty created by Mr. Shungoonny Menon. For whatever was meant by the addition of the Kiḻappêrûr family name in this particular case, the inscription leaves no room for the least doubt that Śrî-Vîra-Kêraḷa-Mârtâṇḍavarman was the name of the Vêṇâḍ sovereign in 578. But Mr. Shungoonny Menon tells a different story. Having noted the death of Kêraḷavarman three months after he succeeded to the throne of his uncle Ravivarman in 557 M. E., the author says: "Kêraḷavarma Kulaśêkhara Perumâḷ was succeeded by his twin brother Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍavarman. The reign of this sovereign was longer than that of all the Travancore monarchs. His Highness ascended the *masnad* while he was sixteen years of age and died at the ripe age of seventy-eight after a reign of sixty-two years. His reign was of a mixed character, partly attended with prosperity, and partly with troubles and annoyances, as is natural during such a long period, in which many vicissitudes might be expected. His Highness Chêra-Udayamârtaṇḍavarman performed the coronation ceremonies, and was styled **Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ.** During the reign of this sovereign all the south-eastern possessions of Travancore on the Tinnevelly side were regained, and the sovereign often resided at Valliyûr and Chêramahâ-

[5] *Ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 307.

dêvi. In consequence of the mild and unwarlike disposition of this king, some of the subordinate chiefs in the east became refractory, and there was constant fighting, and latterly, while the sovereign was residing at Trivandrum, the chief of Rettiapuram invaded Valliyûr, and the king's nephew, being defeated in battle and fearing disgrace, committed suicide. In these places, several grants of lands made by this Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ remain, some of which we have already noticed. Chêramahâdêvi was his favourite residence, and consequently this sovereign was called **Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍavarman.** Towards the close of his reign, suspecting unfair proceedings on the part of the chief men of the Pâṇḍya state, the residence of the royal family was removed to Elayadathunad Hottarakaray (Kottarakkarai?) and a governor was appointed to rule Valliyûr and other possessions in the east. This sovereign died in 619 at the ripe age of seventy-eight years."[6] Mr. Shungoonny Menon then by way of illustration gives a portrait of the king Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍavarman. As this is one of the few reigns in the early Malabar centuries of which the author attempts to give us any particulars, it would have helped us more than this attractive picture, if he had indicated the sources from which he borrowed his information. In itself it does not look very probable that the name Chêra-Udaya could have been derived from Chêramahâdêvî. Chêramahâdêvî itself is explicable only as "(the village of) the great queen of Chêra." Even supposing it to be a contraction for Chêramahâdêvî-Udaya, we have the irrefutable evidence of our inscriptions to prove that up to 578 at least, that is, up to the twenty-first year of his supposed long reign, he had neither that title nor the designation **Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ,** since a formal royal writ is the last place where such omissions would be permitted. On the other hand, the document proves that the king who ruled over Vêṇâḍ in that Malabar year had a distinctly different word as an integral part of his name. He was not, as Mr. Shungoonny Menon tells us, Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍa-Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ, but **Srî-Vîra-Kêraḷa-Mârtâṇḍavarma-Tiruvaḍi.** Remembering how easily mistakes in dry lists of long compound names may occur, we could have supposed Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍa to have been either a predecessor or a successor of our Vîra-Kêraḷa-Mârtâṇḍa-varman of 578, but for a remarkable coincidence. Both Mr. Shungoonny Menon and the author of our Sanskṛit *ślôka* are agreed as to the characteristic *mildness* of the sovereigns they respectively describe. But what confidence this singular circumstance breeds is rather rudely shaken by Mr. Shungoonny Menon's reference to the Rettiapuram chief. Rettiapuram may be taken for Ettaiyapuram, of which it is a vulgar corruption. But the Ettaiyapuram Zamîndârî was not itself in existence about this time to attack Valliyûr in the confines of Travancore. The traditions cherished by the family itself do not claim for its founder a higher antiquity than 1423 A. D. Dr. Caldwell thus summarizes the legends connected with the foundation of the Zamîndârî: "On the defeat of Anna Dêvarâja, king of Vijayanagara, by Muḥammad 'Alâ'uddîn, one Kumaramuttu Ettappa Nâyaka, the ancestor of the Ettaiyapuram Zamîndârs, fled from Chandragiri, in company with 64 armed relations, 309 men at arms, and 1,000 dependants, with a certain number of accountants and others, and took refuge with Ati Vîra Parâkrama Pâṇḍya Râja at Madura, who appointed them to repress outrages in the country of the Kaḷḷars, and gave them some villages therein for their maintenance. This is represented to have taken place between 1423 and 1443. In process of time they moved on towards the south and became possessed of various villages in the Tinnevelly district, one of which, to which they gave the name of Ettaiyapuram, they made the capital."[7] Now, it is foreign to our purpose to test the truth of this traditional account of the origin of the Ettaiyapuram Zamîndârî. Whatever errors there may be in this account, it does not err on the side of modesty in the date assigned to its founder. If Kumaramuttu Ettappa Nâyaka came really from Chandragiri, it is more likely that he fled from the place when Chandragiri was taken by the Muḥammadans in 1645, than about 1423, when 'Âlâ'uddîn is said to have attacked Vijayanagara — a further statement for which it is difficult to find any support. If his flight on the other hand had anything to do with the fall of Vijayanagara, the more appropriate period would be about 1565

[6] See page 94. [7] *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 84.

and not 1423. But even taking the latter date as the correct time for the original Ettappa Nâyaka, since we are told that only "*in process of time*" his successors established themselves at Ettaiyapuram, we cannot imagine how the "chief of Ettaiyapuram" could have invaded Valliyûr, not far from Cape Comorin, in the lifetime of Mr. Shungoonny Menon's Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍavarman, who according to the author died in 619 M. E. or A. D. 1444.

But this last date raises a difficulty yet more formidable. We learn from **an inscription at Nâvâyakkaḷam,** in the Chirayinkil tâluk, dated 7 a. m., Monday, Pushya star, *pañchamî*, the 22nd Eḍavam, **Kollam year 614,** that the king of Vêṇâḍ on that date was **Śrî-Vîra-Râma-Mârtâṇḍavarman,** and it is therefore impossible that Mr. Shungoonny Menon's Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍavarman, whether he was or was not identical with our Śrî-Vîra-Kêraḷa-Mârtâṇḍavarman of 578, could have reigned up to 619, that is, full five years after the crown had passed to another individual. But curiously enough Mr. Shungoonny Menon mentions some sixty pages earlier and quite in another connection, an "**inscription** on the inner stone-wall of the **Chêramahâdêvi pagoda,** dated Malayâḷam or **Kollam year 614 (1439 A. D.),** commemorating a grant by the Travancore king **Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍavarman** to the pagoda at that place while the grantee was residing in the Chêramahâdêvî palace." It is possible, of course, to reconcile the two inscriptions by supposing that Mr. Shungoonny Menon's is dated a month or so earlier than ours, in which case the year 614 would be the date both of the death of Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍavarman and of the accession of Śrî-Vîra-Râma-Mârtâṇḍavarman. But in scientific researches nothing can be more dangerous than taking matters on trust. We have therefore to examine the Chêramahâdêvî inscription afresh. The Nâvâyakkaḷam inscription, also, is too important to be hurriedly disposed of. Until, then, these two inscriptions are fully discussed, we may provisionally suppose that Śrî-Vîra-Kêraḷa-Mârtâṇḍavarman was otherwise known also as Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍavarman, and that he continued to rule till the end of the sixth Malabar century — the period here taken up for investigation.

Conclusions.

Before concluding I shall briefly recount the results arrived at in this paper. Unlike the fourth and fifth centuries dealt with in my previous paper, the sixth has not been left a pure blank in the history of Travancore, to be filled up by epigraphy. Besides Mr. Shungoonny Menon's *History*, which I have more than once alluded to, there is a more authoritative publication, the *Government Almanac*, in which will be found a list of 35 sovereigns of Travancore, of whom the first four fall within our period. We have therefore to present the results of our inquiry in two aspects — a positive and a negative, consisting respectively of what we are able to affirm and what we are able to deny. **The facts we affirm are:—** (1) that in Śaka 1296, corresponding to the Kollam year 550, the king of Vêṇâḍ was Âdityavarman surnamed Sarvâṅganâtha; (2) that on the 27th Mêsham, 578 M. E., or Śaka 1325, the same country was governed by Śrî-Vîra-Kêraḷa-Mârtâṇḍavarma-Tiruvaḍi of Kîḻappêrûr; and (3) that on the 22nd Rishabha, 614 M. E., the king of the country was Śrî-Vîra-Râma-Mârtâṇḍavarman. These few facts, no doubt, have many gaps; but so far as they go, they are indubitable — or to be strictly accurate — very nearly so. Being such, **they enable us to deny,** with proportionate confidence, certain statements commonly believed to be true on the strength of the authorities above named. Mr. Shungoonny Menon's list of Travancore kings for the same period would stand thus:— (1) Âdityavarman, who died in 510 M. E.; (2) Śrî-Vîra-Râma-Mârtâṇḍavarman, who reigned from 510 to 550; (3) Ravivarman, who ruled from 550 to 557; (4) Kêraḷavarma-Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ, who died 3 months after his coronation in 557; and (5) Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍavarma-Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ, who ruled from 557 to 619.

The list in the *Travancore Almanac* omits Âdityavarman, and begins with his successor in the above table. From the way in which it is printed with no reference to Mr. Shungoonny Menon's *History*, one would be led to think that it had some independent foundation; but closer examination tends to shew that its independence consists entirely in its orthography. Year after year for

the last quarter of a century and more, this perennial page[8] in the Annual informs us (1) that Srî-Vîra-Râma-Mârtâṇḍavarma-Râja ruled 40 years beginning with 1335-36; (2) that Ravivarma-Râja ruled for 7 years beginning with 1375-76; (3) that Kaler Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ ruled for a short time in the year 1382-83; and (4) that Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍa-varma-Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ ruled for 62 years beginning with 1382-83. The dates given in this list, if taken to be in the Christian era, correspond well enough with the Malabar years given by Mr. Shungoonny Menon, and with the exception of the name Kaler Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ, which can hardly be identified with Kêraḷavarma-Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ, the dissimilarities in the names might be set down to individual idiosyncrasies in spelling. Now our records enable us to deny almost all the statements supported by these two authorities, and they are the only two in the field. For instance, if there is any truth in the inscriptions I have explained to you, it must follow (1) that Vîra-Râma-Mârtâṇḍavarman could not have reigned up to 550 M. E.; (2) that Ravivarman could not have commenced his reign in that year; (3) that in 578 the king of Travancore was not known as Chêra-Udayamârtâṇḍa-varman; and (4) that whenever Chêra-Udaya did commence his reign, he could not have continued on the throne till 619 M. E. We cannot, therefore, safely look to these authorities to fill up the gaps left by the records which I have presented to you. We must leave that good work to future research, more systematically conducted than mine has been. My spasmodic, unaided efforts serve, perhaps, only to render the very darkness of the subject visible. But it has been well said: "*Prudens quæstio dimidium scientiæ est.*" It is half way to knowledge when you know what it is that you have to know.

ESSAYS ON KAŚMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARD.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,
by G. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 173.)

THE INTRANSITIVE VERB.

147. This only differs from the conjugation of سۆزُن *sôzun*, in the tenses formed from the Past Participle, which are construed actively.

[The terminations are those given in § 35; which are simply added to the root. See, however, below.] Thus —

کھۆچُن *khôtsun*, to fear.

Aorist, I feared.

	Masculine.	Feminine.
	Singular.	
(1)	کھُوچُس (بۀ *bo*) *khûtsu-s*[79]	کھُوچِس *khûtsạ-s*
(2)	کھُوچُك (چۀ *tsạ*) *khûtsu-k*	کھُوچِك *khûtsạ-k*
(3)	کھُوچ (سۀ *su*) *khûts*^{u}	کھُوچ (سۀ *so*) *khûts*
	Plural.	
(1)	کھُوچ (اَس *ạs*^{i}) *khûts*^{i}	کھۆچہٕ *khôtsạ*
(2)	کھُوچِوہ (تۀ *toh*^{i}) *khûts*^{i}*-vạ*	کھۆچِوہ *khôtsạ-vạ*
(3)	کھُوچ (تِم *tim*) *khûts*^{i}	کھۆچہٕ (تِمہٕ *timạ*) *khôtsạ*

---

[8] *Travancore Almanac* for 1895, p. 92.

[79] For vowel changes, see § 159.

[The statement that the terminations used are those given in § 35 must be taken with some reservation. The terminations there given are literal transcriptions of the ones found written in the Persian characters. In the feminine singular, the vowel written in § 35 as *i* or *e* is not pronounced at all when it ends a word. Before *s* and *k* it has a very indefinite sound, something like that of a short German *ü*, and, I have therefore transliterated it in the above paradigm by *ạ*, as I have done in the case of transitive verbs (*vide* §§ 90 and ff.), and as I shall do in future. The vowel of the feminine plural is usually *e* (written *i* in the Persian, and *ya* in the Śâradâ character). As explained in § 90, when this *e* (*i*, *ya*) is preceded by *ts*, *tsh*, *z*, or *s*, it becomes *a*. This rule was not known to the author, and, indeed, has not hitherto appeared in any printed grammar. The author has hence been once or twice misled by the loose way in which the vowels are written in the Persian character. These mistakes, I have taken the liberty of silently correcting.

The following three verbs, however, *do* take *e* (Persian *i*, Śâradâ *ya*) in the feminine, plural: *kạtsun*, to be wet; *rôtsun*, to be pleasant; *vetsun*, to fit into. Thus, *rôtse* (not *rôtsạ*), they (fem.) were pleasant.]

147a. [NOTE. — This tense, the Aorist, used actively, only occurs in the case of fifty-seven Intransitive verbs. These verbs have been carefully listed by the author of the *Kaśmîraśabdâmṛita*, and are as follows. As will be seen subsequently this list is very important. Indeed, the verbs contained in it almost form a separate conjugation. For the sake of brevity, I shall henceforth call them "Listed Verbs."

(1) *Thakun*, to be weary.
(2) *Pakun*, to go.
(3) *Samakhun*, to meet.
(4) *Hokhun*, to be dry.
(5) *Tagun*, to be able to be done.
(6) *Shongun*, to sleep.
(7) *Lagun*, to be applied.
(8) *Kạtsun*, to be moist.
(9) *Khôtsun*, to fear.
(10) *Patsun*, to have trust.
(11) *Rôtsun*, to be pleasant.
(12) *Vetsun*, to fit into.
(13) *Hatsun*, to rot.
(14) *Gatshun*, when meaning 'to be proper.'
(15) *Wopazun*, to be born.
(16) *Dazun*, to burn.
(17) *Rôzun*, to remain.
(18) *Phaṭun*, to be split.
(19) *Phuṭun*, to be burst.
(20) *Rôṭun*, to be stopped.
(21) *Boḍun*, to sink.
(22) *Wâtun*, to arrive.
(23) *Wothun*, to rise.
(24) *Tshenun*, to be cut.
(25) *Sapanun*, to become.
(26) *Wupun*, to burn inwardly.
(27) *Shrapun*, to be digested.
(28) *Prayun*, to be pleasing.
(29) *Layun*, to be worth.
(30) *Wayun*, to suit.
(31) *Kharun*, to be unpleasant.
(32) *Tarun*, to cross.
(33) *Pharun*, to be a cause of loss to.
(34) *Phêrun*, to go round.
(35) *Marun*, to die.
(36) *Sôrun* to be spent.
(37) *Galun*, to melt.
(38) *Tsalun*, to escape.
(39) *Ḍalun*, to be unsteady.
(40) *Ḍôlun*, to be useless.
(41) *Phalun*, to wear out (of clothes).
(42) *Pholun*, to flower.
(43) *Mêlun*, to be met.
(44) *Bovun*, to be.
(45) *Râvun*, to be lost.
(46) *Doshun*, to trickle.
(47) *Pôshun*, to be complete.
(48) *Mashun*, to forget.
(49) *Rôshun*, to be angry.
(50) *Âsun*, to be.
(51) *Khasun*, to mount.
(52) *Phasun*, to be entangled.
(53) *Basun*, to dwell.
(54) *Lasun*, to live.
(55) *Lôsun*, to be weary.
(56) *Wasun*, to descend.
(57) *Behun*, to sit.

The importance of this list will be gauged from the fact that *these are the only Intransitive verbs which change either their radical vowel or their radical consonant in the past tenses.* As will be explained subsequently (§ 159), many Transitive verbs, and certain of the above fifty-seven Intransitive verbs are liable to change the final consonants of their roots, both in the feminine of the Aorist, and throughout the Pluperfect II. Many are also liable to change the radical vowel in the Aorist, but not in the Pluperfect II. As only those Intransitive verbs which are included in the above list use the Aorist, no other neuter verb ever changes its Radical Vowel. Moreover, as only those Intransitive verbs which are mentioned in the above list are liable to change their final consonant, no other Intransitive verbs do so.

For instance, amongst the Intransitive verbs which change both their radical vowel, and their final consonant is the verb *pakun*, to go. It is mentioned in the above list. Its 3rd person Aorist is —

Poku, he went.
Pạch, she went.
Pạki, they went.
Pache, they went (fem.)

If *pakun* had not been in the above list, this tense would not have occurred at all. Its 3rd Sing. Plup. II. is *pachyôv*, in which, according to rule, the *k* is chaged to *ch*.

But, now, take the verb *ṭhîkun*, to be firm. As it is not in the above list it has no Aorist, and uses the Plup. II. instead of that tense. In its Plup. II., it does *not* change its *k* to *ch*, as it is unlisted. Its Plup. II. is, therefore, *ṭhîkyôv*, not *ṭhîchyôv*.]

148. Pluperfect II.

(First form کھوچِمت آوسس *khûtsmut ôsus.*)

		Singular.		Plural.	
(1)	m.	کھوچوس	*khôtsô-s*	کھوچیي	*khôtsêy*
	f.	کھوچاَیس	*khôtsôya-s*	کھوچییہ	*khôtsêyạ*
(2)	m.	کھوچوک	*khôtsô-k*	کھوچیوہ	*khotsê-vạ*
	f.	کھوچاَیک	*khôtsôya-k*	کھوچییوہ	*khôtsêyi-vạ*
(3)	m.	کھوچو	*khôtsôv*	کھوچیی	*khôtsêy*
	f.	کھوچییہ	*khôtsêyạ*	کھوچییہ	*khôtsêyạ* .

148a. As in the case of Transitive verbs (*vide* § 103), I reproduce this tense as given by the author. Wade gives for this tense, instead of *khôtsôv*, *dôryôv*, he ran, fem. *dôrêyi* ; pl. masc. *dôrêi* or *dôrêy*, fem. *dôrêyi*. According to the *Kâśmîraśabdâmṛita*, there are three kinds of Past Tenses, *viz.* :—

(1) *Bhûta*, or Immediate Past.
(2) *Sâmânya-bhûta*, or Indefinite Past.
(3) *Pûrṇa-bhûta*, or Pluperfect.

No. (1) is used only when the act done is near in point of time. Thus, *korun*, he did (*i. e.*, he has just done); *khûtsu*, he feared (*i. e.*, he has just feared).

No. (2) is simply a Past Tense, and should properly be called an Aorist, as it simply refers to Past Time, without reference to whether the act done is near or distant, in point of time. *E. g.*, *karyôn*, he did; *khôtsôv*, he feared.

No. (3) is used when the act done is distant in point of time. Thus, *karyân*, he had done (he did it a long time ago); *khôtsâv*, he had feared (he feared a long time ago, and fears no longer).

The same author divides Intransitive verbs into two classes:—

(*a*) Listed Verbs, *i. e.*, the 57 verbs given in § 147*a*.

(*b*) Others.

The Intransitive Immediate Past (called the Aorist in this Grammar) only occurs in the case of Listed Verbs.

The Indefinite Past (called Pluperfect II. in this grammar) of Intransitive Verbs is thus conjugated, according to the same author. The verb taken as an example is *pakun*, to go which is a Listed Verb, and in which, consequently, the *k* becomes *ch* in the Immediate Past (Plup. II.)

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Masculine.	Feminine.	Masculine.	Feminine.
(1)	*pachyô-s*	*pachyêya-s*	*pachyêy*	*pachyêyạ*
(2)	*pachyô-k*	*pachyêya-k*	*pachyê-wạ*	*pachyê-wạ*
(3)	*pachyôv*	*pachyêyạ*	*pachyêy*	*pachyêyạ*

In the case of Listed Verbs, this is used in its proper sense as an Indefinite Past.

In the case of non-listed verbs, it is not used as an Indefinite Past, but is used instead of the Immediate Past. Thus, take the non-listed verb *mokalun*, to be released. Its Plup. II. is *mokalyôv*, he was released, — and is used as an Immediate Past only. It means 'he has just been released,' though *pachyôv* does *not* mean 'he has just gone.'

The Intransitive Pluperfect is as follows. It will be seen that the Feminine is the same as in the Indefinite Past.

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Masculine.	Feminine.	Masculine.	Feminine.
(1)	*pachyâ-s*	*pachyêya-s*	*pachyây*	*pachyêyạ*
(2)	*pachyâ-k*	*pachyêya-k*	*pachyâ-wạ*	*pachyê-wạ*
(3)	*pachyâv*	*pachyêyạ*	*pachyây*	*pachyêyạ*

In the case of Listed Verbs, this tense is used as a Pluperfect. Thus, *pachyâv*, he went (a long time ago).

In the case of non-listed verbs, it has the force of an Indefinite Past. Thus, *mokalyâv*, he was released, he got loose.

In the case of non-listed verbs, whose roots end in vowels, it is also used as a Pluperfect. thus, from *peun*, to fall, *peyâv*, he fell (either he fell, or he fell a long time ago).

The Pluperfect of non-listed verbs, whose roots end in consonants is formed by inserting *i* before the *y* of the first form. Thus —

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Masculine.	Feminine.	Masculine.	Feminine.
(1)	*mokaliyâ-s*	*mokaliyêya-s*	*mokaliyây*	*mokaliyêyạ*
(2)	*mokaliyâ-k*	*mokaliyêya-k*	*mokaliyâ-wạ*	*mokaliyê-wạ*
(3)	*mokaliyâv*	*mokaliyêyạ*	*mokaliyây*	*mokaliyêyạ*

In the case of verbs ending in *ts*, *tsh* or *z*, the *y* (and *iy*) is omitted in these tenses, and we get the following forms. The verb *khôtsun*, to fear (a Listed Verb), is taken as the example.

(*a*) Indefinite Past in the case of Listed Verbs; Immediate Past in the case of non-listed verbs.

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Masculine.	Feminine.	Masculine.	Feminine.
(1)	*khôtsô-s*	*khôtsôya-s*	*khôtsôy*	*khôtsôyạ*
(2)	*khôtsô-k*	*khôtsôya-k*	*khôtsô-wạ*	*khôtsôya-wạ*
(3)	*khôtsôv*	*khôtsôyạ*	*khotsôy*	*khôtsôyạ*

Similarly we have:—

(b) Pluperfect, in the case of Listed Verbs; Indefinite Past, in the case of non-listed verbs; Pluperfect, also, in the case of non-listed verbs.

	Singular.			Plural.	
	Masculine.	Feminine.		Masculine.	Feminine.
(1)	*khôtsá-s*	*khôtsôya-s*	(1)	*khôtsáy*	*khôtsôyạ*
(1)	*khôtsá-k*	*khôtsôya-k*	(2)	*khôtsá-wạ*	*khôtsôya-wạ*
(3)	*khótsáv*	*khôtsôyạ*	(3)	*khôtsáy*	*khôtsôyạ*

The following twelve verbs, however, do insert *y*, and are in other respects treated like the verb *pakun*.

(i.) Listed verbs:—*Kạtsun*, to be wet; *rôtsun*, to be pleasant; *vetsun*, to fit into.

(ii.) Non-listed verbs:—*Grotsun*, to be splashed out of a vessel; *tsotsun*, to be without employment, be not current; *tshotsun*, to be empty; *têzun*, to be sharp; *pazun*, to be fit; *brazun*, shine; *báwazun*, to be pleasant; *letsun*, to be weak; *shrôtsun*, to be pure.

If the base of the verb ends in *ts*, *tsh*, or *z*, it does not use the Pluperfect in *iyá*. The form in *á* is used instead. Thus, *khôtsáv* means both 'he feared,' and 'he feared a long time ago.'

These rules about bases in *ts*, *tsh* and *z*, apply not only to verbs like *khôtsun*, whose roots end in one of these letters, but also to verbs, whose final root-consonant (*t*, *th*, or *d*), is changed to *ts*, *tsh*, or *z*, in the Plup. II. *E. g.*, *wátun*, to arrive (Listed Verb), Plup. II. *wátsôv*. On the other hand, *tatun*, to be warm, is not a listed verb. It hence does not change its final consonant, and its Past Tenses are — Immediate Past, *tatyôv*; Indefinite Past, *tatyáv*; Pluperfect, *tatiyáv*.]

149. [The original does not give the other tenses formed from the past participles of the intransitive verb, but as they are conjugated actively, not passively, the translator gives them here on his own authority.

150. Perfect.

I have feared, etc.

	Masculine.		Feminine.	
		Singular.		
(1)	(بہٕ) چھُس کھوٗچِمُت	*bo) chhus khûtsmut*	(بہٕ) چھس کھوٗچِمٕژ	*bo) chhas khûtsmuts*[92 a]
(2)	(ژٕ) چھُک کھوٗچِمُت	*tsạ) chhuk khûtsmut*	(ژٕ) چھک کھوٗچِمٕژ	*tsạ) chhak khûtsmuts*
(3)	(سُہٕ) چھُہ کھوٗچِمُت	*su) chhu khûtsmut*	(سۄ) چھِہ کھوٗچِمٕژ	*so) chhe khûtsmuts*
		Plural.		
(1)	(اَسِ) چھِہ کھوٗچِمتِ	*ạsi) chhi khûtsmạti*	(اَسِ) چھِہ کھوٗچِمٕژٕ	*ạsi) chhe khôtsạmatsạ*
(2)	(تۄہِ) چھِوٕ کھوٗچِمتِ	*tohi) chhivạ khûtsmạti*	(تۄہِ) چھِوٕ کھوٗچِمٕژٕ	*tohi) chhevạ khôtsạmatsạ*
(3)	(تِم) چھِہ کھوٗچِمتِ	*tim) chhi khûtsmạti*	(تِمہٕ) چھِہ کھوٗچِمٕژٕ	*timạ) chhe khôtsạmatsạ*

92a See § 62, note 32.

151. Pluperfect I.

I had feared, etc.

Singular.

	Masculine.			Feminine.		
(1)	کھوچمت	اوسس (بہ *bo*) *ôsus*	*khûtsmut*	کھوچمژ	آسس (بہ *bo*) *ôsạs*	*khûtsmuts*
(2)		اوسك (چہ *tsạ*) *ôsuk*			آسك (چہ *tsạ*) *ôsạk*	
(3)		اوس (سہ *su*) *ôs*			آس (سہ *so*) *ôs*	

Plural.

(1)	کھوچمت	آس (اس *ạsi*) *ôsi*	*khûtsmạti*	کھوچمژہ	آسہ (اس *ạsi*) *âsạ*	*khôtsạmatsạ*
(2)		آسوۄ (تہۆ *tohi*) *ôsi-vạ*			آسوۄ (تہۆ *tohi*) *âsạ-vạ*	
(3)		آس (تم *tim*) *ôsi*			آسہ (تمہ *timạ*) *âsạ*	

152. Future Perfect and Dubitative.

I shall have, *or* I may have feared, etc.

Masculine.

Singular.

(1)	کھوچمت	آسہ (بہ *bo*) *âsạ*	*khutsmut*
(2)		آسك (چہ *tsạ*) *âsak*	
(3)		آسہ (سہ *su*) *âsi*	

Plural.

(1)	کھوچمت	آسو (اس *ạsi*) *asau*	*khûtsmạti*
(2)		آسو (تہۆ *tohi*) *âsiu*	
(3)		آسن (تم *tim*) *âsan*	

The feminine is the same as the masculine, except that the feminine forms of the past participle (کھوچمژ *khûtsmuts* and کھوچمژہ *khôtsạmatsạ*), and in the 3rd person the feminine pronouns (سہ *so* and تمہ *timạ*) are used.

153. Optative Perfect.

Masculine.

Singular.

(1)	کھوچمت	آسهہ (بہ *bo*) *âsahạ*	*khûtsmut*
(2)		آسهك (چہ *tsạ*) *âsahak*	
(3)		آسهہ (سہ *su*) *âsihe*	

Plural.

(1)	کھوچمت	آسهو (اس *ạsi*) *âsahau*	*khûtsmạti*
(2)		آسهو (تہۆ *tohi*) *âsihiu*	
(3)		آسهن (تم *tim*) *âsahan*	

Feminine as in the Future Perfect.]

154. The following is the Aorist of the intransitive verb پیُن *peun*, to fall:—

(1)	m.	پیوٗس *peyôs*	پیِ *pey*^{i}
	f.	پیَس *peyas*	پیِہ *peyi*
(2)	m.	(پِک) پیوک *peôk* (*pik*) (پیوٗہ) پیووٗہ	*pyôvą* (*pyovą*)
	f.	پیَک *peyak*	پیِوٗہ *peyivą*
(3)	m.	(پِو) پیوٗ *peô* (*pev*)[92]	پِی *piy*^{i} or *piyêyi*
	f.	پِیہ *piyi* or *piyêyi*	پِیہ *piyi* or *piyêyi*]

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

CHEYLA.

THIS would appear to be the form under which this well-known word usually appeared to the Anglo-Indian of a century ago. It was then in common use in senses which are not to be found in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, nor curiously enough in any of the Indian Dictionaries available to me. Originally a Hindu word meaning a 'servant,' many changes have been rung upon it in Hindu life, so that it has meant a slave, a household slave, a family retainer, an adopted member of a great family, a dependant relative and a soldier in its secular senses; a follower, a pupil, a disciple and a convert in its ecclesiastical senses. It has passed out of Hindu usage into Muhammadan usage with much the same meanings and ideas attached to it, and has even meant a convert from Hinduism to Islâm.

In the last century, persons bearing the title — it can hardly be called the stigma — of chela played so important a part in current politics, and the word was so familiar in its applied senses, that to the Anglo-Indian of that day it required no reference and no explanation, though nowadays some of the secondary senses have become so far forgotten that the modern Dictionaries have missed them, and so comprehensive a work as Burnell's and Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* has failed to record it.

I, therefore, make no apology for the lengthy quotations which follow to prove the uses to which it has been put, and giving its history for the last four centuries. R. C. TEMPLE.

I.

The Dictionaries.

1854. — "**Cherâ, chelâ,** a disciple, a pupil, a servant, a slave." — *Lodiana Mission Panjabi Dictionary*, *s.vv.*

1857. — "**Cheṭ, cheṭak, cherâ, cheṛâ, chelâ,** a servant, a slave brought up in the house, a pupil, a disciple." — *Forbes, Hindustani Dictionary, s.vv.*

1857. — "**Chêlâ,** by redup. *chêlâchâṭâ* (chêlâ, Hind.), a disciple, a pupil, an *elève* of." — *Molesworth, Marathi Dictionary, s.v.*

1872. — "**Chiṭ** . . . . to be a servant . . . . **cheṭa, cheṭaka, cheḍa, cheḍaka,** a servant, a slave, a minister who fulfils an appointed duty." — *Monier-Williams, Sanskrit Dictionary, s.vv.*

1875. — "**Ceṭako, ceṭo (ceṭa),** a servant, a slave. — *Childers, Pali Dictionary, s.vv.*

1875. — "**Cherâ, cherûâ, chelakâ, chelâ,** from cheḍa, a servant, slave brought up in the house, a pupil, a disciple." — *Bate, Hindi Dictionary, s.vv.*

1879. — "**Chêlâ,** . . . . S. **cheta,** Pali **cheto,** a disciple, learner, follower." — *Fallon, Hindustani Dictionary, s.v.*

1884. — "**Chet, chetak, cherâ, cherûâ, cherwâ, chêlâ, chelakâ** . . . . servant, slave, ... (S. **cheṭakah** and **cheḍakah**) a servant, a slave (brought up in the house) — a pupil, disciple, follower." — *Platts, Hindustani Dictionary, s.vv.*

1885. — "**Chelâ** (Hindi, said to be from the Saṅskṛit cheṭa, a servant), a disciple, a pupil: especially the disciple of a guru or a mahanta. In Kângrâ also a magician." — *Whitworth, Anglo-Indian Dictionary, s.v.*

1888. — "**Chêlâ** (Saṅskṛit **chêṭaka, chêḍaka**) — a disciple of an ascetic or holy man: in slang a hanger-on at a rich man's house who eats scraps." — *Crooke, Rural Glossary, s.v.*

[92] Pronounce *peo*.

II.

Hindu Usage.

1821. — "We saw a little monastery of Atteets, founded by the chiefs of Bhynsror. It is called Jhalaca . . . . The head of the establishment, a little vivacious, hot, wild-looking being, about sixty years of age, came forth to bestow his blessing and to beg something for his order. He, however, in the first place elected me one of his **chelas** or disciples by marking my forehead with a *tika* of *bhaboot*, which he took from a platter made of *dhak*-leaves, to which rite of inauguration I submitted with due gravity." — *Tod, Rajasthan, Vol. ii., p.* 612.

1832. — "It was one day remarked that, when refreshing in the *coond* or reservoir, Sirdar Sing [*ob.* 1782] did not lay aside his turban, which provoked a suspicion that he had no hair. The Rana [Râja of Mêwâr], impatient to get a peep at the bare head of the son of Chandrabhan, proposed that they should push each other into the water. The sport began, and the Dodeah's turban falling off disclosed the sad truth. The jest was, however, not relished by the Sirdar, and he tartly replied in answer to his sovereign's question, 'what had become of his hair?,' that 'he had lost it in his service in a former birth as **chela** by carrying wood upon his head to feed the flame when his sovereign as a *jogi* or ascetic performed penance (*tapasya*) on the hills of Budrinath . . . . **Chela** is a phrase which includes servitude or domestic slavery: but implies at the same time treatment as a child of the family. Here it denotes that of a servant or disciple." — *Tod, Rajasthan, Vol. ii., pp.* 527 *f. and* 528*n.*

1874. — "The menials [of Bîkânîr] are hereditary household slaves called '**chelas**.' They are, I believe, never sold by Râjpût families of distinction, though they often form part of a bride's dowry. When not the children of slaves, they have usually been purchased in times of famine from their starving relations. Their work is light, and they are generally well treated, and sometimes placed in positions of high trust. But Thâkurs, especially the inferior ones, occasionally act with much cruelty towards their slaves as well as their other dependants. '**Chelas**' who have fled from their masters are to be met with in British territory, where they often assume the caste of their former owners. The term '**chela**' signifies disciple rather than slave, and was applied to household servants by the large-minded Akbar . . . . whether in the use of this word the Râjpûts were taught by Akbar or he by them, I cannot at present say:— [here is quoted the passage from Blochmann's *Ain*, i., 254]." — *Powlett, Bikanir State, p.* 114. *Repeated in part in Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol.* i., 1879, p. 194.

1874. — "The Karauli forces organized in their present form by the late Mahârâjâ Madan Pâl are as follow:— . . . . Infantry . . . . Paltans, 1st, Gol Paltan (under a '**khâschêla**' or household slave; 2nd, under a '**nânkârchêla**' or slave holding grant of land; 3rd, under a household slave)." — *Powlett, Karauli, p.* 40.

1878. — "Bakhtâwar Singh [of Ulwur] died in 1815 . . . . Bannî Singh, then seven years old, was accepted as Râjâ by the Râjpûts and artillery (*golandáz*) headed by Akhe Singh Bânkâwat and an influential **chela** or household slave named Râmû . . . . Râmû and Ahmad Bakhsh [Khân, Vakîl, afterwards Nawâb of Firozpur and Lohâru] each tried to obtain for their respective parties the support of the Dehli Resident, Sir David Ochterlony . . . . Râmû the faithful old **chela** died in 1825. His son Mulla had established a great influence over the young chief, and on the whole this influence was used for good, for he was kept under restraint and compelled to acquire some education. But Mulla treated him sometimes with such indignity as to excite the anger of the Râjpûts and at last Akhe Singh had Mulla murdered to the extreme grief and displeasure of Bannî Singh who expelled Akhe Singh from Ulwur." — *Powlett, Ulwur, p.* 23. *Copied into Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. iii.*, 1880, *pp.* 185 *f.*

1878. — "The household slaves or **Khawâs Chelas** [of Ulwur] number about 200 . . . . Though known generally as **khawâs chelas**, the special title of *khawas*, which is an honourable distinction, enabling the bearer to sit in Darbar is borne by only five. Râmû, the faithful Minister and adherent of M. R. Bakhtâwar and Bannî Singh, is the slave most distinguished in the history of the State. His family hold a valuable rent-free grant. Khawâs Sheo Bakhsh, Superintendent of stables, woods, etc., is at present the **chela** of most mark.

When in 1870 the Council of Administration was established and a fixed sum assigned for the expenses of the palace, the late chief neglected to supply maintenance to a number of the household slaves, who applied to the Political Agent for the means of support. The Council thought the opportunity a good one for permanently reducing the number of slaves in the palace and so far diminishing the servile influence which was the cause of much evil. It was consequently determined that the complaining **chelas** should either leave the service of the State or enter the

army as Fort Garrison Sepoys. This attempt to confer freedom upon them was resented as a cruel wrong. They had always been accustomed to live in the city of Ulwur, and leave it they declared they would not. It was only after a long time, and after every effort to change the decision of the Council failed, that they partially yielded." — *Powlett, Ulwur, p.* 124. *Copied into Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. iii.*, **1880**, *pp.* 196*f.*

1884. — "*Jâ, landî ke! Bhag jâ! tû kyâ jâne jog?*
Jo dhâre hai jog ko, tiyâg shakal man bhôg.
Tiyâg shakal man bhôg: kaṭhan hai jag meṅ jog dahelâ!
Pânchoṅ mâr, pachîs tiyâg de: job jogî kâ chelâ.

Go, thou son of cur! Be off! What dost thou know of saintship?
Who takes the saintship, renounces all the desires of his heart.
Renounces all the desires of his heart: the saintship is hard and difficult in the world!
Put off the five (desires) and the twenty-five (lusts): then canst thou be a *jogî's* disciple."

Temple, Panjab Legends, Vol. i., p. 327, *Legend of Sîlâ Daî.*

1885. — "*He Gur Deo! karo tum kirpâ! Mâtâ ne tumheṅ batâe.*
Kânphâṛke mundrâ ḍâlo; jog len ko âe.
Nâth, chelâ *kar lîjo;*
Jog kâ rastâ dîjo;
Chîro mere kân;
Aj, Gur, kirpâ kîjo.

Hail, my Lord Gurû! Have mercy!
My mother sent me to thee.
Bore my ears, put in the (*jogî's*) ring:
I am come to take the saintship.
My Lord make me a disciple.
Shew me the way of devotion.
Bore my ears.
Have mercy, Gurû, on me to-day."

Temple, Panjab Legends, Vol. ii., p. 9*f., Legend of Gopî Chand.*

1885. — "*Gorakh* chelâṅ *nâṅ âkhdâ: 'Pûran kaḍḍho barmî te bâr.*
Eh nâṅ chhattîs baras guzar gae, bahutî pâî sazâe!
Eh dî jhabde pâo mundrâṅ, Jogî leo banâe.
Chelâ *kar do Gorakh Nâth dâ, siddh baṛâ parkâr.'*
Jad Jogî banâwan lag pie Ṭhîkar Nâth ne kîtî phunkâr:
'Gurûjî, ik merî garîb dî araj hai, eh dâ ajan nâ mundrâ pâo.'

Said Gorakh to his disciples: 'Take Pûran out of the hole.
Six and thirty years he has spent in it and suffered much pain!
Put the rings into his ears at once and make a Jogî of him.
Make him a follower of Gorakh, for he is a great saint.'
When they commenced to make him a Jogî, Ṭhîkar Nâth cried out:
'Sir Gurû, hear my humble petition, put not in the ear-rings without trial.'"

Temple, Panjab Legends, Vol. ii., p. 440*f., Legend of Pûran Bhagat.*

1886. — [The following quotations exhibit the difference between the Hindu and Musalmân words in the same document.]

Ik sî murîd *Shekh dâ safar dûr nâṅ ṭurîâ*
* * * * * *
Az karâmât Miyâṅ Walîdâd Sâhib billî ko zindâ honâ aur khâdim *nâṅ sher bankar dikhaî denâ* * * *
Phir jogî ne ghusse khâkar das vîh chele *hor,*
Pakaṛan kâran Imâm Sahib de jaldî ditte ṭor.
* * * * * *
Âlim fâzil murîd *ban gae; jâne bahut khudâe.*
* * * * * *
Hâfiz ne eh sunîâ jab shâgird *rasîd hamârâ; —*
Sûfî dâ murîd *ban gîâ, karke bahutâ chârâ.*

A disciple of Shekh (Aḥmad Ghaus) went on a long journey * * * * Miyâṅ Walîdâd miraculously restored to life a dead cat and shewed himself to a follower in the form of a tiger * * * * Then the *jogî* in his wrath sent ten or twenty disciples more to seize the Imâm quickly * * * * The wise and learned became his followers as all the world knows * * *
The Hâfiz heard that his own disciple had become a disciple of the Sûfî with all his heart. * . — *Temple, Legends af the Panjab, The Saints of Jâlandhar, Vol. iii., pp.* 169*f.*, 185, 187, 198, 200, 207, 210.

III.

Muhammadan Usage.

1583. — "And many of His Majesty's [Akbar] special disciples in **991** [A. H.] called themselves chelahs in imitation of the use of this term among Jogîs." — *Badâonî, ii., p.* 325, *in Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. i., p.* 253, *n. i.*

[*Târîkh-i-Badâûnî, text, Vol. ii., p.* 324]. "In *A. H.* 991 the king [Akbar] erected two buildings outside the city where he might feed *fakîrs* both

Musulmân and Hindû; one he called Khairpûra and the other Dharmpûra. Some of Abû-l-Fazl's people had the charge and used to spend the king's money in procuring food. As the *jogîs* also used to flock there in great numbers a separate receiving house was built for them and called Jogîpûra. Nightly meetings were held in private with some of these men and they used to employ themselves in various follies and extavagrancies in contemplation, gestures, addresses, abstractions and reveries, and in alchemy, fascination and magic. The king himself studied alchemy and used to exhibit the gold which he made. One night in the year called Shîvrât was appointed for a grand assembly of *jogîs* from all parts of the country, on which occasion he would eat and drink with the best of them; and used to be gratified by their assurances of a life three or four times longer than the natural life of man." — *Elliot, History of India, Vol. v., p.* 538.

c. **1596.** — "The **Chelahs** or Slaves. His Majesty [Akbar] from religious motives dislikes the name *bandah* or slave, for he believes that mastership belongs to no one but God. He therefore calls this class of men **Chelahs,** which Hindî term signifies a faithful disciple. Through His Majesty's kindness many of them have chosen the road to happiness, [by joining the Divine Faith] . . . . The pay of the **Chelahs** [in the Infantry] varies from 1 R. to 1 d. per diem. His Majesty has divided them into several sections and has handed them over to native and experienced people who give them instruction in several things." — *Blochmann, Trans. of the Ain-i-Akbari,* **1873,** *Vol. i., p.* 253*f.*

c. **1596.** — "The **Cheelah.** His Majesty [Akbar] does not approve of giving these unfortunate men the opprobrious name of slave, but calls them **Cheelah,** which word in the Hindowee language signifies one who relies on another . . . . The daily pay of a cheelah is from one Dam to one Rupee. They are formed into divisions and committed to the care of skilful persons to be instructed in various arts and occupations. — *Gladwin, Trans. of Ayeen Akbery,* **1783,** *Vol. i., p.* 167*f., ed.,* 1885.

c. **1596.** — "The Persian Text from which Blochmann's and perhaps Gladwin's Translations were made is to be found in *Blochmann, Persian Text of the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. i., p.* 190, *first line ff.,* where the word is spelt چیله chêla.

1791. — "Narrative of Mr. William Drake, formerly Midshipman of the "Hannibal" and other prisoners taken last war, who have lately made their escape from Tippoo. — . . . . The prisoners taken by the French in the "Hannibal" . . . . to the number of near 500 were landed at Cuddalore the 30th June **1782,** sent from thence to Chillumbram the beginning of July, where they remained prisoners with the French till August 12th, when they were delivered over to Hyder Ally Khan and marched to Bangalore, the privates in irons. They arrived at Bangalore the 2nd September . . . . On the 19th October, the youngest of the whole, to the number of 51, were sent to Seringapatam, where they arrived the 31st October. They remained there till the 7th November, when their heads were shaved, and, on the 20th all their things taken from them and they were circumcised. Soon after Mussalman names and dresses were given them, and they were marched about the parade . . . . [The Europeans] all were bound on the parade and rings (boly) the badge of slavery were put into their ears. They were then incorporated into a **battalion of Cheylas,** where they remained till the 19th December **1783** . . . . [In April **1784**] the command of **a company of Cheyla boys,** with exercising muskets without locks, was given to Messrs. Speediman and Rutlidge, and the others were made Havildars, having the command of six . . . . [In February **1785** Tippoo] gave these **Battalions of Cheylas** with fire-locks to Messrs. Speediman and Rutlidge and a battalion of boys with exercising muskets to Sergeant Dempster, and made the others Havildars in those and other **Cheyla Battalions** . . . . The Battalions to which they were posted were four of Christians called Ahmedy, and four of various castes called Assud Allye, all circumcised . . . . [In **1786** by Tippoo] all the **European Cheylas** and many other Europeans were then sent back to Seringapatam in consequence of the desertion that had taken place among them . . . . [In June or July **1787**] the Chittledroog party reached their destination the 27th December and were incorporated into four **Cheyla Battalions** that were at that place . . . . [In February **1791** at the taking of Tul Ryrah] one **European Cheyla** was killed and one wounded . . . . Those who have made their escape from Chittledroog report the garrison of that place to be to the best of their knowledge as follows: — Four nominal **Battalions of Cheylas** consisting of about 800 . . . . Several European boys were taught dancing in the country style and forced to dance in female dresses before Tippoo. It is said that of late as they grew up they have been transferred to the **Cheylah Battalions** . . . . The country names given by Tippoo to such of the Europeans as were circumcised are inserted in the list with a view to facilitate the

enquiry and recovery of those who are still alive. They have occasionally been altered." — *Seton-Karr, Selections, Vol. ii., p.* 311*ff*.

1795. — "A few days ago a Havildar formerly attached to the 15th Bombay Battalion arrived from the Mahratta country, having escaped from Tippoo's dominions, where he had been detained a prisoner 13 years, and compelled to serve in one of his **Chela Corps**. The only intelligence that he brings is, that Tippoo is diligently employed in fortifying the lines near Seringapatam that were stormed by our Grand Army on the celebrated 6th February, and that he knows of no European prisoners that now remain under Tippoo's bondage." — *Bombay Courier*, March 21st, 1795, in *Seton-Karr, Selections, Vol. ii., p.* 407.

c. **1821.** — "Hiyat Mahomed Khan [of Bhopal], when installed Nabob, had no children by his wife, but he had adopted four **Chelahs** or family dependants, who were considered almost as relations. The oldest of these, Fowlad Khan, was the son of a Gond. The second, Jumshere Khan, was the son of a Gossein; and the third and fourth, Chutta Khan and Islam Khan, were the sons of a Brahmin. The merit of having withdrawn these children from their errors to the true faith no doubt constituted in the eyes of a pious Mahomedan prince another tie to strengthen that of adoption.

Fowlad Khan, the eldest of the **Chelahs**, was the first who possessed the power of Minister, and it was during his administration that the detachment under General Goddard passed through the territories of Bhopal [**1778**] . . . . Soon after these events a family quarrel occurred in which Fowlad Khan was slain in an attempt to capture the old Fort of Bhopal, then the residence of the widow of Yar Mahomed Khan: who from disgust at his violent and tyrannical acts had for some time resolved to subvert his authority and to raise to power Chutta Khan . . . . This virtuous woman had every reason to congratulate herself on her choice of Chutta Khan." — *Malcolm, Central India, ed.*, 1880, *Vol. i., p.* 296*f*.

c. **1821.** — "**Chelah** means literally an adopted dependant. It neither applies to a slave nor an adopted child, but to a person who is admitted to the claims of a dependant relation." — *Malcolm, Central India, ed.*, 1880, *Vol. i., p.* 296*f*.

c. **1825.** — "When the Navâb Sâheb [of Junâgaḍh] perceived that not one of the pillars of the State was able to extricate him from this difficulty in Saṁvat 1857 [A. D. **1800**] he despatched some of them . . . . to Nâgar with letters to the Jâm Sâheb Jasâjî declaring that he would confer a great obligation upon the Nawâb by sending back the Divân Raghunâthjî. Accordingly the latter, although aware of his master's fickle temper and of the envy of Wâniâ Karsandâs, of Nâgar Kâhandâs, **Âzam Beg Chelâ** and others, he took into account that sincere excuses had been made and that it was his duty whether he liked it or not to comply with the wishes of his old master and went to Junâgaḍh." — *Tarikh-i-Sorath, trans. Burgess*, 1882, *p.* 196. *See also p.* 286.

c. **1825.** — "The author [Dîwân Ranchôḍjî] had been for two years at Porbandar, to which place Prabhudâs and **Kamâl Chelâ** were sent to recall him." — *Tarikh-i-Sorath, trans. Burgess*, 1882, *p.* 197.

c. **1825.** — "**Âzam Beg Chela**, Karsandâs, a Vaniyâ, and Kâhandâs induced the Nawâb Sâheb [in Saṁvat 1861, A. D. **1804**] to take part in carousals and drinking bouts, with music and dancing and singing and administered the affairs of the state as they chose." — *Tarikh-i-Sorath, trans. Burgess*, 1882, *p.* 202.

c. **1825.** — "Navâb Sâheb Bahâdur Khân bin Hâmid Khân Bahâdur Bâbi . . . . After his father's death, however, he was brought back to Junâgadh by the Jamâdâr Omar Makhâsam, **Âzam Beg Chelâh**, Kâhandâs Vaishnav, Mugatrâm Bakshi, Jhinâ Mehtâ and others and ascended the throne in his 18th year, 9th of Phâgan Sud, Saṁvat 1867 (A. D. **1810**) . . . ." — *Tarikh-i-Sorath, trans. Burgess*, 1882, *p.* 205.

c. **1825.** — "The murder of Ahmad Khân [Faqîr] was perpetrated on the 4th Muḥarram A. H. 1240 (Samvat 1880) [A. D. **1823**] and as a punishment for it **Chela Esmâyl Khân** and Kadava were one year afterwards expelled from the town." — *Tarikh-i-Sorath, trans. Burgess*, 1882, *p.* 227*f*.

1854. — "*Kalimâtushshu'arâ Taṣnîf Sarkhûsh*, The Words of the Poets, by Mirzâ Moḥammad Afdhal, whose *takhalluç* is Sarkhûsh and who was generally called **Chêlâ**. The title of the book is a chronogram for **1093** [**A. H. = 1682 A. D.**] the date when he commenced to compile it." — *Sprenger, Catalogue of King of Oudh's Library, Vol. i., p.* 108.

"He wrote a biography of the poets of his own time entitled '*Kalmât-ush-Shu'ârâ*,' the letters of which if taken according to their respective numbers will give the year in which it was written, *viz.*, 1682 A. D., 1093 A. H." — *Beale, Orient. Biograph. Dict. s.v. Sarkhush, ed.* 1881.

1873. — "The author of the pretty Tazkirah entitled *Kalimâtushshu'arâ* which contains biographies of the poets of the 11th century was called **Chelah.** His real name is Mîrzâ Muhammad Afzal: as a poet he is known as Sarkhush." — *Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. ii., p.* 253, *n. i.*

1873. — "The word **Chelah** is the same as the Arab. *murîd,* a disciple who places implicit belief in his *murshid* or *pîr,* the head of the sect." — *Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. i., p.* 253, *n. i.*

1876. — "**Chela,** a Hindu boy seized in early life and forcibly made a Muhammadan by order of Tippu. These boys, as they grew up, were incorporated in a **military corps** retaining the name of **Chelas.**" — *Rice, Mysore, Vol. ii., Appx. ii., Glossary, p.* 6.

[In **1779**] "to break up the Bedar population [of Chittaldroog] . . . . he [Haidar Ali] removed 20,000 inhabitants to people the island of Seringapatam, and of all the boys of proper age formed regular **battalions of captive converts,** who in following wars were of great service to him." — *Op. cit. Vol. ii., p.* 463.

1878. — The *Lauḥ-i-Târîkh* is an Urdu work, which in its present shape was composed in 1255 A. H. (March **1839**-March 1840) . . . . [This is a work on the Nawâbs of Farrukhabad prepared] more especially from the recollections of an old man, Allahdâd Khân, son of Muḳîm **Khân Chela.** — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlvii., p.* 263.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

JAUR SINGH — A FOLK ETYMOLOGY.

In the Karnâl and Ambâlâ districts, worshipped along with Gûgâ Pîr, Nâr Siṅgh (Narasiṅha), Kâle Siṅgh and Bûre Siṅgh, is found Jaur Siṅgh.[1] Nâr Siṅgh is of course a corruption of the name of the man-lion *avatâr* of Vishnu, and Bûrê Siṅgh and Kâlê Siṅgh appear to be synonymous with him. Jaur Siṅgh is explained to be Jêwar or Râja Jêwar, the usual name of Gûgâ's father. All the above are worshipped as godlings, and called *nâgs,* or serpent. — *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

AN ORIGIN FOR THE NAUGHAZA TOMBS.

A **naughaza** is a deceased saint occupying one of those very numerous long graves to be found all over the Panjab. They are popularly supposed to be 9 feet or 9 yards long, and to contain the remains of a saint of proportionate length. Like all similar objects of worship, these *naughazas* perform miracles, grant sons, and so on, and there are many current popular tales to that effect. I have heard it suggested that they are really the platforms of recumbent images of Buddha, turned in the course of time into Muhammadan tombs. Those I have seen, however, hardly look old enough for this, though I never saw one excavated to ascertain its internal structure. Many are quite modern undoubtedly, and there are instances of some which may be said to be still "growing"! In Sardâr Atr Singh's *Sâkhîs* (Lahore, 1876), in *sâkhî* (tale) 69, p. 77, I read "the Gurû (Gobind Singh) next encamped at a place which he called Guptsar (? in the Sirsâ District). Here a Muhammadan *faqîr* of the Wahmî order, who had built a tomb nine yards in length with lime and *pakkâ* (burnt) bricks, leaving an opening in it on one side large enough for him to be put in when he died, presented the Gurû with a *maṇ* (82 lbs.) of *ghî*, a *maṇ* of sugar, and the same quantity of flour. He also provided grass and grain, and moreover entreated the Gurû to make him a Sikh. The Gurû consented, and re-named him Ajmêr Siṅgh. He had the power of performing miracles, and could collect alms in Dehlî and Lahore on the same day." **Have we not here the true origin of the naughaza ?**

R. C. Temple in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

TABU AS APPLIED TO NAMES OF MARRIAGE RELATIONS.

In accordance with the universal Indian custom, among the Bâgaṛî Jâṭs in Sirsâ, a man will not speak of, or address his wife by her name, but will use the name of her *gôt* or clan, calling her, for instance, Gôdârî, if she be of the Gôdârâ clan. The clan named is that of her father. There is a very general rule in the Eastern Pañjâb against speaking of one's wife's father as "father-in-law" (*susrâ*). The Musalmâns of Sirsâ call him "uncle" (*tâyâ* or *châchâ*); the Brâhmans of Gurgâôṅ, Paṇḍit Jî or Misr Jî; the Kâyaths, Râi Sâhib; the Baniyâs, Lâlâ Sâhib or Sâh Jî; the Mêôs, Chaudhrî or Muqaddam, or — a specially Mêô usage — *dôkrâ* or "old man;" insomuch that if you call a Mêô woman — *dôkrî* she will fly at you with — "Do you call me your mother-in-law?" While if you address her as *buṛhîyâ* (old woman in general), she will reply: *Achchhâ betâ, achchhâ!*" (good my son, good).

J. Wilson in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] [Arjan and Sarjan, the *jôrâ* or twin half-brothers of Gûgâ, are sometimes worshipped as Jaur. — Ed.]

ICHCHHAWAR PLATES OF PARAMARDIDEVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1228.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C. I. E.; GÖTTINGEN.

THESE plates were found near the village of **Ichchhâwar**, in the Pailânî tahsîl of the Bândâ district of the North-Western Provinces,[1] and belong now to Dr. W. Hoey, I.C.S. A description of them and a full summary of the contents of the inscription which they contain have been already published by Mr. V. A. Smith, I.C.S., in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIV. Part I. p. 155ff., with a photolithograph, from which I here give the text of the inscription.

These are **two copper-plates**, each of which is said to measure about 1′ 1¼″ long by 10¾″ broad, and is engraved on one side only. The plates contain each a hole for a ring, but the ring itself has been lost. In the upper part of the inscribed side of the first plate there is, causing a break in the first four lines, an engraving of the goddess Lakshmî, squatting down, with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head.[2] The first plate contains 17, and the second 18 lines of writing, which throughout is well preserved. The **characters** are Nâgarî; and the **language** is Sanskṛit. The inscription, after the words *ôṁ svasti*, opens with a verse which glorifies the Chandrâtrêya *vaṁśa*, and it ends with two verses which give the names of the writer (Pṛithvîdhara) and of the engraver (Pâlhaṇa, the son of Rajapâla), and in lines 27-33 there are four of the ordinary benedictive and imprecatory verses; the rest of the text is in prose. In respect of **orthography**, it suffices to state that the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the palatal sibliant is employed six times instead of the dental sibilant (*e, g.* in *śahaśratamê*, l. 12), and the dental once instead of the palatal (in *saṇa*, l. 23). In general, the wording of the text closely resembles that of the Bândâ district plate of Madanavarman,[3] *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 208.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara ('Siva) and ruler of **Kâlañjara**, the glorious **Paramardidêva**,[4] who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* **Madanavarmadêva**, who had meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* **Pṛithvîvarmadêva**, of the family of the **Chandrâtrêya** (*i. e.*, Chandêlla) princes. And it records, in terms which are well known from other inscriptions,[5] that the king, while at **Vilâsapura**, at the time of a **lunar eclipse** on a date which will be given below, granted the village of **Nandiṇî** in the **Nandâvaṇa** district (*vishaya*) to the *Sênâpati* Madanapâlaśarman — a son of the *Ṭhakkura* Mahêśvara, son's son of the *Ṭhakkura* Bhôṇapâla, and son of the son's son of the *Ṭhakkura* Tihuṇapâla — a Brâhmaṇa of the Kṛishṇâtrêya *gôtra*[6] who studied the *śâkhâ* of the Chhandôgas, and who was an immigrant from the *bhaṭṭâgrahâra*[7] **Naugâva.**

The date on which the grant was made is Sunday, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of 'Srâvaṇa of the year 1228. It regularly corresponds, for the *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama-Saṁvat 1228 expired, to **Sunday, the 18th July A. D. 1171,** when there was **a lunar eclipse** which was **visible in India,** 20 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

Of **the localities** mentioned in the inscription, the village of **Nandiṇî** has with some probability been identified by Mr. Smith with the modern village of Nandandêô (the

---

1 *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 69, N. E., Long. 80° 34′, Lat. 25° 52′.

2 A similar engraving of Lakshmî we have in the Bândâ district plate of Madanavarman, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 208, Plate.

3 The present inscription shows that in line 16 of the plate of Madanavarman the proper reading is *sa-sarvvâsan-êkshu-*.

4 According to the Baghârî inscription of Paramardidêva (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 208) this king was the son of Yaśôvarman (who apparently did not reign, and) who was the son of Madanavarman.

5 The only passage which does not occur in the plate of Madanavarman (nor in the Dâhi plate of Vîravarman of which I possess Sir A. Cunningham's own transcript), is the sentence *atra cha . . . parihartavyam* in lines 25-26.

6 For his three *pravaras* see the text and the note on it.

7 Apparently a village that had been granted to learned Brâhmaṇas; compare the term *bhaṭṭagrâma*, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 121, l. 35, and elsewhere.

Nundadeo of the map), which is about 10 miles south-west of Ichchhâwar. The rest have not been identified.

So far as I know, there are four other dated inscriptions which distinctly refer themselves to the reign of the king **Paramardidêva.** They are :—

1. — A short image inscription at Mahôbâ, with a date in [Vikrama-]Saṁvat 1224, corresponding to Sunday, the 9th June A. D. 1168 ; *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. XXI. p. 74, and Plate xxiii. G.

2. — An inscription of 5 short lines on a rock between the 4th and 5th gates of the fort of Kâlañjar, with a date in [Vikrama-]Saṁvat 1240, corresponding to Thursday, the 26th April A. D. 1184; *ante,* Vol. XIX. p. 37, No. 67.

3. — The Baghârî[8] (now Lucknow Museum) inscription, published in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 207 ff., with a date in Vikrama Saṁvat 1252, corresponding to Sunday, the 10th September A. D. 1195.

4. — A long, partly effaced Kâlañjar inscription of 32 lines, which contains a eulogy of the god Siva, composed by Paramardidêva himself. According to my rubbing[9] it is dated *saṁvat* 1258 *Kârttika-sudi* 10 *Sômê,* corresponding to Monday, the 8th October A. D. 1201. This inscription is known from the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XVII. Part I. p. 313 ff. ; excepting the date, it contains no historical information of any value.

Besides, Paramardidêva's name occurs in the Madanpur inscriptions of [Vikrama-]Saṁvat 1239, which record his defeat by the Châhumâna Prithvîrâja, the son of Sômêsvara and son's son of Arṇôrâja; *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. X. Plate xxxii. 9 and 10, and Vol. XXI. pp. 173 and 174.

TEXT.[10]

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ[11] svasti || [12]Jayaty=âhlâdayan=visvaṁ visvêsvara-sirô-dhṛitaḥ | **Chandrâtrêya**-na-

2 rêndrâṇâṁ va[ṁ*]sas=chandra iv=ôjjvalaḥ || Tatra pravarddhamânê virôdhi-vijaya-bhrâ-

3 jishṇu-**Jayasakti-Vijayasakty**-âdi-vîr-âvirbhâva-bhâsvarê[13] paramabha-

4 ṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsvara-srî-**Prithvîvarmmadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-pa-

5 ramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsvara-srî-**Madanavarmmadêva**-pâdânudhyâta paramabhaṭṭâraka-

6 mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsvara-paramamâhêsvara-srî**Kâlañjarâdhipati**-srîmat-**Paramarddidêvô**

7 vijayî | Sa êsha durvvishahatara-pratâpa-tâpita-sakalaripukulaḥ kulavadhûm=iva vasu(su)ndharân=nirâ-

8 kulâṁ paripâlayann=avikalavivêka-nirmmalîkṛita-matiḥ |[14] **Nandâvaṇa**-vishay-ântaḥpâti-**Nandi**-

9 ṇî-grâm-ôpagatân=vrâ(brâ)hmaṇân=anyâ[ṁ*]s=cha mahattarân=mêda-chaṇḍâla-paryantân=samvô(mbô)dhayati samâ-

10 jñâpayati ch=âstu[15] vaḥ samviditaṁ[16] yath=ôparilikhitô=yaṁ grâmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ svasîm-âvachchhinnaḥ s-â-

---

[8] This, according to Mr. Smith, is the proper name of the place where the inscription was found.

[9] This rubbing was sent to me some time ago by Dr. Hoernle.

[10] From the photolithograph in *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIV. Part I. Plate vii.

[11] Expressed by a symbol. [12] Metre : Slôka (Anushṭubh).

[13] That the two words *Jayasakti* and *Vijayasakti* are proper names — see now *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 121ff. — was first seen by Dr. Cartellieri whose edition of the Semra plates of Paramardidêva is in the press. I owe this information to Dr. Hultzsch.

[14] Read -*matir*=. [15] Read *cha* | *Astu.* [16] Read *saṁviditaṁ.*

11 dha-ûrddhvô bhûta-bhavishyad-varttamâna-niḥśêsh-âdâya-sahitaḥ pratishiddha-châṭâdi-pravêśaś=ch=âsmâ-

12 bhiḥ śrî-Vilâsapurê ।[17] **ashṭ[â*]viṁśatyadhika-śatadvayôpêta-śa(sa)hasra-(sra)tamê saṁvatsarê** ।[18] **Srâvaṇê**

13 **mâsi śukla-pakshê pañchadaśyân=tithâv=aṅkatô=pi saṁvat**[19] **1228 Srâvaṇa-śudi 15 Ravi-vârê**

14 **Râhu-grastê niśâkarê** puṇya-tîrth-ôdakêna vidhivat=snâtvâ dêva-manushya-pitṛîn=sa[ṁ*]tarpya bhâsva-[20]

15 ra-pûjâ-puraḥsaraṁ charâchara-guruṁ bhagavantaṁ Bhavânî-patim=abhyarchya hutabhuji hutvâ mâtâpitrô-

16 r=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-vivṛiddhayê **Naugâva**-bhaṭṭâgrahâra-vinirggatâya Kṛishṇâ-

17 trêya-gôtrâya[21] Atri- । Ârddhanâna- । Sasâgasa-tripravarâya [22]Chhandôga-[ś]âkh-âdhyâ-

Second Plate.

18 yinê ṭhakkura-śrî-Tihuṇapâla-prapautrâya ṭhakkura-śrî-Bhôṇapâla-pautrâ-

19 ya ṭhakkura-śrî-Mahêśvara-putrâya sênâpati-śrî-Madanapâlaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâ-

20 ya kuśalatâ-pûtêna hast-ôdakêna chandrârka-samakâlaṁ putrapautrâdy-anvay-ânugâmi śâśa(sa)naṁ kṛitvâ

21 pradattaḥ ।[23] iti matvâ bhavadbhir=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ bhâgabhôga-paśu-hiraṇya-kara-śulk-âdi sa-

22 rvvam=asmai samupanêtavyam ।(।।) Tad=ênam=asya grâmaṁ sa-mandira-prâkâraṁ sa-nirggama-pravêśaṁ sa-sarvv-âśan-ê-

23 kshu-karpâsa-kuśuma-saṇ-âmr-âdi-bhûruhaṁ[24] sa-vana-khani-nidhânaṁ sa-lôh-âdy-âkaraṁ sa-gôkulaṁ sa-paśu-mṛi-

24 ga-vihaṅgama-jalacharam=aparair=api sîm-ântarggatair=vvastubhiḥ sahitaṁ sa-vâhy-âbhyantar-âdâyaṁ bhuñjâna-

25 sya karshataḥ[25] karshayatô dân-âdhâna-vikrayam=vâ[26] kurvvatô na kênachit=kâchid=vâdhâ karttavyâ । atra cha ।।[27]

26 râja-râja[28]-râjapurush-âṭavika-châṭ-âdibhiḥ svaṁ svam=âtâ(bhâ)vyaṁ[29] pariharttavyam=idañ=ch=âsmad-dânam=anâ-

27 chchhêdyam=anâhâryañ=ch=êti bhâvibhir=api bhûmipâlaiḥ pâlanîyam=iti ।(।।) Uktañ=cha । Bhûgi(miṁ)[30] yaḥ prati-

28 gṛihṇâti yaś=cha bhûmêṁ(miṁ) prayachchhati । ubhô(bhau) tau puṇya-karmmâṇau niyataṁ svargga-gâminau

29 ।। Shashṭhiṁ(shṭiṁ) varsha-sahaśrâ(srâ)ṇi svarggê vasati bhûni(mi)-daḥ । âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=ê-

30 va narakê vasêt ।। Suva[r*]ṇṇam=êkaṁ gâm=êkâṁ bhûnê(mê)r=apy=êkam=aṅgula[ṁ*] । haran=naraka-

---

[17] Read °*purê=shtâ*°. [18] Read *saṁvatsarê*, and omit the sign of punctuation. [19] Read *saṁvat*.

[20] The word *bhâsvara*, if it really is the reading of the plate, is used for the more common *bhâskara*.

[21] Read -*gôtrây=Âtri*-. The two names which follow must be incorrect. Since, according to the *Âśvalâyana-Âśrautasûtra* XII. 14, the three *pravaras* of the Âtrêyas are *Âtrêya*, *Ârchanânasa*, and *Syâvâśva*, the proper reading probably is *Ârchchanânasa-Sâvâsa* (for -*Syâvâśva*). Compare, however, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 43, note 29.

[22] Read *Chchhandôga*-. [23] Read *pradatta*, without the sign of punctuation.

[24] Read -*kusumbha-śaṇ*-. [25] Read *kṛishataḥ*. [26] Read °*yaṁ vâ*.

[27] If these two lines are meant to be a full stop, they are superfluous.

[28] The two words *râja-râja* cannot be correct; one might suggest *râja-râjaka*-.

[29] The original has clearly =*âtâvyaṁ*, which yields no sense; but the Semra plates of Paramardidêva, as Dr. Hultzsch informs me, have =*âbhâvyaṁ*. The same very unusual word we find in the copper-plates of the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 118, l. 11, p. 122, l. 13, etc., in the phrase *samuchita-râjâbhâvya-karapratyâyâ na grâhyâḥ*, 'the usual taxes, the payment of which may be claimed by the king, shall not be taken (from the donees).'

[30] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the two next verses.

31 m=âpnôti yâvad-âhûtasaṁplavam || [31]Sarvvân=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pâ[r*]thiv-êndrân=bhûyô bhû-
32 yô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ | sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nnṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanî-
33 yô bhavadbhir=iti |(||) Sva-hastô=ya[ṁ*] râja-śrî-**Paramarddidêvasya** [|*] matam=mama |(||) [32]Kâya[sth]-âkhila-vi-
34 dyêna kâyastha-kumud-êṁdunâ [|*] Pṛithvîdharêṇa likhitaṁ śâsanaṁ nṛipa-śâsanât || Rajapâ-
35 lasya putrêṇa Pâlhaṇêna cha śilpinâ [|*] utkâ(tkî)rṇâ varṇa-ghaṭanâ vaidag[dh]î-Viśvakarmmaṇâ ||

ESSAYS ON KAŚMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARD.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions, by G. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 199.)

IRREGULAR FORMS.

155. These are really sound changes according to certain laws which occur in the formation of the Perfect Participle, Aorist and Pluperfect II. [Note that in the Pluperfect II., there are only consonantal changes. The radical vowel is not changed. On the other hand, in the Perfect Participle and Aorist, radical vowels, as well as radical consonants, are liable to change.

156. The 3rd person of the Aorist is really an old Past Participle. Thus سُوزُ *sûzu* or *sûz* means originally 'sent,' hence '(he was) sent.' As such it is liable to the rules of inflection which apply to adjectives, and we have a feminine سوز *sûz*, (she was) sent; pl. masc., سوزِ *sûzi* (they were) sent; pl. fem., سوزَ *sûzạ*, (they were) sent. As will be seen subsequently, adjectives, participles and substantives all follow similar rules in the formation of the feminine and the plural (*vide* §§ 183, 217), and identical rules in the case of the Aorist. As in the case of adjectives, masculine Aorists follow the second declension of substantives, but of the feminine Aorists those which take ۃ ـِ *e* in the plural follow the third, and those which take *ạ* follow, in appearance, the fourth, thus:—

Masculine. { سُوزُ *sûzu*, pl. سوزِ *sûzi* (2nd declension).
کورُ *koru*, pl. کرِ *kạri*, (2nd declension).

Feminine. { سوز *sûz*, pl. سوزۃ *sûzạ* (4th declension).
کرِ *kạri*, pl. کرۃ *kari* (3rd declension).

157. The Perfect Participle is a compound of the 3rd person of the Aorist (or old past participle) and the syllable مُت *mut*. Both members of the compound are inflected for gender and number. The first member follows the Aorist. The second (مُت *mut*) follows, in the feminine, the 4th declension; thus:—

Masculine, کُرمُت *kor-mut*, pl. کرِمتِ *kari-mati*, or contracted کرمتِ *kar-mati*.
(2nd declension throughout).

Feminine, کرمُژ *kạr-muts*, pl. کرۃمژۃ *kare-matsạ* (4th declension).]

[31] Metre: Śâlinî. [32] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.

General Rules.

158. (1) In Feminine forms [of the Perfect Participle and Aorist, and in all forms of both genders of the Pluperfect II.], there is a marked tendency to palatalize final consonants, which leads to the following changes :—

Final.	Become.
گ *g* and ل *l*	ج *j*
ڈ *ḍ*	ج *j* [only in Fem. pl., and Plup. II.]
ک *k*	چ *ch*
ٹ *ṭ*	چ *ch* [only in Fem. pl., and Plup. II.]
کھ *kh*	چھ *chh*
ٹھ *ṭh*	چھ *chh* [only in Fem. pl., and Plup. II.]
ت *t*	ڇ *ts*
تھ *th*	ڇھ *tsh*
د *d*	ز *z*
ن *n*	ن *ñi*

[The above has been slightly altered from the original, to bring the information up to date. The changes only occur in Transitive verbs, and in Listed Intransitive verbs. They do not occur in other Intransitive verbs; see § 147*a*.]

Examples.	Aor. 3rd sg. masc.	Aor. 3rd sg. fem.	Plup. II., 1st pl. of Tr., and 3rd sg. of Intr. verbs.
منگن *mangun*, to ask	منگ *mong*	منج *manj*	منجیوو *manjyôv*
تُلن *tulun*, to bear	تُل *tul*	تُج *tuj*[93]	تُجیوو *tujyôv*
گنڈن *gunḍun*, to bind	گُنڈ *gonḍ*	گنڈ *ganḍ*	گنجیوو *ganjyôv*
هکن *hekun*, to be able	هیُک *hyuk*	هچ *hech*	هچیوو *hechyôv*
چٹن *tsaṭun*, to cut	چٹ *tsoṭ*	چٹ *tsaṭ*	چچیوو *tsachyôv*
هکھن *hokhun*, to be dry	هکھ *hokh*	هچھ *hochh*	هچھیوو *hochhyôv*
دیشن *dêshun*, to see (an old verb)	ڈیوٹھ *dyûṭh*	ڈیٹھ *dîṭh*	ڈیچھیوو *ḍêchhyôv*
هین *hyun*, to take	هیُت *hyut*	هڇ *hets*	هڇوو *hetsôv*
مَتھن *mathun*, to anoint	متھ *moth*	مڇھ *matsh*	مڇھوو *matshôv*
لَدن *ladun*, to build	لُد *lod*	لز *laz*	لزوو *lazôv*
مینن *mênun*, to measure	میون *myûn*	مین *mîñ*	مینیوو *mênyôv*
انن *anun*, to bring	اُن *on*	ان *añ*	انیوو *añyôv*

Exception. — When د *d* is itself derived from ز *z*, it goes back to ز *z* in the feminine, instead of becoming ج *j*.

93 Perf. part. pass. تُلمُت *tulmut*, fem. تُجمڇ *tujmats*.

Example. — روزن *rôzun*, to remain } رود *rûd* روز *rûz* (not روج *rôj*.) روزوو *rôzôv*

[The author originally stated that, as a rule, د *d* becomes ج *j*. This was, however, incorrect, and there is no doubt that in Kâshmîrî of the present day د *d* always becomes ز *z*; thus, لد *lod*, fem. لز *lạz*.]

159. (2) [**Vowel changes.** — None of these re marks apply to the Feminine plural of the Aorist, or to Plup. II., in both of which the radical vowel always remains unchanged. The changes are liable to occur in all verbs, Active or Neuter, Listed or Non-listed.] (*a*) A radical ـَ *a* [or *ạ*] becomes ـُ *o* in the [singular] masculine. [In the feminine singular and masculine plural of the Aorist the original *a* becomes *ạ*.]

3rd Aor. m.	3rd Aor. fem.	[3rd Aor. pl. m.	Perf. part. masc.	[Perf. part. fem.
کرن *karun*, to make } کر *kor*	کر *kạr*	کر *kạri*	کرمت *kormut*	کرمژ *kạrmuts*
مژرن *mutsạrun*, to open } مژر *mutsor*	مژر *mutsạr*	مژر *mutsạri*]	مژرمت *mutsormut*	مژرمژ *mutsạrmuts*]

But بخشن *bakhshun*, to give, بخش *bakhsh*.

This last is a Persian base, borrowed by Kashmiri.

(*b*) A radical ـا *â* becomes ـو *ô*. [In this case, as in the last the radical ا *â* remains apparently unchanged in the Persian character, in the feminine singular, and in the masculine plural. But for reasons similar to those stated above, the *â* is pronounced as *ô* in the feminine singular, and plural masculine, both of the Aorist and of the Perfect Participle. Examples :—

Infinitive.	Aorist. 3 sg. m.	[3. sg. fem.	3 pl. masc.	3 plur. fem.	Perf. part. sg. m.	[Perf. part. sg. fem.
مانن *mânun*, to esteem }	مون *môn*	مان *môn*	مان *môni*	مانہ *mâñe*	مونمت *mônmut*	مانمژ *môñmuts*
مارن *mârun*, to slay	مور *môr*	مار *môr*	مار *môri*	مارہ *mâre*	مورمت *môrmut*	مارمژ *môrmuts*
تراون *trâvun*, to forsake }	ترو *trôv*	تراو *trôv*	تراو *trôvi*	تراوہ *trâve*	ترومت *trôvmut*	تراومژ *trôvmuts*
زالن *zâlun*, to set alight }	زول *zôl*	زاج *zôj*	زال *zôli*	زاجہ *zâje*]	زولمت *zôlmut*	زاجمژ *zôjmuts*]

[(*c*) A radical ـِ *i* becomes يُ *yu*, in the masc. sing. of the Aorist, and in the Perfect Participle. Thus —

گندن *gindun*, to play, گینُد *gyund* گنز *ginz* گندِ *gindi* گیندمت *gyundmut* گنزمژ *ginzmuts*

But—

بہن *behun* to sit, بیوٹھ *byûṭh* بیٹھ *bîṭh* بیٹھِ *bîṭhi* بیوٹھمت *byûṭhmut* بیٹھمژ *bîṭhmuts*

The Fem. Pl. Perf. Past. of the last is *bêchhematsạ*.

(*d*) In the same circumstances, a radical ـِی *î* becomes یُو *yû*, *e. g.*—

چیرن *chîrun*, to squeeze, } چیور *chyûr* چیر *chîr* چیرِ *chîri* چیورمت *chyûrmut* چیرمژ *chîrmuts*

(e) Similarly, a radical ـــ *e* becomes ـيُ *yu*, *e. g.* —

	Infinitive.	3 sg. m.	3 sg. f.	Perf. part. sg. m.	Perf. part. sg. f.
هکُن	*hekun*, to be able,	هیُک *hyuk*	هچ *hech*	هیُکمُت *hyukmut*	هچمُچ *hechmuts*

(*f*) A radical ي ـــ *ê* becomes يُو *yû* in the masc. sg., and *î* in the fem. sg., *e. g.* —

میٖنُن	*mênun*, to measure,	میُون *myûn*	مین *mîñ*	میُونمُت *myûnmut*	مینمُچ *mîñmuts*
پھیٖرُن	*phêrun*, to turn,	پھیُور *phyûr*	پھیر *phîr*	پھیُورمُت *phyûrmut*	پھیرمُچ *phîrmuts*
زیٖنُن	*zênun*, to conquer,	زیُون *zyûn*	زین *zîñ*	زیُونمُت *zyûnmut*	زینمُچ *zîñmuts*
میٖلُن	*mêlun*, to mix,	میُول *myûl*	میج *mîj*	میُولمُت *myûlmut*	میجمُچ *mîjmuts*

(*g*) A radical ـُ *o* remains ـُ *o*, *e. g.* —

وُتھُن	*vothun*, to rise,	وُتھ *voth*	وُچھ *votsh*	وُتھمُت *vothmut*	وُچھمُچ *votshmuts*
شُنگُن	*shongun*, to sleep,	شُنگ *shong*	شُنج *shoñj*	شُنگمُت *shongmut*	شُنجمُچ *shoñjmuts*

(*h*) A radical و ـُ *ô* becomes و ـُ *û* —

سوٗزُن	*sôzun*, to send,	سُوز *sûz*	سُوز *sûz*	سُوزمُت *sûzmut*	سُوزمُچ *sûzmuts*

(*i*) But radical ـُ *u* and و ـُ *û* remain unchanged, *e. g.* —

وُچھُن	*vuchhun*, to see,	وُچھ *vuchh*	وُچھ *vuchh*	وُچھمُت *vuchhmut*	وُچھمُچ *vuchhmuts*
بُوزُن	*bûzun*, to parch,	بُوز *bûz*	بُوز *bûz*	بُوزمُت *bûzmut*	بُوزمُچ *bûzmuts*

160. The following Intransitive verbs insert ی *y* before و و ـُ *ôv* (cf. § 148), [and have the perfect participle in یوٗومُت *yôvmut*]: —

اَلُن *alun*, to tremble, اَلیوٗو *alyôv*, Part. Perf. Pass. اَلیوٗومُت *alyôvmut*.

بَڈُن *baḍun*, to become big [*baḍyôv*].
بُڈُن *buḍun*, to be old [*buḍyôv*].
بَسُن *basun*, to dwell [*bos*, *basyôv* (listed verb)].
بَلُن *balun*, to become strong [*balyôv*].
پرارُن *prârun*, to wait [*prâryôv*].
پرَزلُن *prazalun*, to shine [*prazalyôv*].
پیڈُن *pêḍun*, to drip [*pêḍyôv*].
تَتُن *tatun*, to be hot [*tatyôv*].
تیٹھُن *teṭhun*, to be bitter [*teṭhyôv*].
تھَدُن *thadun*, to be high [*thadyôv*].
ٹھہرُن *ṭhaharun*, to remain [*ṭhaharyôv*].
چھتُن *chhatun*, to be white [*chhatyôv*].
دَرُن *darun*, to be steady [*daryôv*].
دوٗرُن *dôrun*, to run [*dôryôv*].
سَمُن *samun*, to meet [*samyôv*].
کَلُن *kalun*, to be dumb [*kalyôv*].
کُبُن *kobun*, to be hunchbacked [*kobyôv*.
گُبُن *gobun*, to be heavy [*gobyôv*].
مَتُن *matun*, to be foolish [*matyôv*].
مُکلُن *mokalun*, to be free [*mokalyôv*].
نَٹُن *naṭun*, to be afraid [*naṭyôv*].
نِکُن *nikun*, to be thin [*nikyôv*].
نَمُن *namun*, to bow [*namyôv*].
نَوُن *navun*, to be new [*navyôv*].
وُڈُن *wuḍun*, to fly [*wuḍyôv*].
وُشنُن *wushnun*, to be hot [*wushnyôv*].
وِٹھُن *veṭhun*, to be fat [*veṭhyôv*].
ہَنُن *hanun*, to swell [*hanyôv*] and others.

These forms in ـَو وو *ôv*, though properly belonging to 3rd sg. m. Plup. II., are used in most of the above verbs, in the meaning of the Aorist.

[This list is given by the author, from Mp., but is quite incomplete. *All* verbs, except those in *ts*, *tsh* and *z* (and some even of those) take *y* in Plup. II., as explained in §§ 103, 146 and 148*a*. All Non-listed Intransitive verbs use the Plup. II. in the sense of what the author calls the Aorist, but which is really an Immediate Past, *vide* § 148*a*.]

161. Special cases.[94]

		3rd sg. masc. aor.	
وسن	*wasun*, to descend	وتھ	*woth*
[کھسن	*khasun*, to rise	کھت	*khot* (fem. کھچ *khats*)]
(پرچھن) پرچھن	*pritshun* (*pratshun*), to ask	پرچھ	*protsh*
دزن	*dazun*, to burn (intr.)	دد	*dod*
مرن	*marun*, to die	مود	*mûd*
روزن	*rôzun*, to remain	رود	*rûd* (fem. روز *rûz*)
ملون	*milavun*, to mix (intr.)	میل	*myul*
ڈیشن	*ḍéshun*, to see	ڈیوٹھ	*dyûṭh* (see above)
بیھن	*behun*, to sit	بیوٹھ	*byûṭh*
چین	*cheun*, to drink	چیو	*chyau* (*chiu*)[95]
پین	*peun*, to fall	پیو	*peô*
کھین	*kheun*, to eat	کھیو	*khyau*[95]
نین	*niun*, to take	نیو (نو)	*nyû* (*niu*)[95]
دین	*diun*, to give	دیت	*diut* or *dyut*[95]
ھین	*heun*, to take	ھیت (ھت)	*heut* or *hyat* (*het*)[95]
اچن	*atsun*, to enter	چاو	*tsâv*
زین	*zyun*, to be born, to bear a child	زاو	*zâv*
نیرن	*nerun*, to go out	دراو	*drâv*
ین	*yun*, to come	آو	*âv*
گچھن	*gatshun*, to go	گو	*gau*

COMPOUND VERBS.

162. These are compounded with Arabic and Persian, and sometimes with Kâśmîrî and other nouns. They are quoted in the Infinitive masculine, when the noun is masculine, and in

[94] [I have omitted some of the verbs in the list, as they are already given in §§ 158 and ff. — Trans.]

[95] Mp. چون *chûn* (with suffix), کھون *khûn* (with suff.), نیون *nyûn* (with suff.), دتن *ditun* (with suff.), ھتن *hitun* (with suff.).

the Infinitive feminine, when the noun is feminine. These are to be found in the Dictionary (see Elmslie's *Vocabulary*, in which several are not mentioned), and, when they have a transitive meaning, govern the accusative, like simple transitive verbs.

Personal Suffixes.

163. In addition to the nominative and instrumental pronominal suffixes already given in the paradigms of the Aorist, Perfect, Pluperfect; the other pronominal suffixes, given § 47, *viz.*, those for the accusative and the dative can also be applied to verbs. The following are examples: —

164. چھہ *chha*, to be, with suffixes.

Masculine.

	Singular suffix.		
	1st person.	2nd person.	3rd person.
me, to me	—	چھُہَم *chhuh-am*[96]	چھُم *chhu-m*
thee	چھُسَت *chhus-at*	—	چھُت *chhu-t*
to thee	چھُسَی *chhus-ay*	—	چھُی *chhu-y*
him, her	چھُسَن *chhus-an*	چھُہَن *chhuh-an*	چھُن *chhu-n*
to him, to her	چھُسَس *chhus-as*	چھُہَس *chhuh-as*	چھُس *chhu-s*
you, to you	چھُسَوَہ *chhus-avạ*	—	چھُوَہ *chhu-vạ*
them, to them	چھُسَک *chhus-ak*	چھُہَک *chhuh-ak*	چھُک *chhu-k*

	Plural suffix.		
	1st person.	2nd person.	3rd person.
me, to me	—	چھِوَم *chhiva-m*	چھِم *chhi-m*
thee	چھِت *chhi-t*	—	چھِت *chhi-t*
to thee	چھِی *chhi-y*	—	چھِی *chhi-y*
him, her	چھِن *chhi-n*	چھِوَن *chhiva-n*	چھِن *chhi-n*
to him, to her	چھِس *chhi-s*	چھِوَس *chhiva-s*	چھِس *chhi-s*
you, to you	چھِوَہ *chhi-vạ*	—	چھِوَہ *chhi-vạ*
them, to them	چھِک *chhi-k*	چھِوَک *chhiva-k*	چھِک *chhi-k*

165. Double suffixes, *e. g.*, چھُمَوَہ *chhu-m-avạ*, etc., also occur, *e. g.*, مےٚ تۄہِ چھُمَوَہ وُنمُت *me tohi chhu-m-avạ wunmut*, by me to you it has-been-by-me-to-you said, *i. e.*, I have said to you.

166. Note. — Be careful to distinguish چھِوَہ *chhivạ*, you are, from چھِوَہ *chhi-vạ*, we are to you, they are to you; چھُس *chhus*, I am, from چھُس *chhu-s*, he is to him; and چھُک *chhuk*, thou art, from چھُک *chhu-k*, he is to them.

[96] See § 49, (1) (*b*).

167. The Feminine is conjugated similarly; thus چھسی *chhas-ay*, etc. So also in forms of آسن *âsun*, *e. g.*, Aor. اوسوٕ *ôs-va*, *he was* (*by*) *you*.

The Moods and Tenses with Personal Suffixes.

I.—The Simple Tenses.

168. Imperative.

Send	Singular. 2nd	Singular. 3rd	Plural. 2nd	Plural. 3rd
me, to me ...	سوزم *sôz-um*	سوزنم *sôzin-am*	سوزیوم *sôzyô-m*[100]	
thee	——	سوزنت *sôzin-at*	——	
to thee	——	سوزنی *sôzin-ay*	——	
him, her ...	سوزن *sôz-un*	سوزنن *sôzin-an*[99]	سوزیون *sôzyô-n*	Same as 3rd singular.
to him, to her ...	سوزس *sôz-us*	سوزنس *sôzin-as*	سوزیوس *sôzyô-s*	
you, to you ...	——	سوزنوٕ *sôzin-avâ*	——	
them, to them ...	سوزک *sôz-uk*	سوزنک *sôzin-ak*	سوزیوک *sôzyô-k*	

Respectful form.

Be good enough to send	Singular. 2	Singular. 3	Plural. 2	Plural. 3
me, to me ...	سوزتم *sôzta-m*	سوزتنم *sôzitan-am*	سوزتوم *sôzitô-m*[1]	
thee	——	سوزتنت *sôzitan-at*	——	
to thee	——	سوزتنی *sôzitan-ay*	——	
him, her ...	سوزتن *sôzta-n*	سوزتنن *sozitan-an*	سوزتون *sôzit-ôn*	Same as 3rd singular.
to him, to her ...	سوزتس *sôzta-s*	سوزتنس *sozitan-as*	سوزتوس *sôzitô-s*	
you, to you ...	——	سوزتنوٕ *sôzitan-ava*	——	
them, to them ...	سوزتک *sôzta-k*	سوزتنک *sôzitan-ak*	سوزتوک *sôzitô-k*	

[99] See § 169, note 6.

[100] For سوزوم *sözin-m*, etc. see § 49, 1, c.

[1] For سوزتوم *sozitau-m*, etc., see § 49, 1, c.

169. Future or Present Indefinite.

(I) send	Singular. 1st	2nd	3rd
—	سوزہ *sôzạ*	سوزك *sôzak*	سوزہ *sôzi*
me, by me... ...	—	سوزهم *sôzạh-am*[2]	سوزم *sôzi-m*
thee	سوزت *sôza-t*	—	سوزت *sôzi-t*
to thee	سوزی *sôza-y*	—	سوزي *sôzî*
him, her	سوزن *sôza-n*	سوزهن *sôzạh-an*[2]	سوزس *sôze-s*[4]
to him, to her ...	سوزس *sôza-s*	سوزهس *sôzạh-as*[2]	سوزس *sôze-s*
you, to you ...	سوزوہ *sôza-vạ*	—	سوزوہ *sôzi-vạ*
them, to them ...	سوزك *sôza-k*	سوزهك *sôzạh-ak*[2]	سوزك *sûzi-k*

(I) send	Plural. 1st	2nd	3rd
—	سوزو *sôzau*	سوزو *sôziu*	سوزن *sôzan*
me, by me... ...	—	سوزيوم *sôzyô-m*[3]	سوزنم *sôzan-am*
thee	سوزوت *sôzô-t*[3]	—	سوزنت *sôzan-at*
to thee	سوزوی *sôzô-y*[3]	—	سوزني *sôzan-ay*
him, her	سوزون *sôzô-n*[3]	سوزيون *sôzyô-n*[5]	سوزنن *sôzan-an*[6]
to him, to her ...	سوزوس *sôzô-s*[3]	سوزيوس *sôzyô-s*[3]	سوزنس *sôzan-as*
you, to you ...	سوزووہ *eözô-vạ*[3]	—	سوزنوہ *sôzan-avạ*
them, to them ...	سوزوك *sôzô-k*[3]	سوزيوك *sôzyô-k*	سوزنك *sôzan-ak*

170. In the same way are formed the Optative, the Precative, and the Causal. It is doubtful if *every* form occurs. The full form of the pronoun, standing by itself, often appears instead of the suffix.

Examples.—Causal, تهراويوك *tharâvyô̤k* (Causal, 2 pl. pres. + *k*).

Precative, ديزس *dapizi-s*, رتزن *raṭizi-n*.

[2] See § 49, 1, *b*. [3] See § 49, 1, *c*.

[4] Np. ii. 13 (Matth.) مارس *mâre-s*. See § 53, 1, *a*. [5] Fem. سوزيوس *sôzyô-s*, Np. xiii. 30 (Matth.)

[6] We find سوزن تس *sôzan tas* in Np. xvii. 13 (Matth.), and سوزنس *sôzan-ạs* in Np. xx. 19 (Matth.).

Opt. Cond., سوزهس *sôziha-s*, he would have sent to him; دیهس *diyiha-s*, he would have given to him.

Aorist.

171. In the case of Aorist forms ending و *v*, the و *v* is elided before suffixes: *e. g.*, آو *âv* + س *s* = آس *âs*; آو *âv* + ك *k* = آك *âk*; زاو *zâv* (from زین *zyun*) + س *s* = زاس *zâs*. Hence we have آك *âk*, thou camest, and, he came to them. But آو *âv* + the suffix ي *y* becomes آوی *ôy*, he came to thee.

(*To be continued.*)

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(*Continued from p.* 72.)

BURNELL MSS. — No. 25.

THE STORY OF KALLURTI.

ORIGINAL in the Kanarese Character: transliteration by Mr. Männer: translation from Burnell's MS. checked by Mr. Männer. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 253 to 265 inclusive of Burnell's MSS.

Mr. Männer gives Kalkuḍa and Vorte as synonyms for Kalluṛti, and the following geographical notes of places mentioned in this important legend. Kallatta Mârnâḍ is N.-E. of Mangalore. Beḷguḷa, Bêlûr and Nagar are in Mysore. Kollûr, Kârkala, Yĕnûr, and Ubâr = Upparaṅgâḍi are in South Kanara. And as to the great images of Gomaṭêsvara mentioned in the text he gives a reference to Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. II. Ch. XV.

Text.

Kellatta Mārnāḍuaḷḷu appe **Iravadi,** amme **Sambu Kalkuḍe.** Ākuḷegu ainu āṇu bālelu, vatti sangaḍi, puṭṭi kilatu pūvoḷu banduḍu, pulatu pudaru lettini. Ākuḷe pudaru Yellaṇṇe, **Mallaṇṇe, Bīru, Bikkuru, Nandu** (tangaḍi) **Kālamma** atavā **Kalluṛti.** Aiyeregu ainu binnaṇada bēle. Kaḍiru magaku marata bēle, maḍiru magaku karboda bēle, naḍta magaku bangārda bēle, variyagu chembuda bēle, tiddi magaku āye tidyāḍu puṭṭie, hiriyāḍu baḷate, kallada bēle. Mara bēle bendināye Malenāḍechchave, karboda bēle bendināye Nuḍtalachchave, chembuda bēle bendināye Chemaṭigāre, bangārda bēle bendināye Yaraṇṇe, kallada bēle bendināye Kalkuḍe.

Imbyenā, imbya megḍiyā voṭṭu puṭṭinakuḷu. Imbyagu banjigu yēḷu tingoḷu ānaga, imbya amme Sumbu Kalkuḍagu **Bēlūra Beḷkuḷaḍḍu** gaḍi gaḍi vōle uḍa uḍa māni battuṇḍu. Kaḍadi māni baredi vōle dumbu pōvaḍu yānu portingoḷuda banjinaḷegu banjida muṭṭu ambāri bēdago (sāmānu) konḍu pāḍḍu yānu barpendu panḍe.

Aiyeḷu hantāi (sāsami), mūvaḷu munchi, koppara tārāi, pāḍara yeṇṇe, kallụda marāigu kanchida ranka konḍupāḍye, Sadida vechcha podike kaṭṭye, taṇṇyanonda iḍe ganji, bechchanonda pēru podike, jātigu janivara, nītigu, kalkuḍe (koḍe), bāji kūtu bagaluḍu dīye, uḷi kūtu toṭṭeḍu pāḍiye, maḍu kūtu puggeluḍu dīye. Alakkanda ballu, lekkanda kōlu, aitanda koṭyaḍu aita balmaṇa āye, jalakanda koṭyaḍu jalaka singarāye. Yānu Belugulaku arasu nāḍagu pōpe anduḍu buḍedida panḍe.

Sādi muṭṭuḍu sakaṇa sirte, aḍḍanda sāru nīṭanda guḍḍe kadate, āne kaṭṭi attaso, kudre kaṭṭi kinni gōḷi, Santandaḍka nīru parivu, Kokkaḍa Nīrenki, saroḷi sampakaṭṭe kaḍate. Belugulaku pōye, padirāḍu muṭṭi kallu mittāye, āne bākilu kaḍate, mūji permundilu kaḍate, baṇṇda chāvaḍi, marata kambo rajanganọ kadate. Mairu bāṇoḍu, kilenji gaddigoḍu arasu

voḍeretta vōlagāteru̥ (kuḷderu̥) sōleru̥ solma sandāye Kulkuḍe. Balappā Kalkuḍa kuḷḷanderu̥, dāne kajyokārijogu̥ lepuḍyaru̥ ande. Alkaḍe portānḍu̥ (mūji sanja) pōsoda yēḷiāndu̥ (uṇpi samaya), aiyaḷu ari pattu̥lā paḍi, taḍe buḍaroḍālā, maru dinoku sūrya udayogu paṇpi; bēle yānu̥ paṇpe, benipi bēle bemba anderu̥.

Ayyaḷari paḍi patye, taḍe buḍaroḍu āye. Magu̥ru̥ dinoku sūrya udayogu̥ batte, paṇpi bēle panderu̥. Sāra kammoda battaḍada bēle (basti), nūtturuva bombeda bēle, yēlu̥ gunda kaṭṭodu, yeḷuveru̥a dēverenu̥ nirmita maḷpodu; uḷa gunḍo piravu gōpurada bēle, anganoḍu āne kallu̥ḍa bēle, Gummaḍa sāmi bēle, sāra bakilu̥ pāḍnaga onji bākilu̥ jattu̥ baroḍu, onji bākilu̥ pāḍnaga sāra bakilu̥ juttu̥ baroḍu, rambe nāṭaka, sūḷe guḍi, budāroda bēle, benoḍunderu̥; voṭanda āne, loṭanda kudure, singa murugada bēle, benoḍunderu̥. Yenkāpi kallu̥ tūpāvoḍunderu̥, perya kallūṇigu̥ pōla, nina manasagāpi kallu̥ tūla anderu̥.

Perya Kallūṇi pōye, nālu̥ kōḍi dēverekuḷenu̥ ninete, dāre tūdu uḷi pāḍye, aike maḍu pādye, netteru̥ pāmbaḷe lakku̥ndu̥, netteru̥ pāmbaḷe kaṭṭae, kallu̥ jāgaranda bēle benipāye. Sāra kammoda battaḍeda bēle, nūtturuva bombeda bēle, rambe nāṭaka, sūḷe guḍi, buḍaranda bēle, uḷu̥ gunḍa, pira gōpura bēle, yēlu̥ gōpura kaṭṭiye yeḷuveru̥ dēveru̥kuḷenu̥ nile maḷte; voṭanda āne, lotanda kudure, singa murugo, **Gummanḍasāmi,** bēle bende. Anganoḍu āne kallu̥ pāḍye, sāra bākilu̥ paḍu̥ bannaga onji bākilu̥ jattanḍu̥, onji bākilu̥ pādunaga sāra bākilu̥ battanḍu̥, inchilli bēle bende. Yānu̥ battu̥ḍu̥ varso āji tingoḷu ānḍu̥, yānu̥ yena rājogu pōpe, portingoḷuda banjināḷenu̥ buḍudu beide, appaṇe koroḍunde. Malagere mancha, kuḷḷere kuruchi, pattiyere pancha divaṭige, bīpere bandi kōlu, puggellinja pachchaḍe, bāinja būḷya (bachchire), sēji koriyeru̥.

Sēji pattonḍu pira bannaga, **tage tangaḍi mūḷu (illāḍu̥) puṭu̥ḍeru̥ amaḷu bāleḷu**; mage puṭṭudu aḷu̥ tōḷādu̥ (manushye ādu̥), tana sari jōkuḷe gobbugu pōye. Jōkuḷu panḍo, amme dānti mundre mage ī yencha gobbuṇinderu̥. Onjeku̥ voride, yeraḍeku̥ pējade, mūjeku̥ kuḍtulakie; yenku̥ amme unḍo ijjyo appā andu̥du̥ kēnḍe, dāni kēṇpa magā andoḷu. Yena sari jōkuḷu yānu̥ mundre mage andu̥du̥ panderu̥. ainu̥ kēnḍu̥du̥ barpe; auchānda nina tare kaḍtu̥ pādvendu lekku̥ḍēndu̥ panḍe. Ayyayyā magā nina ammeru̥ yenku̥ banjiḍu̥ yēlu̥ tingoḷu ānaga Bēlūru. Belukulandāgu̥ bēlegu̥ pōteru̥, varuso āji tingoḷānḍu̥, nina amme barpi portānḍu̥ magā andoḷu. Yena amma nōlogu (nādondu) pōvande saleyujji ande; tādida yechcha podike kaṭṭye, mukkunḍe neytu̥ mūji achchi bellodu̥ podike kaṭṭye, pēru̥du̥ beitu̥nḍu̥, benjoṇoḍu podike kaṭṭye, yēnu̥ pōpe, ammanu̥ tūvoḍu, amme bendi bēle tūvoḍu, yenku̥ benoḍande.

Pidāḍye aḍkanda sāru̥, nīṭanda guḍḍe, āne kaṭṭu attasa, kudre kaṭṭu kinni gōḷi, Santandaḍka, nīru̥ pariyu Kokkaḍa, Nīrenki, saroḷi sampada kaṭṭi, daḍeyu̥ pōye. Amme battu̥du̥ sēji pattondu aḷḷu̥ dembugu bēsarādu̥ nireḷu̥ vasātu̥du̥ (sampādu̥) kudure kaṭṭdu̥ kaṭṭedu̥ kuḷde. Amma gurto magaku̥ ijji, maga gurto ammagu̥ ijji, yērappā yēru̥ kuḷdininde; mage sōlugu sōlyēru̥ (kiyyēru̥) solma sandāye. Voḷtu battini vodegu̥ pōpini andu̥du̥ kēnḍe amme. Yena amma nāṭogu pōpe andu̥du̥ paunḍe, nina ūru vōḷu ande. **Kellatta Mārnāḍu̥** dēsonde. Appe pudaru̥ dāninde, amma pudaru̥ dāninde amme. Appe Iravadi amme Sumbu Kalkuḍe ande, nina amme vōḷande; amme Bēlūru Belgu̥ḷa rājyogu binnaṇada bēlegu̥ pōtege, yānu̥ banjitu̥ yēlu̥ tingoḷudāye āvonḍu uppunaga pōtege. Onji ammagu̥ votti appegu̥ yētu̥ jana bāleḷu andu̥ kēnḍe, aiyēru̥ āṇuḷu yānu̥ kūḍudu vatti tangaḍi, tage sangaḍi yenkuḷu voṭṭu puṭṭinākuḷu ande mage. Ākuḷe pudaru̥ dāninde amme; Yellaṇṇe, Mallaṇṇe, Bikkuru, Nandu, Nārayaṇe, yena pudaru̥ **Bīru,** tangaḍi pudaru̥ **Kalluṛti** athavā **Kāḷamma** ande mage. Nina amma amma nāṭogu dāyegu̥ pōpini ande. Yena sari jōkuḷeḍa gobbugu pōye, amme dānti mundregu puṭṭudi mage ī anḍēru, onejeku̥ voride, yeruḍeku pējide, mūjeku̥ kuḍtu batte; appeḍa kēnḍe amme uḷḷenā ijjenā ande. Amme Bēlūrugu binnaṇada bēlegu̥ pōte, baruvendoḷu. Yena ammanu̥ sūvande saleujji, yena amma nāṭogu yenku̥ pōvoḍu, ammerenu̥ tuvoḍu, āre bēle tūvoḍu, anchane yenku̥lā maḷpoḍu, andu̥du̥ batte ande mage. Hara hara magā kōḍe puṭṭya, nāḍa baḷata (bēga), yena nāṭogu batta ande, kaṭṭeḍḍu̥ pakkane jatte; ammendanḍa yānē, magendanḍa īyē sei ande, nikku̥ yenku̥ sari muṭṭinavu yeḍḍānḍande. Maganu̥ tōlāḍu̥, toṭṭye, bāyāra bira mānye

(bāi nīlke panḍe) amme. Ammā nina bēle yenkụ tūvoḍu, piratti pōyinde. Yena bēle dāne tūvā, dāne kalpa magā, kōḍe puṭṭya, nāḍa buḷeta ande, yena bēle tūvanā arasuḷu tūterụ, mechchandi arasuḷu mechchiderụ, korana sēji korterụ ande amme.

Nina bēle tūdu kalpande saleyuji ande mage; pira voṭṭugu amme mage Beḷguḷagụ pōyerụ. Amme bendi bēle pancha diviṭige pattụdụ magakụ tūpāye, mārnemi kammoda bēle bentineṭụ onji kappeda rūpu bente. Ītụ bēle bentināvuānḍu, kappeda bēle mātra bendināvuāyiji, aikụ kaṇṇụ hirdināvu āyji, kei hirināua āyji, kārụ hirdināvu hirdinān āyiji ande mage. Rāma Rāma Bermettyē! tupinākuḷu tūterụ, mechchunākuḷu mechchiderụ. Ī kōḍe puṭṭya, nāḍụ buḷeya, yena bēlegụ vōne kūre panḍanē, indini arasu kēnḍerụdā āneda kārụgụ yenanụ kaṭṭadụ, kudreda chabukuḍu kuṭṭāverụ, yena māna hīna maḷperụ, yānụ ittụdụ dāne āndụ magā anderụ. Tānụ paṭṭi muṭṭu murinụ tirtụ pāḍye, tana sonṭada bīsatti dette, tana kekkilụgụ pāḍonḍe, tana jīva tānụ dettonḍe.

Īpōyaḍa pōlamma nina muṭṭu muri yānụ buḍayende mage. Amme keri mage bēleḍụ buddivante andụdụ nālụ rājyogu vartama pōnḍu. Belguḷada arasu maganụ lepuḍyerụ. Amāḍḍu yechcha bēle Beluguḷaṭụ mage bende. Yēlụ gunḍakaṭṭye Bermerenụ nilete, yēlụ nileta kunḍoku yeḷuverụ dēverekuḷenụnilete, sara kambo battaḍa nūttiruva kamboda bēle, rambe nāṭakada bēle, sūḷe guḍi buḍārada bēle bende, nāga kallụda bēle bende, sāra bākilụ onji bākilụ bēle bende, singa murugo lōṭanda bēle bende, lōṭanda āne kudre bēle bende, Bēlūruḍḍu onji kōlu bēle yichcha bende mage. **Kollūrugu** batte dēvastāna kaṭṭye **Mukāmbikenụ** nilete. **Īrnāḍụgụ** pōye dēvastāna kaṭṭye dēverụ kuḷenụ nilete. **Nagaroḍu** bēle bende. **Kārlada arasu Bairana Sūderụ** ī vartama kēnderụ, lepuḍyerụ; yena rājyoḍu bēle benoḍu anderụ. Āye, sāra kambo battaḍada bēle, nūtturuvo gombeda bēle, rambe nāṭakada bēle, Sūḷe guḍi buḍaranda bēle bende; boṭṭuda pādegụ pōlā, Gummaḍa Sāmi bēle bennānderụ (arasu). Gummaḍa[26] Sami bēle bende, Banta Kammo, mārnemi kammo maḷtenāye; anganonḍa bēle bende, hachchigonji aiva kāyi, pattle kāntyara (pūvvo) kuppo mijaṭụ kāyire konḍāle, Kārḷa aisarāḷụ kūḍule, Gummaḍa Sāminụ nile maḷpulende. Kārḷa aisarāḷụ kūḍunḍalā Gummaḍanụ sarūtā maḷpere kūḍuji. Sarta maḷpere kūduji Kalkuḍā bēle bendi sēji sambaḷa nikkụ korpunḍu, sarta maḷtu nirmitaḍa aikụ bēle seji korpenderụ. Āvujya (kartuḷende) datta kai pāḍye, pira hāsụ kallụ koriye, Gummaḍanụ nirmye, yena sēji pālane pāḍle; inigụ yānụ illụ buḍudu battadụ padụrāḍụ varuso āndụ kartonde. Ini alkaḍe portu āndụ, pōsoda yēḷyānḍụ, mari dina udiuḷḷa portugu balla, nikkāpi sēji pālane korpe anderụ arasuḷu.

Manadāni pōye, yena rājyoḍu bēle bendi Kalkuḍanụ bēte rājyoḍu bēle benyare buḍaye anderụ; yeḍata kai balata kārụ kaḷeyerụ. Rāma Rāma Bermmetti! Karto! alevu alepāyarụ (tirgāḍụ) kuselụḍụ būrtāerụ (haḷụ malterụ); Ire rājyoḍu yānụ aṭaḍḍụ būraye (labāḍi), hanḍi nīrụ muṭṭaye, kōpo kurdudu mana buguḷudu. **Yēṇūrugu** pōye.

Onji kaiṭụ onji kārụḍụ **Yēṇūruḍu kartu arasu Timmanājilendụdụ,** āre rājyogu binnaṇanda bēlegụ pōye. I bēleḍụ buddivantege, yena rājyoḍu bēle benoḍunderụ. Ayyayya karto! kai ijji karto, kārụ ijji karto, yānụ yencha bēle benikēnde; Kārlada arasu Bairụ Sūrḍerụ yena kai kārụ getterụ, bēle rājyoḍu bēle beniere kūḍandụndụdụ, ānḍa ūraye, hanḍi nīrụ muṭṭayendụdụ, ā rājya buḍudu ī rājyogu batte karto ande. Nina jāti, sarikerenụ lepuḍve ī bēleda nōṭa paṇoḍu anderụ. Yānụ kalti bēlenụāyagụ paṇụ paṇụ puṇyerekụ yānụ bēle benayena karto ande; īye bennānderụ. Battaḍada bēle madāvere anganoḍa bēle, Gummaḍa bēle bende, Kārlaḍḍụ onji kōlu hechcha bēle bende, banṭa kammoda bēle, mārnemi kammoda bēle, Banṭa Kammoda mēlụdụ tana pratir ūpu bēle bende.

Aṇṇe Yēṇūrudu bēle maḷpānaga tangaḍi Kellatta Mārnāḍḍụ panḍoḷu, yena aṇṇe pōdu padirāḍụ varuso āndụ, yena aṇṇanụ kaṇṇụ konḍu hūyini ijji, kebi konḍu kēṇiji, toṭande tōḷu mujjunḍu, tūvande kaṇṇụ nalipunḍu. Aṇṇa nāṭogu yenkụ pōvoḍụ, yena aṇṇanụ voḷḷeḍala nāḍụ pattoḍa andụdụ, aṇṇagụ mukkunḍe neiṭu mūji achchi belloḍu podike kaṭṭyoḷu, pērụdụ

[26] This statue of Gummaḍa is about 56 feet in height.

beitadu̥ benjonoḍu podike kaṭṭyoḷu; appadaḍye, āryya kaḍupu (arita) mūḍeḍu̥ pori, aryyaḍu̥ nēyītu̥ aṇṇagu̥. Tanku̥, kāyindu̥ roṭṭi, udijānḍe keipu, mukkonḍe neyi, mūjachchi bella iretu̥ podike kaṭṭyoḷu, tare barchyoḷu, kaṭṭyoḷu, muttuda baktale dīyoḷu, kureḷu̥ padaka dīyoḷu, yeṇṇe vōle, yesaḷu̥ bugudi, muḷḷu koppu, baṇṇa sara, idekāji, chalaki, kāru̥gu̥ pilli menṭi kaṇṇu̥gu̥ kōlu mai, kappu boṭṭu dīyoḷu, jāgina sire tutyoḷu, paṭṭeda ravaki pāḍyoḷu, aita singāro, āyoḷu. Sādi muṭṭyoḷu, sakaṇa sertoḷu, Aṭkanda sāru̥ nīṭanda guḍḍe, āne kaṭṭu attasa, kudre kaṭṭu kinni gōḷi, Santandaḍaka, nīru̥ parivu, saroḷi sampakaṭṭe, kaḍatadu̥ Bēḷūrugu poyoḷu Bēlūruḍu aṇṇanu̥ kēnḍoḷu; aṇṇa pudaru̥ dāninderu̥. Bīru Kalkuḍendoḷu, Beḷuguḷāgu̥ pōte anderu̥; Beḷuguḷāgu̥ pōyoḷu, aḷḷu̥ Īranaḍu̥gu̥ pōtenderu̥. Ade pōyoḷu, aḷḷu̥ Nāḍu̥gu̥ pōtenderu̥, adegu̥ pōyoḷu̥, aḷḷu̥ Nagarogu pōtenderu̥; aḍegu̥ pōnaga Kollūrugu pōtenderu̥, aḍegu̥ pōnaga Peḍḍūrugu pōte anderu̥, aḷḷu̥ kaḍēku̥ kārḷagu̥ pōte anderu̥. Karḷogu̥ battoḷu, aḷḷu̥ kēnḍoḷu arasu mechchintinchchi bēle bende, nana voḷḷā inchidi bēle benyare kūḍandu̥ndu̥ onji kei onji kāru̥ arasu kaḍpāyeru̥; onji keiṭu̥ onji kāru̥ḍu̥ Yēṇūrugu pōte andu̥du̥ panḍēru̥. Ā pātero kēndoḷu Rāma Rāma! Bermettyē! uḷō uḷō vidiyē yena aṇṇanu̥ vōḷu tuke, vōḷu sandu̥ge andoḷu, aronḍu mureḍonḍu dartonḍu guddonḍu pāryoḷu. Ubāraḍe pōyoḷu, aḷḷu̥ Hoilārḍu̥ (koḷyoḷu) kēnḍoḷu, Hoilāru̥ nina aṇṇa pudaru̥ dāninderu̥, pudaru̥ Bīru Kalkuḍendaḷu; āru̥ Yēṇūruḍu bēle benpenderu̥, aṇṇa titi mati dāne andoḷu, āyāgu̥ onji kei onji kāru̥ ijji anderu̥, gontu kēṇonḍu Yēṇūrugu balitoḷu. Aḷḷu̥ tana podikenu̥ aṇṇa podikenu̥ tudeku̥ dakyoḷu; aḷḷu̥ madāvēre anganoda bēle, Gummaḍa Sāmi bēle māta āḍu̥ banṭa kammoda mittu̥ tana partirūpu maḷpunaga aṇṇa jakkelu̥ḍu̥ mōḷu pōḍu būryoḷu.' Ayyayyaṇṇā nina kei kāru̥ dāntiniyē aṇṇāndoḷu. Rāma! Rāma! Bermettyē! kandu̥du̥ attu̥ kaḷuṭu attu̥, arasu mechchidu̥ Kārladarasu Bairana Sūderu̥ yena rājyoḍu bendi bēlenu̥ bēte dikku̥ḍu̥' benyere āvandu̥ andu̥du̥ yena kei kāru̥ detteru̥ ande.

Ātu̥ pātero kēnḍoḷu aṇṇa jakkelu̥ḍḍu̥ kuḍtu lakyoḷu, Yēṇūruḍḍu Kārlagu̥ mukuḍḍu untyolu-arasugu bāse panḍoḷu, yena aṇṇa kei kāru̥ kaḷeyi arasunu tūva kēṇa (tūvande kēṇande) buḍaye, inchitti bhōga nanku̥ boḍchi. Ī pattu̥dī muṭṭu muri yena batta bangāru̥ kaḷedu̥ madāvēre anganoḍu pāḍugo andoḷu, anchane pāḍyeru̥. Pāḍu̥du̥ pancha diṭige pattonḍu mūjisuttu anganogu battēru̥, "Mā Dēverē," māyaka maḷpoḍu anderu̥; Kārlagu̥ mukkuḍḍu ma dāvēre anganoḍḍu mayakāyeru̥, nanku̥ puṭṭiame kara, seiti kara (sūtigo) nanna suddo ātu̥ji, namo **Kāvēri Kanya Sirito** (tīrto) mīkondoḷu, baḍakāyi Gangegu̥ pōyi andoḷu, Gange sirto mīyondoḷu. Kāvēri mīyeru̥, tage tangaḍi baḍakāyi Gange miyeru̥, **Tirpattigu̥** batteru̥, Ananta Nōmpu Ranga Pūje kei konderu̥ (tūyeru̥), aḷḷu̥ nāmo pāḍyoḷu, nāga betto puttonḍoḷu, buktida karaḍige pāḍyoḷu (chiloḍu) **Timmappa Dēvereḍa**, īre kapaṭa nāṭaka yenku̥ koroḍundoḷu gettonḍoḷu, **Kārlagu̥** batteru̥. Tage tangaḍi muṭṭa muṭṭa bannaga, nina kei kāru̥ kaḷeyi arasu aramane yevutūpāla aṇṇā andoḷu. Ōḍu hūnaga hojunḍu leppūṇaga kēṇunḍunde aṇṇe.

Arasu aramaneku̥ batteru̥, baḍakāi gōpurogu batteru̥, pogyeru̥, tenakāi agra sālegu̥ batteru̥, āsigeḍu̥ koḷḷi pāḍyeru karaḍigeda bangāru̥ dengāyeru̥, Seṭṭi pēnṭe Paḷuvere angaḍi suḍyeru̥ suḍu sūkaru̥ maḷteru̥; poṇṇānu̥ ī seṭṭālā, āṇanu̥ yanu̥ seṭṭavendoḷu. Kārḷa aisarāḷu̥ paṭṭoḍu āṇu̥ poṇṇu marḷu̥ maḷteru̥; arasu abbenu̥ niru̥ḍu̥ yēḷu̥ irlu nira muḍi kaṭṭu̥ dīyeru̥ (nīradu̥ kantāyeru̥). Irlu̥ jōgo pageḷu̥ḍu̥ māyo āyeru̥, kallu̥ ī dakkalā, tū yānu̥ dīpe aṇṇāndoḷu. Jōgoḍu (jīvoḍu) yena aṇṇa kei kāru̥ kaḍtadu̥ puṇedaru̥ māyoḍu yenkuḷu puṇeva andoḷu. Arasuḷe pēru̥ parivāḷoḍu (āhāra) nāida puṇa pīta kudanṭe paḍyeru̥. Arasuḷu, ī būtoḷu buḍupujjo, ī butoḷenu̥ bajāṇyeregu̥ banda maḷpere yēru̥ uḷḷeru̥ Rāma! Bermatte! anderu̥. Nallyāṇi Kalyandāru̥, kalpeḍa muttidu̥nāru̥; Kallaboṭṭi Aḍangēru̥, Kalāi Boyyandāru̥, Māraḍangēru̥ Maṭhikala Yantiridāru̥ mōkuḷu batteru. Yēru̥ mantiridānḍala ākuḷe jantro mantrogu yenkuḷu sikkaya jōgoḍu īru̥ munidaru̥ arasuḷe, māyoḍu yenkuḷu munivo anderu̥. Ā mantravādiḷeḍa yēreḍalā āyijji, nana yēru yērākuḷu uḷḷeru̥ anderu̥; Ubāru̥ḍu̥ ubāru̥ Hoilāru̥ malla kalpādi, malla mantravādi, malla jantri, āru̥ battu̥nda āvunderu̥.

Onji vōli ori māni kaḍāyeru̥, vōle vodige maḷteru̥ Hoilāru̥, ī chaṇa baroḍundu barettu̥ndu̥. Jalaka singāro āyeru̥, vaṇasu̥ balmaṇa maḷteru̥, aita balmaṇa āyeru̥, pidaḍyeru̥ arasu rājyogu, Ubāra tudeku̥ battu̥du̥ jappunaga vōleda māni berie pōti tage tangaḍi

īru̥ pirām pāpora ijjo, tudeta kallu̥du̥ yērāvunyānderu̥. Veilaru̥ pira pāryeru̥, pira pāradu̥ tenakāi illu̥gu̥ pūyeru̥ (tana illu̥da kōṇe) kanchi kalembiḍu̥ kuḷderu̥, bahaḷa chinte maḷteru̥; ī būtoḷegādu̥ bāri arasu māni kadāyeru̥, dāne maḷpuge anderu̥, ī būtoḷenu̥ nenavarike maḷteru̥, yena mantrogu nikuḷu sikyarḍa japa jāvarada koṭṭya kaṭṭāve, vōḍilu̥ pādāve, muguḷi dīpāve, pēru̥ bajāṇu̥ maḷpe, paṭṭi sarapoḷi, palle nēvaḷo didu̥, Kārlagu̥ pōnaga jaya maḷtarḍa, nikuḷegu̥ incha maḷtadu̥ nēma maḷpāve anderu̥. Āpaga echchaitti kalpa jantro tūpāvere īregu̥ kūḍandu̥ yenkuḷe āya nirvodau (āpi vastuḷu) āgina onji konḍe tumbeda pūvu, varla buḷante ari, kallu̥, sunno, onji betto, vatte kallu̥, pāleda panchavaḷḷi; kukkuda munḍoḷḷi, kabeti pettada saneuḷḷa pēru̥ inchinau āvodundoḷu. Īru̥ karḷa aisarālu̥ paṭṭogu pōle, jaya maḷtu̥ korpe, uttāra umboḷi koḷpāvendoḷu; mudāi mālyoḍu kuḷḷe, ī sāpitta pattu̥du̥, mālya kaṭu̥du̥ mantro maḷpule, hanchi buḍule, kāida nevanoḍu kuḷḷe, kāida nevanoḍu kuḷḷunaga yenkuḷu barpo, kāidu̥ voḍḍile, **hanchidu̥ (tanchi) pāḍle,** Ubāru̥gu̥ konḍudu balle, andu̥du̥ panḍoḷu.

Anchane Kārlagu̥ batteru̥, battu̥du̥ mantravāda maḷteru̥, mudāi mālyeḍu̥ kuḷderu̥, hanchi buḍyeru̥, kāiḍu̥ voḍyeru̥, āpane māta sūkarāndu̥; nīru̥du̥ pāḍi arasu ajji batteru̥ mittu̥, dumbudalekkanē māta sūkara āndu̥. Veilāru̥ anchane Ubāru̥gu̥ konḍatteru̥, japa jāvara kotya kaṭyeru̥ hanchi pāḍāyeru̥, muguli dīpāyeru̥, nēma maḷtadu̥ mane dēveru̥ kula sāmi deivandu̥du̥ nambyēru̥, pū pūjane karitondu itteru̥. Nēmogu tageku̥ madu̥māya aita singaro, tangaḍigu̥ madimaḷe aita singaro maḷpāēru̥; santosoḍu nēma dettonḍeru, āre (Veilaru̥) mane dēveru̥ kula sāmindu̥ paṇapāyeru̥. Yenkulu̥ yāva dēsogu ponḍala ire purapu (pudaru̥) buḍayonderu̥.

Nalyāne Kalyandāru̥, Kallaboṭṭi Adangēru̥, Karayōḍu Joggyandāru̥, Koḷpuḍu Muppendaru̥, Māraḍangeru̥ Malivāra Jantiri, Malayāḷa Jantiri; mokuḷe illagu̥ pūyeru̥, tage tangaḍi sankaḍa āyasus pāḍyeru̥ illu̥gu̥ tū pāḍyeru, onji kōḍi pattu̥nāga onji kōḍi tekku̥nḍu̥, Nāḍu̥ Balyāenu̥ leppāyeru̥, karia katronda maṇetu̥ boḷya sario pāḍu̥du̥ nimityo tūpāyeru̥ varte būtoda (Kallurṭi, Kalkuḍa) upadrondu̥ tōjindu̥, aiku̥ nēma bali āvoḍundu̥ tōji battu̥nḍu̥. Anchanē sāna kaṭṭāyeru̥ nēma pūje maḷpāyeru̥, sankaḍa sāyasa guṇa ānḍu̥.

Bokko **Aruvada Guttu, Bangāra Guttu Bangāḍigu̥**[27] batteru̥, **Nāūrugu** batteru̥, aḷḷu̥ nēma gettonḍeru̥. Ubāra kaḍapugu batteru̥, kaḍapu Rāma Guḍḍa Kunjandu̥ letteru̥, kaḍapuda vōḍa konḍalā Rāma Guḍḍa kunjanderu̥. Naṭṭa naḍu irlu̥du̥, naṭṭa nadiru jāmonda portugu yērālu̥ leppuṇende, voṭṭe vōḍo mōnṭu jalla yennau, nīru̥ suḷipu, kallu̥ ḍavaṇe yenku̥ teryyandu̥ rātregu̥ ande; vōḍa voitu̥du̥, kaḍeku̥ kallu̥ dakkāde, kaḍapu vōḍo konḍu barāyende. Nina votte vōḍo monṭu jalla ī konḍu barayā attāndu̥du̥ panḍoḷu, āyereḍḍu̥ īyere vōḍonu̥ voitāḷu̥ tangaḍi, īyereḍḍu̥ āyere pōyoḷu, vōḍa kallada kōḍi āye dīlekkanē dīḍu̥ kattyoḷu. Inchi (vōḍodāye) pōnaga vōḍa buḍyere buḍujyoḷu, buḍi vōḍa naḍapere budijyoḷu, kaḍapuḍu pāra pāḍyeru̥ tage tangaḍi. Undu dāne jōga kalijagande vōḍadāye; Nāḍu̥ Balyani leppāye, kariya kadrenu maṇetu̥ boḷḷya sariyoḍu nimityo kēnḍe, Balyāya ganḍittu̥ paṇṇa, ālōchchi tūla ande. Kaḍapugu baide māyoda deiva vōḍa naḍapoḍānḍa kallu̥ māḍa kattavoḍunderu̥, deivoguḷenu̥ namboḍunderu̥, mane deiva kula sāmindu̥ nambuve andu̥du̥ panḍonḍe. Āyāgu̥ kanoṭu panḍoḷu tangaḍi; kallu̥ panchānga yenkuḷu kattuvo, mēlpure ī kattu̥la Kunjandoḷu. **Oipuda** dēveregu̥ **kaḍpāyi kallu̥gu̥** Ubāra kariyagu̥ māyoḍu voipādu̥ panchānga kattāyoḷu; mēlupure Rāma Guḍḍa Kunje kaṭṭye. Sāna āndu̥, bali nēma korye; nina bali nēmogu bahaḷa santōsāndu̥; nālu̥ rājyo yenkuḷu ponḍalā niva pudaru̥ buḍayo andu̥du̥ panḍēru̥ tage tangaḍi. Aiḍḍu̥ bokko mudāi rājyoḍḍu paḍḍāi rājyogu baḍakāi **Ankōle** gaḍiḍḍu tenakāi **Rāmēśvara** muṭṭa **Kāyeri** gattaḍḍu̥ **Nūguru** poyye muṭṭa kaṭu̥di illu̥ jaṭṭu̥di bākilu̥ tappande sarvatroḍu̥ kappa āyi kaṭṭu̥ dettonḍeru̥ tage tangaḍi.

Translation.

In the village of **Kellata Mârnâd** there was a woman called **Iravadi** and a man called Sambu **Kalkuḍa.** They had five sons, who had a sister. They (the parents) bound up their navels, and gave them names when they were born. Their names were **Yellaṇṇa, Mallaṇṇa, Bîru, Bikkuru, Nandu,** and **Kâlamma** or **Kallurṭi.** The five sons entered upon five kinds

[27] A place in Mysore.





V.—The Devil Worship of the Tuḷuvas.

Fig. 1. Kallurti. Fig. 2. Bobbarye.

of trades. The first son became a carpenter, the second a black-smith, the third a gold-smith, the fourth a copper-smith, and the youngest was born very tiny, but grew very big and became a stone-mason. He who became a carpenter was called Malenâḍechchava, the black-smith Nuḍtlachchava, the copper-smith Chemaṭigâr, the gold-smith Yaraṇṇa, and the stone-mason Kalkuḍa.

The youngest son and the sister were brought up together. When his mother was seven months pregnant with him, letter after letter and messenger after messenger came to his father Sumbu Kalkuḍa, from **Bêlûr** and **Beḷguḷa** : — "These letters and messengers are sent on first, but I will supply the pregnant woman with medicine, and I am coming," said Sumbu Kalkuḍa.

He supplied her with five *sers* of mustard, three *sers* of pepper, some dried cocoanuts, a pot full of oil, and a bell-metal vessel measuring half a *ser* instead of a stone one. He prepared a quantity of food for his journey, rice water and things with milk and warmed. He put the thread on his shoulder to let people know his caste, and held up an umbrella. He made sharp his adze and put it on his shoulder. He made sharp his chisel and put it in a bag. He made sharp his axe and put it on his shoulder. He carried a cord and a pole for measuring. He dressed himself in his dressing-room. He took a bath in his bath-room, and then he dressed himself again.

"I am going to the kingdom of Beḷguḷa," said he to his wife.

He went on to the road and saw a good omen. He passed by a water-course, by a long hill, by a Brâhmaṇa tree where an elephant was tied, by a small Banian tree where a horse was tied, by Santandaḍka, by a stream, by the villages Kokkaḍa and Nîreṅki, and by a platform round a *saroḷi* tree. He reached Beḷguḷa where he ascended twelve steps of stone. He passed by the gate. He passed by three large yards. He passed by a painted *châvaḍi*. He passed by a pillar of precious stones, and a large yard. There the King sat down on his throne with peacock's feathers.[28] He held up his hands and saluted him.

"Come Kalkuḍa, take a seat," said the King.

"Why did you send for me?" asked Kalkuḍa.

"Now this is evening and the time to take one's food: therefore take five *sers* of rice, and go to your lodging. I shall tell you your work to-morrow morning, and then you must work well," said the King.

He took five *sers* of rice and went to his lodging. He went to the palace at sunrise, on the morrow, when the King directed him to do fine work, such as a *basti* (temple), with a thousand pillars, and with one hundred and twenty images. Seven temples with seven idols : a small temple inside and a garden outside : an elephant in the outer yard, and also a large idol called Gummaḍa.[29] Work such that only one door was opened when a thousand doors were shut, and that the thousand doors were opened when a single door was shut : — a building for dancing and another for dancing-girls, and also others for lodgings :— an elephant that seemed to be running : — a fine horse and a lion.

"I want to choose my own stones," said Kalkuḍa.

"Go there to a large rock, and get the stones you like," said the King.

He went to a large rock called **Perya Kallûṇi** and remembered the gods on the four sides. He found the cleft in the stones and put his chisel there, and then he applied his axe. The stone was separated, just like flesh from the blood. Then he did fine work, and built a *basti* of a thousand pillars and one hundred and twenty images: a dancing room, and a lodging

28 Or in the peacock grove.

29 This has reference to the great statue of Gomaṭêśvara at Śrâvaṇa Beḷgoḷa. It is 56½ ft. high. See *ante*, Vol. II. p. 129 ff.

for dancing-girls: a small building inside and a large gate outside. He built seven pyramidal towers over the gates of the seven temples. He established seven gods. He made an elephant appear as if running, a beautiful horse, and a lion, too. He made a **Gummaṭasâmi.** He placed an elephant's image in the yard. He so built that only one door was opened when a thousand doors were shut, and a thousand doors opened when a single door was shut. Thus did he do his work.

"It is a year and six months since I came. I must go to my native country. I came, leaving alone a fully pregnant woman. Therefore I beg leave," said Kalkuḍa. The King presented him with a cot to lie down on, a chair to sit on, five torches for light, a stick to walk with, cloths up to the shoulders, and betel-leaves to fill his mouth.

When he returned home with all his rewards, **a brother and a sister were born twins at his house.** When the son grew old he went to play with some boys of his own age. The boys said: — "You are a rake's son, and are without a father. How can you play with us?" asked they. He said nothing at the first time they said thus, and thought a while on the second occasion, and at the last he stood up and asked his mother directly: — "Mother, have I a father or not?" asked he.

"Why do you ask, my son?" said she.

"Some boys of my own age called me a rake's son. I told them that I would go home and ask. If it were true, I wanted to cut your throat," said he.

"Alas, my son! when you were seven months old in my womb your father went to work in Beḷguḷa, and now that a year and six months have passed it is time for him to return," said she.

"I will not remain without seeing my father," said he, and tied up a parcel of food for his journey. He prepared some food with three *sers* of *ghî*, and three pieces of sugar; also some boiled with milk, and some with curds.

"I go; I want to see my father; I want to see my father's work; and I myself want to work," said he.

He started from his house and passed by a water-course, a long hill, a Brâhmaṇa tree where an elephant was tied, a small Banian tree, Santandaḍka, a stream, Kokkaḍa and Nîreṅki, and came to a cool platform round a *saroḷi* tree. His father, being much tired, sat with his rewards to take rest on this platform, and there the boy tied up his horse. The son did not know his father, nor the father his son. The son asked him: "Who is it sitting on the platform?," and held up his hands and saluted his father.

"From whence do you come and where are you going?" asked the father.

"I am going to search for my father," said the son.

"What is your country?" asked the father. **"Kellatta Mârmâḍ,"** said the son.

"What is your mother's name, and what is your father's name"? asked the father.

"My mother is called Iravadi, and my father is one Sumbu Kalkuḍa," said the son.

"Where is your father?" asked the father.

"I have heard that my father went to Bêlûr Beḷguḷa to do fine work, when I was an infant seven months old in my mother's womb," said the son.

"How many children have your parents?" asked the father.

"Five sons altogether and a sister," said the son. "I and my sister were born twins."

"What are their names?" asked the father. "Yellaṇṇa, Mallaṇṇa, Bikkurû, Nandu, Nârayaṇa. My name is **Biru**, and my sister's name is **Kalluṛti** or **Kâḷamma**," said the son.

"Why do you go searching for your father?" asked the father.

"I went to play with some boys of my own age; they called me a paramour's son. I said nothing the first time, and reflected the second time, and then I went at once to my mother and asked her about my father. 'Your father went to Bêlûr and he will return in a short time,' said my mother. 'I cannot remain without seeing my father; I will go searching for my father, I want to see my father, I want to see my father's work, and I want to work in the same way,' said I, and I came here," said the son.

"Good, good, my son! you were born but yesterday, but you have grown up very soon that you should come searching for me," said the father, and came down from the platform immediately. "It is true that I am your father and you are my son. It is well that we have met," and he clasped his son in both his arms and kissed him.

"Father! I want to see your work, let us go back," said the son.

"Why do you want to see my work? Why do you want to learn? You were born but yesterday and have grown up very soon. Kings, who examined my work, saw what it was, were satisfied, and gave me presents," said the father.

"I cannot stop without seeing your work and learning," said the son.

Then the father and the son went to Beḷguḷa. The father holding five torches, shewed his son all his work. He had made a figure on a pillar of *maharnavami.*

"All the work is done well, except the image of a frog which is not done well. Its eyes are not well done. Its paws are not well done. Its legs are not properly done," said the son.

"Râma, Râma, Bermetti! Many have examined and seen my work; many have been satisfied with it. You were born but yesterday, and are only just grown up, but still you have found out a mistake in my work? If the King heard of this, he would tie me to an elephant's leg and beat me with horsewhips. He would dishonor me, and then what would be the use of my life!" said he, and put down all his tools, and took out a knife at his girdle and cut his throat. Thus did he kill himself.

"Father, although you are dead I will not leave your tools," said the son. The news was spread in the four countries that the son who had killed his father was very clever. The King of Beḷguḷa sent a man to call him. The son worked at Beḷguḷa much better than his father had worked. He built seven temples; he established a Brâhma; he established seven idols in seven temples. He made a *basti* with a thousand pillars, one hundred and twenty images; a building for dancing; a lodging for dancing-girls; a figure of a serpent. He made the wonder of a thousand and a single door: he made a figure of a lion: he made an elephant that appeared to be running, and a horse. He made a Gummaṭa two cubits higher than that at Bêlûr. He went to **Kollûr,** where he built a temple and established the god **Mukâmbike.** He went to **Yêrnâḍ,** built a temple and established a god there. Then he worked at **Nagar. Bairanasûda, King of Kârkal,** heard the news, sent for him and told him to work in his kingdom. He made a *basti* with a thousand pillars, a hundred and twenty images, a dancing room, a lodging for dancing-girls.

"Go to a rock on dry land and make a Gummaṭasâmi there," said the king.

He made the Gummaṭasâmi. He made a pillar called Banta Kamba, a pillar of *maharnavami.* He made a garden inside the temple.

"You people, bring fifty cocoanuts in a basket, flowers in a basket, and betel-nut on a fan; call together the five thousand people of Kârkal, and raise the Gummaṭasâmi," said he.

Although five thousand people of Kârkal were collected together, they were not able to raise the Gummaṭa.

"O Kalkuḍa, we are not able to raise the Gummaṭa! We are not able at all!"

"I will pay you and give you presents for your work, but if you raise the Gummaṭa I will give you more presents," said the King.

"Very well," said Kalkuḍa; and he put his left hand under the Gummaṭa and raised it, and placed it on a base, and then he set the Gummaṭa upright.

"Give me my pay and the present that you have to give me! It is twelve years since I left my home and came here, O my master," said Kalkuḍa.

"Now this is the evening time and the time to take one's meal. Come at sunrise to-morrow, and I will give you a fitting present," said the King.

He went to him next day. "I will not let Kalkuḍa, who has worked in my kingdom, work in another country," said he, and cut off Kalkuḍa's left hand and right leg.

"Râma, Râma, Bermetti! Master! you have made me run about and wander, and recklessly made me cry out; but I shall not become a useless man, and I will not even drink cold water here," said he, and went down to Yênûr in a very grieved and angry way.

Timmanâjila was King of Yênûr, and he went there to do fine work with his single hand and leg.

"I have heard you are clever in stone work, and so you shall work in my kingdom," said the King.

"O Master! I have no hand; I have no leg! How can I work?" said he. "Bairana Sûda, King of Kârkal, has cut off a hand and a leg, so that I should not work in any other kingdom. I thought to myself that it was not good even to sit or drink cold water, and so I left his kingdom and came."

"I will call your caste people and you shall teach them how to work," said the King.

"Can I not work better than I can teach others?" asked Kalkuḍa.

"Then do the work yourself," said the King.

He made a *basti* with an enclosure and a Gummaṭa. He made the Gummaṭa two cubits higher than that at Kârkal. He made a pillar, and another for the *maharnavami*. He made a figure of himself on a pillar called Banta Kamba.

While the brother was working at Yênûr, his sister said at Kellatta Mârnâḍ:—"Twelve years have passed since my brother went away, and since then I have not seen my brother with my eyes, and I have not heard of my brother with my ears. My arms ache for want of clasping him. My eyes are weak from not seeing him. I will go and search for my brother. I will find him wherever he may be."

Thus she said, and prepared for her brother a meal with one and a half *sers* of *ghî* and three pieces of jaggery: a dish warmed with milk, and another mixed with curds: cakes made of rice, sugar, and cocoanut and fried with oil: rice pudding: and rice flour in a leaf. She took the *ghî* in a pot and tied up the rest in a bundle for her brother. For herself she baked bread and made some curries of vegetables: one and a half *ser* of *ghî*; three pieces of jaggery. She tied them all together in a leaf, and combed her hair, putting a chaplet of pearls on her head. She put jewels on her neck and in her ears; jewels called *watê* and *koppu;* coloured garlands; copper rings; jewels called *chalaki* on her hands; silver rings called *pilli meṇṭi* on her toes. She put collyrium on her eyes and a mark on her forehead. She tied round her waist a black cloth and she put on a green jacket. With all these things did she dress herself. Then she started and met with a good omen. She passed by a water-course at Aṭka, a long hill, a Brâhmaṇa tree to which an elephant was tied, a small Banian tree to which a horse was tied, a place called Santandaḍka, a stream, a platform round a *saroḷi* tree, and went on to Bêlûr, where she enquired after her brother. The inhabitants asked her his name.

"His name is Bîru Kalkuḍa," said she.

They said that he had gone to Belguḷa. She went to Belguḷa, where the people told her that her brother had gone to Yêrnâḍ. She went there, but the people told her that he had gone to Nâd. She went there, but then she heard that he had gone to Nagar. When she went there, she heard that he had gone to Kôllûr, and there she came to understand that he had gone to Peḍḍûr. At last the people of that place told her that he had gone to Kârkaḷ. She went there too, and inquired after him, and heard that he had worked with satisfaction to the King, who had cut off a hand and a leg, so that he might not work so well in any other country. She heard that he had gone to Yênûr with a single hand and leg. When she heard this she cried aloud:—"Râma, Râma, Bermetti! Alas my fate! Where shall I see my brother? Where shall I go?"

She began to cry aloud and beat herself. She passed by Ubâr, where she inquired of one **Hoïlâr**. He asked her:—"What is your brother's name?"

"Bîru Kalkuḍa," said she.

"He is working at Yênûr," said he.

"What are my brother's circumstances?" asked she.

"He has one hand and one leg," said he.

Then she went running to Yênûr, inquiring after him, and she threw her own and her brother's parcel of food into a river. While her brother was finishing the enclosure of the temple and Gummaṭasâmi, and while he was making the image of himself on the pillar, she arrived and fell at his foot!

"Alas! my brother, you have lost a hand and foot," said she.

"Râma, Râma, Bermetti! This has not happened on account of theft or falsehood. Bairaṇa Sûda, King of Kârkaḷ, cut off my hand and leg, so that I might not be able to work elsewhere," said he.

She heard him and stood up at once. She stood facing Kârkaḷ, and made an oath to revenge herself on the King for the injury done to her brother: — "I will not leave the King who has cut off my brother's hand and foot without seeing and hearing him. We do not want to live like this, brother! Let us throw all your tools and all my ornaments into the enclosure of the temple," said she.

Then they threw them in and walked three times round the temple by the light of five torches.

"Mahâdêva! make us disappear!" prayed they.

They disappeared in the enclosure of the temple, standing towards Kârkal.

"No ceremony was performed for our birth and death so as to sanctify us. Therefore, let us take a bath in the **Kâvêri** at the **Kanya Tîrtha.** Then let us go to the Ganges and bathe there," said she.

The brother and sister bathed in the Kâvêri and then in the Ganges in the North. They went to **Tirupati**, where they saw the festival of Anantha Nômpu[30] and the Raṅga Pûjâ of the lamps. She put marks on her body, took a cane called *nâga betta*,[31] put her box of ashes in a bag, and asked the god **Timmappa** to bestow power upon her. Then she took leave of him. Then the brother and sister went together to **Kârkal.** When they came near to the palace, the sister asked her brother: — "Which is the palace of the King that cut off your hand and foot? Shew me, brother!" said she.

"The palace appears to be at the distance of a call," said the brother.

---

30 Worship of the god Ananta.

31 A cane with black spots.

They went to the palace and they entered the gate on the North. They went to a room in the South', set fire to the King's bed, and hid his box of jewels. They burnt the greater of the 'Sêttis' houses and the shops of the Paḷuver merchants. They burnt down the town entirely.

"Do you brother, possess the females, I will possess the males," said she.

They made the people of five thousand houses mad at Kârkal. They dipped the King's mother in water for seven nights. They appeared in the day time, but disappeared at night.

"Do you, brother, throw stones, and I will set fire to the house," said she. "You King, destroyed my brother by cutting off his hand and foot during his life; but we will ruin you now that we are dead."

They put a dead body of a dog in the palace and the ordure of men and other filth.

"Râma, Bermetti! these Bhûtas do not leave me! Who are they that worship Bhûtas, and will keep them quiet?" said the King. Nallyâṇa Kalyandâr, and one who had finished all his studies of magic; Aḍaṅga of Kallaboṭṭi, Boyyandâr of Kalâi, and Mâraḍaṅga the Jantiri of Maṭhikala went to him.

"Though there are many to charm or enchant, we do not come under their enchantment or *mantram*. King, you ruined my brother in your life, now we will ruin you in our death!" said the sister.

None of the magicians could succeed: — "Who else can do better?" asked the King.

"There is one Hoïlâr at Ubâr, he is a very learned man, a great magician and a good conjurer. If he be called, it is good," sad the King's servants.

He sent a man with a letter to call him. Hoïlâr saw and read the letter asking him to come immediately. He bathed, took his food, dressed himself and started to go to the King. When he descended to the river at Ubâr, the brother and the sister, who had followed the bearer of the letter, said to him: — "Will you turn back? Or shall we throw on you the stones in this river?"

Hoïlâr went running back and entered a room in the south of his house, and then sat on a box of bell-metal. He became very sorry for himself: — "On account of these Bhûtas a powerful King sent me a messenger. What can I do?" said he.

Then he besought the Bhûtas:— "If you come under the power of my *mantram*, I will build a house for your worship, cover it with tiles, put a spire on it, make *japam* with milk, present you with a girdle of silver and a chain, too, and a belt with silver flowers. Also, if you let me succeed at Kârkaḷ when I get there, I will perform a feast for you, with all these jewels," said he.

"If we are to do this you must not use any charm or play any trick, but must do what we wish. We want half a *ser* of white *tumbê* flour, a *ser* of green rice, stone *chunam*, a cane, a betel-leaf on an Areca-tree, and a *mundolli* leaf on a mango tree, and the milk of a red pregnant cow. These are to be given us. Now go to Kârkaḷ of the five thousand houses. I will help you to be successful, and I will make the King present you with a remission of revenue in times of extreme scarcity. Do you sit in a room and worship us there. Then open your betel-nut bag and begin to chew betel-nut. While you sit there chewing, we will come to you. Then you should catch and place us in a nut and put it in your bag, and then take it to Ubâr," said the sister.

Afterwards this Hoïlâr went to Kârkaḷ and held a *mantravâda*. He sat in the room on the East, opened his bag and secured the Bhûtas in a nut, and then every thing improved. The King's mother who was sunk in the water came up, and every thing became as it was before.

Hoïlâr brought the nut in the same way to Ubâr. He built a room for worship, roofed it with tiles, put a top over it, performed a feast and trusted in those Bhûtas as the gods of his

house and caste. He afterwards performed a *pûjâ* with flowers. He presented the brother at the festival with all the dresses of a man, and the sister with all those of a woman. The Bhûtas readily accepted the feast, and were called the gods of Hoïlâr's house and caste.

"We will not forget you wheresoever we may go," said they.

They went to the houses of Nalyâna Kalyandâr, of Aḍaṅga at Kallaboṭṭi, of Jogyandâr at Karaya, of Muppendar at Kolpu, of Maraḍaṅga Jantiri of Malivâr, of the Jantiri of Malabar; and wherever they went they made the people sick. They burnt the houses, and while the fire was burning in one corner, it went out in another. They called Nâda Balyâya, and made him refer to the *praśna*-book on a plank of a black tree called *katra*, to the sound of conch shells. It was found in the *praśna*-book that it was an annoyance. The Bhûta Kallurti had caused the annoyance and that a feast and sacrifice were to be made. And so they built a *sânam*, and performed a feast and *pûjâ*. Then the sickness decreased.

Then the Bhûtas went to **Aruvatta Guttu**, **Bângâra Guttu**, and **Baṅgâḍi**, and last to **Nâvûr** (in Maisûr), where they were received with a feast by the villagers. They reached Ubâr Ferry, called to the boat-man Râma Guḍḍa Kuñja:—"You, Râma Guḍḍa Kuñja, bring the ferry-boat," said they at midnight.

"This is midnight and who is that woman that calls?" bawled out he. "There are holes in my boat, and the oar is bent. I cannot recognise the whirpool and the rocks at night. I have drawn the boat up and put a stone on it, and so I cannot bring the ferry boat."

"Cannot you bring your boat because of the holes in it and the bent oar?" the sister asked.

She drew the boat to her from the other bank and crossed over in it. She tied up the boat and put a stone on it as before. She would not let the ferry-man get into the boat, and when he climbed on to it, she would not let the boat proceed.

"What is this wonderful event?" said the boat-man. He called Nâḍa Balyâya, and made him refer to the *praśna*-book on a plank of the black tree called *katra* to the sound of white conch shells.

"Balyâya, say correctly and think properly!" said he.

"A Bhûta possessing charms has come to the ferry. If the boat is to go properly, a *matam* of stones is to be built, and you should worship there," said the astrologer.

"I will worship thêm as the gods of my house and caste," said he. Then the sister informed him in a dream:—"We will build the foundation first with stones and then you must build over it, Kuñja!" said she.

She built the foundations of stones at **Oïpu** for the god **Kaḍvaikal** and at the ferry of Ubâr, and the remainder was built by Râma Guḍḍa Kuñja. The *sûnam* was built. He performed a feast and sacrifice.

"We are very much pleased with your feast and sacrifice. Although we wander over four countries we shall not forget you," said the brother and sister.

In the places between the Eastern countries and Western countries; within the boundaries of **Aṅkôla** (in North Kânara) in the North and **Râmêśvar** in the South; and in the Ghâṭs called **Kâyeri** and at the sand-bank at **Nuguru** the brother and sister had feasts, without leaving even a house built or a door open.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

CHEYLA.

III. — Muhammadan Usage — *contd.*

(Concluded from p. 204.)

1878. — "At this time [1721], his 'Ámils or subordinate governors were: — for Alláhábád, **Bhúre Khán Chela**: for Irich, Bhânder and Kálpí, **Dalér Khán Chéla**; for Sípri and Jalaun, Kamál Khán; for Bhojpur, **Neknám Khán Chela**; for Shamsábád, **Daúd Khán Chela**; for Budáon, Sahaswán (now both in the Budáon District) and Mihrábád (now in the Sháhjahánpur District), **Shamsher Khán Chela** . . . . [1719-1720] **Dalér Khán Chéla** was ordered off with a proper force and marching rapidly he ejected the *thánas* of the enemy [Bundelas] from the *parganahs* of Kálpí and Jalálpur [in the Hamírpur District] . . . . **Daler Khán Chela** was by birth a Bundela Ṭhákur [or possibly a Jáṭ]. He was famed for his bravery . . . . Daler Khân was buried in the village of Mandah [20 miles from Hamírpur] and all the people of Bundelkhand mourned his loss. On every Thursday sweetmeats are offered at his tomb. Every son of a Bundela on reaching the age of twelve years is taken by his father and mother to Mandah, where they place his sword and shield on Daler Khán's tomb. They make an offering and the boy then girds on the sword and takes up the shield, while the parents pray that he may be brave as Daler Khán. Kettle drums are regularly beaten at the tomb." — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlvii., pp.* 283, 285*f.* For details of the traditions regarding Dalêr Khân, see *note C. p.* 365*ff.*

1878. — "[In 1727] **Bhure Khan Chela** now placed himself at the head of a number of brave Paṭháns and penetrated the enemy's army, intending to kill Chattarsál. Bhúre Khán lost his own life instead . . . . For the loss of Bhúre Khán the Nawáb [Muhammad Khán of Farrukhábád] wept and for many days after the battle wore orange-coloured clothes in sign of mourning, saying — 'What Bhúre said was true; he said he would die before me.'" — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlvii., p.* 293.

1878. — "[In 1729] the Bíbí Sáhiba mother of Ḳáim Khán, hearing reports of intended treachery sent **Neknám Khán Chela** to Faizábád. . . . . The same day Ḳáim Khán and Neknám Khán visited 'Abdul-Mansúr Khán and asked leave to depart. 'Abdul-Mansúr Khán proposed their waiting for the troops he had sent for, who would arrive in a few days. Neknám Khán then forced Ḳáim Khán to rise and pointing to Sa'dat Khân said to Ḳáim Khán, 'You will never deliver Muhammad Khán by their means.' He then in a great rage lead Ḳáim Khán by the hand out of the audience hall. With them were 60 Paṭháns clad in chain mail, whose orders were to strike at once if any one lifted a finger to touch them." — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlvii., p.* 300.

1878. — "Nawab Muhammad Khan to the last maintained very plain and soldier-like habits . . . . In his audience halls and in his house the only carpet consisted of rows of common mats and on them the Paṭháns and **chelas** and all persons high or low had to be content to sit . . . . when any noble visited the Nawab no change was made, the same mats were spread to sit on and the same food presented . . . . Then for each day after their arrival the Nawâb would name some **chela** to entertain the visitor sumptuously. [Then follows a story of Nawab Umdatul-Mulk Amir Khan and his extravagant entertainment by **Ja'far Khan Chela**]." — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlvii., p.* 338*f.*

1878. — "Slavery is a part of the Muhammadan legal system, but there must be, I think, few instances, in which it has been carried to the length practised by Muhammad Khán. Slaves were preferred to equals or relations as deputy governors of provinces, slaves led his armies, he even kept a bodyguard of slaves.

One of the reasons assigned for this preference is the trouble given by his brother Pathâns of Mau. Many of them at one time had farming leases of *parganahs.* If the Nawáb complained of embezzled revenue, their answer was, that they would fight, but not pay. If one of them was imprisoned as a defaulter, all the other Patháns rose in arms till he was released. For this reason it is said, some years after his rise to power, the Nawab remitted large sums to Afghanistan, and induced a colony of the Bangash tribe to emigrate and settle in the city of Farrukhábád. From among them he selected eighteen leaders as Jam'adars. They were petted in every way, the Nawab looking on them as his own right arm, and to them his daughters were given in marriage. He gave them land for their houses on the side of the city nearest to the Ganges, and the quarter to this day bears the name of Bangashpura.

Another expedient resorted to was to seize the sons of Rajputs and Brahmans, who were then made into Muhammadans. Some were obtained by consent, some by payment; others were the sons of revenue defaulters, whose sons were seized and made Muhammadans. Thousands of boys

were thus obtained and taught the precepts of Islám. From them were selected the leaders of the army, and the collectors of land revenue in the *parganahs*.

Muhammad Khán had quite a passion for increasing the number of his chelas. All his managers (Amils) and deputies (Súbahdars) had orders to send him all the Hindu boys, whom they could procure between the ages of seven and thirteen. When they grew up, they were placed in his police or army, or were appointed to manage the Nawáb's private affairs. When even an *amil* had a fight with a troublesome village or invested it, he seized all the boys he could get, and forwarded them to the Nawáb. Others became Muhammadans of their own accord. In this way, every year one or two hundred boys were made Muhammadans, and by the end of his life the Nawáb had some four thousand chelas. Many of these were killed in battle in the Nawáb's lifetime, many died without issue, and many were never married. The descendants of the rest still exist, and are distinguished as Ghazanfar-bachha (progeny of Ghazanfar), the title of Muhammad Khán having been Ghazanfar Jang. During the Nawáb's lifetime these men were never styled chelas, they were always known as Tifli-Sirkár (sons of the State). All places of trust were given to them, the Nawáb's household was in their charge, and his whole establishment under their orders. For many of them he obtained the title of Nawáb from the emperor. Of whatever caste a chela had been, he was married to the daughter of a chela originally of the same caste, a Rájput was given to a Rájput, a Bráhman to a Brahman, and so forth. This plan was followed till the time of Nawáb Ahmad Khán Ghálib Jang (1752-1771). After that time they all got mixed together, so that one caste cannot be distinguished from another. Among the chelas were the sons of powerful Rajahs, who by misfortune had been captured and made Muhammadans. Thus Shamsher Khán 'Masjidwala' is reported to have been a Banáfir Rajput, Sher Dil Khán was a Tomar, Pur Dil Khán a Gaur, Daúd Khán a Brahman, and so forth.

The Nawáb used to tell his chelas to collect as much money, goods or jewels as possible. In adversity such property could be made of use to him or themselves. But he who built a masonry structure in any village would be at once removed from employment. Nothing was to be built but with sun-dried bricks and mud mortar, and to each chela permission was given to build a single brick room as reception hall. The only exception was in favour of Yákut Khán, Khán Bahadur, of whom we will speak again presently.

A teacher was appointed for the boy chelas, his name was Kali Miyan Sháh. When a boy could read and write, he was taken before the Nawáb, who presented him with one hundred rupees, a shield, and a sword, by way of *khila't*.

From among the chelas of eighteen to twenty years of age, the Nawáb selected five hundred youths, and trained them as a picked regiment. They had firelocks of Lahore, accoutrements of Sultani broad-cloth, powder-horns each holding two and a half seers of powder, and each a pouch with one hundred bullets. One day, they were drawn up along the Jamna bank under the fort at Delhi while the emperor was seated on the fort wall, with Muhammad Khán standing in an attitude of respect beside him; Muhammad Sháh ordered him to fire at some moving object in the river, and was so delighted with the good practice they made, that he asked for a gift of the whole corps. — Muhammad Khán made the objection that they were a lot of Brahmans and Rajputs, who could do nothing but talk a rustic *patois* and use their swords. The emperor accepted the excuse, and sent one thousand rupees to be distributed." — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlvi., p. 340f.*

1878. — [Mr. Irvine gives the facts known about 47 of the principal chelas, from which it will be sufficient to extract the following as illustrative of the subject in hand.] "(1) Yákut Khán, Khán Bahádur . . . . Seven *ganjes* [an interesting Anglo-Indian form on its own account!] were founded by Yákut Khán . . . . the chelas of former days used to say that Miyán Khán Báhadur spent 25 lakhs of rupees on the *gunges* [another form!], his house and the *bághs* he planted . . . . (4) Mukím Khán. This chela held Ujjain during the time of Muhammad Khán, was Subah of Málwá . . . . He was with the Nawáb from his early days and the Bibi Sahiba observed no *pardah* to him . . . . (5) Jáfar Khán. He was the Nawáb's Bakhshi . . . . (6) Dáud Khán. He is said to have been originally a Bráhman. He was one of the chelas with the Nawáb in his younger days to whom the Bibi Sahiba observed no *pardah* . . . . (9) Bhúre Khán. A story told of this man shows the amount of license accorded to the chelas. One day Bhure Khan coming into *darbár* late could find no place to sit. Kicking away the pillow separating Mhd. Khán and Káim Khán, he sat down between the Nawáb and his son. Káim Khán turned angrily to his

father and said: — 'You have given such freedom to these chelas that they will never respect me.' Mhd. Khán got up in a rage and went off to his house at Amethi. Mhd. Khán then scolded Bhúre Khán saying that he had lost confidence in him, for if while he was alive they did not respect his sons, who knew what they would do when he was dead. Bhúre Khán putting up his hands said:— 'May God Almighty grant that I never see the day when you no longer live!' . . . . (10) **Sa'dat Khan.** He was amil of Mandeshwar in Málwá south of Nímach . . . . When Mhd. Khán quarelled with Sa'dat Khán Burhánul-Mulk, Subahdar of Audh, he gave his chela Sa'dat Khán the ironical title of Burhánul-Mulk! . . . . (11) **Neknám Khán.** He was one of the four chelas to whom the Bibi Sahiba used to appear unveiled . . . . (12) **Jahán Khán.** He was one of the Bakhshis and an old chela to whom the Bibi Sahiba kept no *pardah*." — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlvii., p.* 341*ff*.

1878. — [In **1748**, on receipt of the emperor Ahmad Shah of Dehlí's *farmán* to attack the Rohelas, in the days of Nawáb Káim Khán] "the principal leaders were then sent for to be consulted. Chief among them was Mahmúd Afridi the Bakhshi and others. These all voted for immediate war, but the Nawáb seems to have been reluctant to attack his fellow Pathâns. Shuja't Khán Ghilzai, who had formerly exchanged turbans with 'Alí Mhd. Khán Rohela, Yákut Khán Khán Bahadur, Shamsher Khán, Mukím Khán, Islám Khán, Kamál Khán, and Sardár Khán, **chelas**, represented to the Nawáb that the Rohelas were not his enemies." — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlvii., p.* 377.

1878. — [After describing at pp. 381f. the doings of the chelas at the battle of Daurí-Rasúlpúr, 22nd November **1748**] "the Rohelas advanced as far as Khákatman opposite Farrukhabad where they first met with resistance. **A chela who was 'Amil of the place** showed a strong front and kept up a vigorous musketry fire at the enemy, many of whom were killed. He would not abandon his *parganah* and the Rohelas thinking there was no need to entangle themselves in brambles left the place and marched back. All the rest of the Trans-Ganges country was thus lost permanently to the Farrukhábád Nawáb. Only Amritpur, Khákatman and Paramnagar were preserved through the courage of this nameless chela." — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlvii., p.* 383.

1879. — "[After the battle of Khudaganj, 2nd August **1750**] Ahmad Khan [of Farrukhábád] sent one of his father's **chelas**, whom he trusted, his name was **Bhúre Khán,** with five hundred matchlock-men to take possession of Kannauj . . . . **Rahm Khán Chela** used to say that his father Diláwar Khán, then very young, visited Kannauj a few days after the battle and at the commander's invitation he went into the Rang Mahal. There were no people in it, but bags of rupees and gold coins were scattered about . . . . Diláwar Khán lived all his life on the proceeds of the things he carried away with the Kila'dár's permission and at his death he left house and a pot full of gold coins." — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlviii., p.* 66.

1879. — "[To stop the rising that led to the battle of Khudaganj, 23rd July **1750**, 'Abdul-Mansúr Khán the Wazír] marched with a large force of his own troops . . . . and contingents under . . . . **Ismá'il Beg Khán Chela, 'Ise Beg Khán Chela.**" — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlviii., p.* 68.

1879. — "The Wazír's orders to put the five **Chelas** to death reached Jalalu'ddin Haidar the Wazír's son (afterwards known as Shuja'uddaula) and on the 20th Ramzan (12th August **1750**) he directed their jailor Zainul-'Abidain to bring them forth. [Then follows a long account of the execution of **Shamsher Khán** and four others]." — *Irvine, Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlviii., p.* 69*f*.

1879. — "According to the custom of his family Nawáb Ahmad Khán **made about three or four hundred Hindu boys into chelas.** Those who had charge of his territory acquired wealth: the rest who received only pay and gifts rose to no eminence. They were all known as **Ghâlib Bachha.** (1) **Zu'lfikar Khán.** In Ahmad Khán's time there were three men known as Nawábs, at whose houses the *naubat* was played: 1st, Ahmád Khán himself, called the Bare Nawáb; 2nd, **Zu'lfikar Khán, called the Majhle Nawáb; 3rd, Dáim Khán, called the Chhôte Nawáb.** . . . . (2) Dáim Khán, — **Islám Khán, chela of Shamsher Khán, chela of Nawáb Muhammad Khán,** had two sons: (*a*) Roshan Khán, and (*b*) **Dáim Khán** . . . . Ahmad Khán said he would adopt him and gave him the titles of Ázim Jang Muhammad Dáim Khán Bahádur, but he was popularly known as the Chhôte Nawáb . . . . In his childhood the emperor Ahmad Sháh had held him in his lap, fed him with his own hand, put on his shoulders miniature kettle-drums (*nakkárah and dauki*), thus conferring upon him the *naubat* . . . . [Here follows an account of 35 chelas.]" — *Irvine,*

Bangash Nawabs, in J. A. S. B., Vol. xlviii., p. 160 *ff.*

1884.—"Káim Khán, the Nawab's [Farukhabad] elder son, beseiged Jarahwár in the east of Bánda, while Daler Khán, a trusted **chela**, advanced from his head-quarters at Sihonda towards Maudha in Hamírpur. On the 13th May 1721 Dabr [Daler?] Khán was defeated and slain close to the above-named town now in the Hamírpur District."—*N-W. P. Gazetteer, Vol. vii., p.* 154.

1884. — "The **chelas** [of Farukhabad] were slaves by whom most offices of trust under the Bangash dynasty [of Farukhabad] were filled. Such creatures were found better and more obedient servants than the haughty kinsmen of a reigning Nawab. Chiefly Hindu by birth these slaves had been seized as boys and brought up as Musalmans. But in their marriages the restrictions of Hindu caste were until Nawab Ahmad's time [1750-71] observed. During the reign of Nawab Muhammad [1713-43] they were never called **chelas** or disciples, but always children of the State (**atfâl-i-sarkár**). Their descendants are now known as **Ghazanfar-bacha**, that is, 'lion-whelps,' or progeny of Nawáb Ghazanfar Jang [*i. e.,* Muhammad Khán himself.]" — *N.-W. P. Gazetteer, Vol. vii., p.* 154.

1884. — "When Muzaffar Jang [of Farukhabad] succeeded his father [in 1771] he was a lad of 13 or 14 years only. But the princely power was for a time faithfully wielded by the pay-master Fakhruddaula [a chela], whose first task was to repress a disturbance raised by Murtaza, one of the surviving sons of Nawáb Muhammad Khán . . . . Murtaza Khán was wounded and taken prisoner. He afterwards died in prison. Not long after this Fakhruddaula was assassinated by Námdár Khán **chela**, a partisan of Murtaza Khán." — *N.-W. P. Gazetteer, Vol. vii., p.* 173.

1884. — "There were two claimants to the succession [in 1796]. The **chelas** Parmal and Muhamdi Kháns put forward the late Nawab's [of Farukhabad] second son Imdád Husain." — *N.-W. P. Gazetteer, Vol. vii., p.* 171.

1884. — "Mukhím Khán, one of the most distinguished of Nawab Muhammad's slave officials (**chelas**). He was for a short time governor of Pargana Shamsabad which of course included Káimganj [in Farukhabad]." — *N.-W. P. Gazetteer, Vol. vii., p.* 269.

1884. — "Yákútganj [in Farukhabad], originally called Sarái Núri . . . . By a eunuch Sarái Nári was certainly founded. Presented as a gift to Muhammad, first Nawab of Farukhábád (1713-43) the slave Yákút or Ruby rapidly rose in that prince's favour. He was appointed *názir* and ennobled under the title of Khán Bahádur. But of his servile origin Yákút was never ashamed. The slave officers of the Nawâb, afterwards called **chelas**, were then known as **Tifl-i-sarkár** or children of the State, and the motto which Yákút caused to be engraved on his seal was this: —

Yákút-i-surkhrú ba tufail-i-Mhd. ast.
Red-faced Ruby is as the little child of Mahomed.

Mhd.'s officers were forbidden to erect any structure more lasting than mud or sun-dried bricks. They might indeed build as a reception-hall one kiln-brick chamber; but any further dabbling in bricks and mortar was the prerogative of the Nawab alone. In Yákút's case, however, the prohibition was removed. The Nawab remarked that he could never have children, and that it did not much matter what buildings he left to revert to the State on his death. Yákút thereon built seven markets (ganj) including Yákútganj. It was founded in 1739 [1152 A. H.] . . . . The remaining foundations were:— (1) Khudâganj in this district; (2) Kâsganj or Yákútganj; (3) Aliganj; and (4) Daryáoganj in Eta; (5) Kauriyaganj, probably the place so named in Alígarh; and (6) Nabiganj in Mainpuri." — *N.-W. P. Gazetteer, Vol. vii., p.* 401*f. and n.*

1884. — "*Dânî nâṅ pîr beṭâ diṭṭâ,*
Sewadâr Sarwar dâ kîtâ:
Kuṭṭîṅ chûrîâṅ kare tayyârî
Pîrâṅ sadwâîâṅ.
Unhâṅ pîrâṅ âsâdâr **chele** *kîte.*

The Saint gave Dânî a son,
She made him a follower of Sarwar:
Making ready cakes and sweetmeats
She called the saints.
The saints made him a follower and disciple.

Temple, Panjab Legends, Vol. i., pp. 93*f.,* 97: *Three Fragments about Sakhi Sarwar.*

1885. — "*Âîr* **chele** *ditîâ,*'
Phir **chele** *hoe mitthîâ!*
Gurâṅ Pîrâṅ to mukare
Sidh âpî âp sadâîye.
I gave my disciple a flock,
And my disciple hath become faithless!
Denying his Saint and Teacher,
He hath made himself a saint."

Temple, Panjab Legends, Vol. ii., p. 108: *Sakhî Sarwar and Jâtî.*

1893. — "**Chelah** (چیلا **chelâ**, Hind.) from (chêta San. servant) disciple. Especially Hindoo convert to Mahomedanism." — *Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. iii., Glossary, p.* 163.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE HARVARD ORIENTAL SERIES.[1]

THE University of Harvard, and Prof. Lanman, are to be congratulated on the successful commencement of the series of Oriental works now being issued under the above name.

We have here three important books dealing with Oriental subjects, printed in a style which, in neatness, clearness, and general get-up, has never been surpassed, and rarely approached, and edited with the care and accuracy which we are entitled to expect from Mr. Lanman and his distinguished associates. Each volume, too, is a sample of what America can do in very different styles. One volume contains a Buddhist-Sanskrit text printed in beautiful Dêvanâgarî type. The next is a Sanskrit philosophical treatise, printed in the Roman character. The third is a series of English translations selected from the Buddhist Pâli scriptures. It is true that the editor of the first hails from Holland, and of the second from Prussia, but America has shewn that she too has Oriental scholars, not only in the editor of the entire series, but in the author of the third.

There is one point about these books, indeed, about all other Oriental books published in Boston, which is deserving of general imitation. It is the absolutely perfect clearness of the Dêvanâgarî printing. Page after page may be searched, and not a worn letter — not even a broken ि, that bug-bear of proof readers — can be detected. Such perfection rouses feelings of envy in the heart of one who, like the present writer, has suffered many things at the hands of Calcutta compositors. I have had the curiosity to find out how it is done. The secret is simple enough. The type is never printed from, and hence is never worn out. As soon as the proof is passed for the press, an impression is taken in wax, on which an electro-type plate is made, from which the actual printing is done. The type is then distributed to its cases uninjured, and the electrotype plates remain stored for ever, available for further editions when the first is exhausted. There is no hurry about printing off. There is no cry against authors that type is being kept standing for unconscionable periods, and the out-turn is — well — as excellent as what we see in the Harvard Oriental Series. Why cannot Indian Presses follow this good example? It cannot be expensive, for the cheapness of the series is another of its features. Six shillings for a handsomely-bound book of 250 large pages of thick paper cannot be called excessive.

Of Dr. Kern's edition of the **Jâtaka-Mâla**, it is sufficient to say that it is worthy of its author. It is a valuable contribution to the hitherto somewhat scanty collection of published texts dealing with northern Buddhism.

Professor Garbe's edition of Vijñâna-bhikshu's well-known **Sâṁkhya-pravachana-bhâshya** is a fitting complement to his German translation of the same work which appeared in 1889. Dr. F. E. Hall's edition of the text, which appeared in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, has long been out of print, and the reprints which have been turned out in the Calcutta Bazâr can only be called piteous specimens of Bengal scholarship. I would call special attention to Prof. Garbe's introduction to the present edition, in which he discusses Vijñâna-bhikshu's views regarding the Sâṁkhya system of philosophy, and his attempts to reconcile it with the Vêdânta.

Mr. Warren's **Buddhism in Translations** is an altogether different kind of book from the two foregoing. It is an account of Buddhism told by itself. The author has selected passages from various Buddhist scriptures, and has arranged and classified them, so that, read in the order in which they stand, the student can gain a clear conception of both exoteric and (real) esoteric Buddhism. The work is divided into five chapters, occupying in all some five hundred pages. The first chapter deals with extracts from passages describing the Buddha's life, and contains a complete record of the authorised account of his lives, from his previous existence as a *Bôdhi-sattwa*, to his death as the Buddha. The second chapter similarly deals with the Buddhist doctrine of the Sentient Existence, and the non-existence of the Ego. The third deals with *Karma* and Re-birth; the fourth with Meditation and *Nirvâṇa;* and the fifth with the Buddhistic Orders. A word of praise must be given to Mr. Warren's translations of the metrical texts. He has selected an easy unrhymed quatrain as the medium of his version, which well reproduces the unelaborated swing of the original.

Bankipur, 13-8-96. G. A. G.

[1] HARVARD ORIENTAL SERIES, edited with the co-operation of various scholars by CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN, Professor of Sanskrit in Harvard University. Published for Harvard University, by Ginn & Co., Boston, Mass., U. S. A., London: Ginn & Co., 37, Bedford St., Strand, W. C.

Vol. I., The *Jâtaka-Mâlâ*, or *Bôdhisattvâvadâna-Mâlâ*, by Ârya-Śûa, edited by Dr. Hendrik Kern. Price 6 shillings. 1891.

Vol. II., The *Sâṁkhya-Pravachana-Bhâshya*, by Vijñânabhikshu, edited by Richard Garbe. Price 6 shillings. 1895.

Vol. III., *Buddhism in Translations*, by Henry Clarke Warren. Price 5 shillings. 1896.

WARREN'S RULES FOR FINDING JUPITER'S PLACE.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN, C. I. E.; GÖTTINGEN.

THE dates of some inscriptions record that on the day of the date Jupiter was in a certain sign of the zodiac. Thus the Bhaṭkaḷ plates of the time of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara[1] are dated 'in the Kshaya *saṁvatsara* which corresponded to the 'Saka year 1309, **when Jupiter was in (the sign) Siṁha,** on Thursday, the fifth *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha;' and this practice of quoting the sign in which Jupiter was at a particular time is especially common in dates of the Kollam era. In order to verify dates, we therefore occasionally must calculate Jupiter's place, or find his longitude, for a given day. This may be done by certain rules and tables in Warren's *Kâla-saṁkalita*, but that work is very difficult to obtain now. To supply a substitute, I reprint here two of Warren's Tables, slightly modified, and give his rules, some of them so altered as to make them applicable to some Tables in Vol. XVIII. of this Journal. I shall only be too glad, if my doing this will induce a more competent scholar to show us how the problem may be solved in a simpler manner.[2]

To show the working of the rules and Tables here given, I take as an example **the 18th October A. D. 475,** when, according to Mr. Dîkshit,[3] the true longitude of Jupiter was 195° 24′.

RULES.

1. — Convert the given date into **the corresponding day of the Julian period,** by Table I. in Vol. XVIII. p. 203.

The 18th October A. D. 475 is found to be the day 1894 842 of the Julian period.

2. — To find **Jupiter's mean place,** use the Tables 1 and 2 in Vol. XVIII. pp. 382 and 383, taking the Nos. 1-12, 13-24, 25-36, 37-48, and 49-60 in the first column of Table 2 in each case to be equivalent to the (complete) signs from 0 to 11,[4] thus:—

From the day of the Julian period subtract the next lower number of days in the column without *bîja* of Table 1. From the remainder subtract the next lower number of days in the column without *bîja* of Table 2, to obtain signs. The remainder divide by 12·0342 to obtain degrees; and the remainder by 0·2006, to obtain minutes.

Day of Jul. per.	1894 842·0000	
Table 1	— 1888 161·9457	
	6 680·0543	
Table 2	— 6 498·4810	= No. 19 = 6 signs;
12·0342 :	181·5733	= 15°;
	120 342	
	61 2313	
	60 1710	
0·2006 :	1·0603	= 5′.

---

[1] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 117. The date corresponds to Thursday, the 10th January A. D. 1387, and according to Warren's rules, here given, Jupiter's mean place on that day was 4s 11° 48′, and his true place 4s 21° 45′, in both cases in the sign Siṁha.

[2] I may state here that my manuscript of this article was sent to the press in April last, before the publication of *The Indian Calendar*. In the Additions and Corrections of that work, pp. 155-161, the authors have done now what I very much wished them to do.

[3] See *Gupta Inscr.*, Introduction, p. 105.

[4] 0 = Mîna; 1 = Mêsha; 2 = Vrishabha; 3 = Mithuna; 4 = Karkaṭa; 5 = Siṁha; 6 = Kanyâ; 7 = Tulâ; 8 = Vṛiśchika; 9 = Dhanuḥ; 10 = Makara; 11 = Kumbha.

Accordingly, Jupiter's mean place on the 18th October A. D. 475 was 6s 15° 5′; *i. e.*, Jupiter's mean position was in the 16th degree of the 7th sign (Tulâ), or his mean longitude was 195° 5′.

3. — Since Jupiter's true place is found from his mean place, the place of his apsis, and the sun's mean place, take **the place of Jupiter's apsis** for the given year A. D. from the accompanying Table I.

The place of Jupiter's apsis for A. D. 475 is 5s 21° 16′.

4. — To obtain **the sun's mean place**, find first the number of days of the elapsed years of the Kaliyuga, by Table V. Col. A. in Vol. XVIII. p. 207, and increase it by 2·1476. Subtract the total from the day of the Julian period. Divide the remainder by 30·4382, to obtain signs; the remainder by 1·0146, to obtain degrees; and the remainder by 0·0169, to obtain minutes.

The 18th October A. D. 475 falls in Kaliyuga 3576 expired, and the number of days of 3576 years, calculated by the Table, and increased by 2·1476, is 1894 631 0631. We therefore have :—

Day of Jul. per.		1894 842·0000	
		— 1894 631·0631	
30·4382	:	210·9369	= 6 signs;
		182 6292	
1·0146	:	28·3077	= 27°;
		20 292	
		8 0157	
		7 1022	
0·0169	:	·9135	= 54′.

Accordingly, the sun's mean place on the 18th October A. D. 475 was 6s 27° 54′.

Now, having found Jupiter's mean place, the place of his apsis, and the sun's mean place,—

5. — From the sun's mean place subtract that of Jupiter. With the remainder as argument take out the equation from Jupiter's Annual Table (herewith published), and apply one half of it to Jupiter's mean place, to get it **once corrected.**

6s 27° 54′	6s 15° 5′
— 6 15 5	+ 1 3
0 12 49;	6 16 8;
equation + 2° 5′;	Jupiter's place once corrected.
half of it + 1° 3′.	

6. — From the place of Jupiter's apsis subtract his place *once* corrected. With the remainder as argument take out the equation from Jupiter's Anomalistic Table (herewith published), and apply one half of it to Jupiter's place *once* corrected, to get it **twice corrected.**

5s 21° 16′	6s 16° 8′
— 6 16 8	— 1 5
11 5 8;	6 15 3;
equation — 2° 10′;	Jupiter's place twice corrected.
half of it — 1° 5′.	

7.— From the place of Jupiter's apsis subtract his place *twice* corrected. With the remainder as argument take out the equation from the Anomalistic Table, and apply it to Jupiter's uncorrected mean place, to get his **true heliocentric place.**

	5^s	21°	16′		6^s	15°	5′
—	6	15	3	—		2	5
	11	6	13;		6	13	0;

equation — 2° 5′. Jupiter's heliocentric place.

8. — From the sun's mean place subtract Jupiter's heliocentric place. With the remainder as argument take out the equation from the Annual Table, and apply it to Jupiter's heliocentric place, to get his **true geocentric place.**

	6^s	27°	54′		6^s	13°	0′
—	6	13	0	+		2	25
	0	14	54;		6	15	25;

equation + 2° 25′. Jupiter's true geocentric place.

Jupiter's true place at the time of mean sunrise of the 18th October A. D. 475 is therefore found to be 6^s 15° 25′; *i. e.*, Jupiter's true position was in the 16th degree of the 7th sign (Tulâ), or his true longitude was 195° 25′. This differs 1′ from Mr. Dîkshit's result, but the difference is somewhat less because Mr. Dîkshit's calculation is made for about an hour before sunrise.

Another Example.

I give another example in which there is a considerable difference between Jupiter's mean and true places.

According to a Benares *Pañchâṅga* Jupiter entered the sign Mêsha (*i. e.*, his true longitude was 360° = 0) on Jyêshṭha-sudi 12 of Vikrama-saṁvat 1949 = the 7th June A. D. 1892.[5] What was **Jupiter's true longitude**, by the rules here given, at the time of mean sunrise of **the 7th June A. D. 1892** (which falls in Kaliyuga 4993 expired)?

1.— Day of Jul. per. 2412 257·0000
2.— — 2408 040·4240
4 216·5760
— 3 971·2939 = No. 12 = 11 signs;
12·0342 : 245·2821 = 20°;
240 6840
0·2006 : 4·5981 = 23′.

Jupiter's mean place : 11^s 20° 23′.

3.— **Place of Jupiter's apsis : 5^s 21° 22′.**

4.— Number of days of 4993 years + 2·1476 = 2412 202·7212.

Day of Jul. per. 2412 257·0000
— 2412 202·7212
30·4382 : 54·2788 = 1 sign;
30 4382
1·0146 : 23·8406 = 23°;
20 292
3 5486
3 0438
0·0169 : ·5048 = 30′.

Sun's mean place : 1^s 23° 30′.

5 In other *Pañchâṅgas* which I have at hand, Jupiter is stated to have entered the sign Mêsha on the 19th June, on the 30th June, on the 1st July, and on the 2nd July A. D. 1892.

5.—	1^s 23° 30′ — 11 20 23 2 3 7; equation + 9° 16′; half of it + 4° 38′.	11^s 20° 23′ + 4 38 11 25 1; Jupiter's place once corrected.
6.—	5^s 21° 22′ — 11 25 1 5 26 21; equation + 0° 20′; half of it + 0° 10′.	11^s 25° 1′ + 0 10 11 25 11; Jupiter's place twice corrected.
7.—	5^s 21° 22′ — 11 25 11 5 26 11; equation + 0° 21′.	11^s 20° 23′ + 0 21 11 20 44; Jupiter's heliocentric place.
8.—	1^s 23° 30′ — 11 20 44 2 2 46; equation + 9° 13·5′.	11^s 20° 44′ + 9° 13·5 11 29 57·5 Jupiter's true geocentric place.

The true longitude of Jupiter at the time of mean sunrise of the 7th June A. D. 189[illegible] therefore is found to be **11^s 29° 57·5′ = 359° 57·5′**, which is sufficiently near to 360° = 0, to enable us to say that Jupiter did enter the sign Mêsha on the given day.

TABLES.

I. — Jupiter's Apsis.

Years A. D.	Place of Apsis.		
343 – 564	5^s	21°	16′
565 – 786	5	21	17
787 – 1008	5	21	18
1009 – 1230	5	21	19
1231 – 1452	5	21	20
1453 – 1674	5	21	21
1675 – 1896	5	21	22

II. — Anomalistic Table.

		+ 0^s—VI^s			+ I^s—VII^s			+ II^s—$VIII^s$				
		Equation.			Equation.			Equation.				
0°	0′	0°	0′	21′	2°	35′	17′	4°	26′	9′	30°	0′
3	45	0	21	20	2	52	16	4	35	8	26	15
7	30	0	41	20	3	8	16	4	43	7	22	30
11	15	1	1	20	3	24	14	4	50	6	18	45
15	0	1	21	19	3	38	14	4	56	4	15	0
18	45	1	40	19	3	52	12	5	0	3	11	15
22	30	1	59	18	4	4	12	5	3	2	7	30
26	15	2	17	18	4	16	10	5	5	1	3	45
30	0	2	35		4	26		5	6		0	0
		— XI^s + V^s			— X^s + IV^s			— IX^s + III^s				

III. — Annual Table.

•	+ 0.^{s}		+ I.^{s}		+ II.^{s}		+ III.^{s}		+ IV.^{s}		+ V.^{s}		
	Equation.	Diff.	Equation.	Diff.	Equation.	Diff.	Equation.	Diff.	Equation.	Diff.	Equation.	Diff.	
0° 0′	0° 0′		4° 49′		8° 55′		11° 18′		10° 51′		6° 47′		30° 0′
		37′		34′		25′		8′		18′		45′	
3 45	0 37		5 23		9 20		11 26		10 33		6 2		26 15
		36		34		23		4		22		47	
7 30	1 13		5 57		9 43		11 30		10 11		5 15		22 30
		37		32		22		2		26		49	
11 15	1 50		6 29		10 5		11 32		9 45		4 26		18 45
		36		32		19		2		29		51	
15 0	2 26		7 1		10 24		11 30		9 16		3 35		15 0
		37		30		17		5		32		53	
18 45	3 3		7 31		10 41		11 25		8 44		2 42		11 15
		35		30		15		8		33		53	
22 30	3 38		8 1		10 56		11 17		8 8		1 49		7 30
		33		28		12		11		39		55	
26 15	4 14		8 29		11 8		11 6		7 29		0 54		3 45
		35		26		10		15		42		54	
30 0	4 49		8 55		11 18		10 51		6 47		0 0		0 0
·	—XI.^{s}		—X.^{s}		—IX.^{s}		—VIII.^{s}		—VII.^{s}		—VI.^{s}		

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(*Continued from page 227.*)

BURNELL MSS. — No. 26.

THE STORY OF BOBBARYE.

ORIGINAL in the Kanarese character: transliteration by Mr. Männer: translation from Burnell's MS. checked by Mr. Männer. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 266 to 271, inclusive of Burnell's MSS.

Text.

Bobbarya ādi dīvu, paṭṭini **Gōveḍu̥** baḷḷetini **Kochchiḍu̥**; appe **Pātuma**, amme **Sulikalla Murave Byaṛi.** Vorti appe wori ammagu̥ yeḷweru̥ bābeḷu, puḷḷi kilaḍu̥ puovaḷu̥ kuttudu pudaıu̥ leṭṭeıu̥ **Kāyiri, Kalasappe, Genḍa Bommaye, Siṅkiri Sūṇi, Sumuṇi Ānande, Sarapoḷi, Suṇajānunaike.** Akuḷu malle āyeıu̥, baravu kalpaḍenderu̥, kaḍla bariḍḍu̥ saṇṇa poyye sere sere tarpuḍāyeıu̥, muḍāyi sine munḍuḍu pādieıu̥ poyyeḍu bareteıu̥ barawu ānḍu̥ palāyi pattiyeıu̥ **Uddanda Boṭṭuḍu** gujjiḷḷa siriwoli tarpuḍāyeru̥, muḍāyi mugalu̥ dembugu pādāyeru̥, paḍḍāyi pachche maṇida dembugu pāḍiyeıu̥ magramada dinatāni kaḍe wali katteriyeıu̥, kaḍi woli mutteriyeru̥, bānji woli bamosa barpāyeru̥, eipundi wōle muppunḍi grandha pattiyeıu̥, wōle pattu̥ wōdiyeru̥, grandha pattu̥ naṅgiyeıu̥ pōyye palayi wōle wakkara sama ānḍu̥. Yenkulegu nana ūru jattu̥ḍu̥ yēra saro byēra maḷpoḍenderu̥. Kanchi sidde, kanchi baḷḷa, baḷḷa mudi chirāwu pugeḷu̥ḍu̥ pādiyeru̥. Sara kaṭṭu̥ bella seppuda puri nūlu āru konḍadu māroḍendeıu̥, māta sari ānḍu̥, illagonji garu, illagonji maḍalu̥ pattiyeıu̥. Kaḍalu̥ bariṭu̥ maḍalu̥ angaḍi kaṭṭiyeru̥ sine kōluḍu padināgi bākilu̥ teneıu̥ padināgi bākilu̥ḍu̥ padināgi byara diyeıu̥, same, yenme gāchi kaḍale renke ragi, kāṇṭyoḍu̥ poddoḷu, kenchiḷḷa bonḍa, tippiḍu̥ podi suṇṇa marāyiḍu̥ yeṇṇe, charbuda baggèyi, kuḍpuḍu gōri bachchire, mugaḍora sārāyi, vanji bākilu̥ḍu̥ jauḷeda byara, peikuḍu̥ puggire, ballada byara ī yēra sara maḷtu̥ḍu̥ kāyida yechtha kaviji banjida paripaḍu̥ pōyijji, tuttudu muni dīyijji, munḍu tuttugi, kālogu eiwa nūdu waranu̥ galisuga, nana paḍāwu

tūwaḍu, paḍawuda yēra sara malpoḍu, yēlachchida yerme pāroḷu māroḍu, munniḍu̥ mūji achchi chirāwuḍu einu̥ adhdhi pāḍiyeru̥. Yēḷu̥ paṭṇada marakaleru̥ yēḷu̥ bāmonda Byāriḷu kūḍaṇḍu **Peirya Kaḍanjāru̥gu̥** pōyeru̥, Bermerenu̥ tūyeru̥ kei mugiyeru, jāti nītida Byāriḷā, jāti seṭṭi byāriḷā anderu̥ ūru jana. Yenkuḷu jāti rīti byāriḷu jāti seṭṭi nākuḷu attu̥ anderu jāti-Byāriḷu ānḍa angaṇa jappule dali guṇṭo pattule batti siriku̥ baḍe gūṭa paṇle īru̥ Bermere itti ūruḍu padawugu āpē mara unḍundu kōnḍa. Konḍupōyi warānu̥ boḷḷida baṭṭalu̥ḍu̥ koriyeru̥, warānu̥ tūdu **Bermenegu̥** sitta sellinḍu, māna worinḍu̥ jānu̥ pijiru̥nḍu̥ tirtu̥ kaḍu̥ḍḍu̥ mitta kāna muṭṭa tūdu nikuḷegāpi mara tūdu tūle, porlugu ponne, sireḷu̥gu̥ siruwa, beriku̥ berpalōyi, aḍi palāyi sekkida mara tūyeru̥, malenāḍu̥ ācharinu̥ lepyāyeru̥, kaḷamme kaḍi ari tumbe suḷi pū, maraku̥ muttāru̥ patti yeru̥ mūji seso pārāyeru̥, āne barakanda maraku̥, kudure barakanda gaḍi pādiyeru̥ mara būrtāyeru̥ bokkonji kaḍpanaga sāradātu̥ tekkelakku̥ji, paṇāwadātu̥ kujumbu lakku̥ji **Nādu̥balyāyanu̥** letteru̥ kariya kanda maṇetu̥ bolya sariya pādādu̥ nimitta kēṇderu̥. pūnjoḷu kilepi padu̥rādu̥ māgaṇeḍu̥ punjaku̥ paṭṭā, Bermeregu̥ nichcha māḍānḍā kelasa āpunḍundu tōgu̥nḍu̥ paṭṭogu sāroḷigu̥ **Pūnje** andānḍā pāru palenkiḍu̥ kuḷḷaḍu, muji daḷi muṭṭu kilepu āye kilepaḍu anchānda bangāru̥da kōkāyi, muttuda renke, boḷḷida kānu̥ korpa. Bermeregu̥ nichcha māḍa kaṭṭāwa anderu̥, muji daḷi muṭṭu pallenkiḍu̥ kelette, bangāru̥ tūkāyi muttuda renke baḷḷida kāru̥ koriyeru̥, Bermeregu̥ guṇḍa kattāyeru̥, maraku̥ weipu burḍāyeru̥, mara lattu̥ tunḍu pādiyeru̥ paḍāwugu, koḍi tunḍupū kammogu maḷteru̥, mara toḷtu āḷuḷegu̥ baḷḷu̥ paṭṭeunu̥ būru pādāyeru̥ mara weiteru̥ kōḍi maleṭu̥ weiteru̥ kalkuḍa kallu̥ kaḍateru̥ **Paḷḷita Paḷke Paḷḷida kāryagu̥** bakteru̥, Sūḷe, Kumble, Muṭṭida kariya, Panjimār kariya, Madu̥malegunḍi, Boḷḷeda kariya, Tambadagunḍi, Taraḍi yeḍanīru̥ kaḍatteru̥ Maḍu̥mbeilu̥ kariya āyeru̥ Udyāru̥ kariya battu̥nḍu̥. **Ponnedongaḍi Pōwuḷḷanāḍu̥gu̥** batteru̥ aḷuweda kōḍḍu̥mara weitu̥ḍu̥ boṭṭu̥gu pāḍiyeru̥ **Malenāḍichchawanu̥** appāyeru̥ paḍāwuda bēle pattāyeru̥ wonji paḍāwuḍu yēḷare maḷpāyeru̥, maṇile manṭame tēwuda guri padpeda kaḷu̥, nīru̥ upparige, kanji keikanji kōṇe, muttu ratanogu, wajra māṇikogu, ari bāru̥gu̥ adē pāḍu̥du̥ bēli ānḍu̥, paḍāwuda muttei tū būrḍu̥ Anatanna Marakale, ādi marakale, **Bobbari Kunnyāli,** Kendidēwu, i marakaleru̥ paḍāwuda āya paṇṇaḍu eiwa sāra aṭṭigu̥ pachcheda pāyi, pagaloda kombu, muttuda nangālu̥ māya nada pattu̥ mīna balaku̥ karubodāni yēḍu̥ kuri kali gangara āwoḍanderu̥, paḍāwugu maru mēlāteru̥ nīru̥ dingelu̥gu̥ paḍāngu daḷaddigu̥ wondāyeru̥. Ūruḍitti ari baru̥ paḍāwugu dingāyeru̥ alasu̥ keiteru pū kambogu nidu̥ puḍiyeru̥ gāḷita barawugu tūyeru̥ paṭṭeda pāyi yēḍeru̥ gāḷita barawugu nīradinjelu̥gu̥ sarūtu tenakāyi rājyogu pōyeru̥ **Mukkoḍu** kōṭe **Makāyiḍu̥** yēru̥ dīpuḍu nangālu̥ **Kochchiḍu̥** yēnosarō pādu warṣa āji tingoḷu ānḍu̥ battu bangāru̥ muttu maṇikya wajra weidūrya kei shēru̥nḍu̥ nama bottu̥ warusa ājitingoḷu ānḍu̥, nama batti ūrugu pira watti pōyi inderu̥, pirawattu̥ naḍu̥gu̥ bannaga kallu̥da paḍāwa baḍakāyi dikku̥ḍḍu̥ bottu̥nḍu̥ bariḷe paḍawu tenakāyiḍḍu̥ barpunḍu kallu̥ paḍāwudākaḷegā maggi paḍāwudākuḷegā bāru bakkaṇi ānḍu̥, wormunda kāḷaga ānḍu̥ sakala bēda sarwa lakkaṇodu yēḷu̥ irlu̥ḍu̥ yenma pagelu̥ḍu̥ kādiyeru̥. Kōṭeda bara chanḍuda, baro beḍipagari kāḷiga ānḍu̥ ine barawanta beḍi Byāriḷegu̥ pattāyeru̥ kallu̥ paḍāwādākuḷu. Byāri paḍāwu dariyu̥nḍu̥ allasu̥ kaḍinḍu̥ pūnkara mujjinḍu̥ pūkamba pāyi, parinḍu̥ nīru̥ ulayi ānḍu̥, kanti Byārlu kantiya, nīnḍi marakaleru̥ nīndu̥du̥ mittu̥ bāriya, wari Byari kare būriye, **Yērikallu̥ Dondīkalluḍu** kare būriye, ādi pūranda Bermeru̥ **Poḍikalāyā** Bermeru ākuḷe bala pakkoḍu jōganda **Byāripōye mayakāye,** setu̥ daḍi muṭṭye jartana batte, waḍḍe aḍḍaṇa bīpere chawala datta keiṭu̥ maṇi balata keiṭu̥ kanchida dāṇya muḷtu pōye, **Māyilapūjari Mungladoṭṭi** peri itti sānaḍu wāsāye, shēriye, aḷtu̥ **Mūlūru** shēritti sānogu pōpende. Aḍe pōye, aḷta janokuḷegu̥ kanoṭu sānāwoḍu ande aggelu̥ tōḍāwadunḍe, sara kīlāḷu̥ sara mēlāḷu̥ kūḍāye, Māyaḍanga uggelu̥ tōḍunaga kalte da murte mugitu̥du̥ beiyaḍa murtegu̥ pāteru̥ Pongadēru̥ beidye. Pongada undenu̥ tūyinayaḍa tūyendu̥ paṇaḍa, kenunayada kēnḍendu̥ paṇaḍa anderu̥ Bobbariye. Beidye tuyiṇāyaḍa tūyenderu̥ kēṇunāyaḍa kēṇḍenderu̥, einu̥ Bobbariye kēnḍu̥du̥ āyanu̥ yēḷu irlu̥ yeṇma pagelu̥ḍu̥ pāḷi tuḷaṭu̥ kartu̥ diye. Pongadēru̥ beidya santānada adeki nāḍu̥du̥ nāḍāyeru̥ lettu̥ḍu̥ mābra kuṭṭeru̥ Mūlūru nūdāḷu̥ kūḍāyeru̥ pāri maḷpāyeru̥, Ponga Beidya pāre tōgunḍu kuḷaṭu̥ jāri muṭṭu tojanḍu batti muṭṭu tōjujji, pongadēru̥ beidye tōjujje, Pongadēru̥ Beidya pāḷe tōjunḍu manḍeda pālegu̥ wotti kaṭṭu̥du̥ pāri panḍeru̥ kanti pongabeidyeru̥ nigatneḍa

Mūlūru sānada uḷāyida aḍipu Pungadēru̥ Beidya santāna sāra kālogu korpāwa panḍi nālayi donḍedu̥ āwuḍḍa baggone lakkyeru̥ Pongaḍēru̥. **Mūlūru** nūdāḷu̥ Bobbarya gu̥ wōḍuri māḍa wōḍilu pāḍḍu̥ mugili dīyeru ; raḍḍu warsogu wonji warusādi bali korpāyeru̥ aḷtu̥ **Mallār** sānogu pōye anḷu sankaḍa konḍu pāḍiye. Sopnoḍu sāna bōḍende, sāna ānḍu̥, ṇēma āṇḍu̥ aḷtu **Woiyārugu̥** pōye eiwa sāla āḷanu̥ kūḍāye andu maḷte. Sāna bōḍunde, auḷu sāna ānḍu nēma ānḍu̥. Aḷtu kāpuga batte Kāpuḍu Janārdana dēwerenu̥ sandiye Kāpu̥ Sārāngḷḷāga aramanegu̥ pōye baḍakāyi bākillu̥ bāḍunde, baḍa kāyi bākiluḍu̥ bākiluda Paradānindu̥ paṇpāye. Aḷtu̥ Ajjāluḡu̥ batte, auḷu taḷa poyye taḷa gettonḍe sāna malpāwonḍe bali nēma konḍe Yelledari Pāriḍu̥ bali nēma dettonḍe Bāwagu batte sāna kaṭṭāwaḍende Pāngāḷa kariya kaḍatte Pāngāḷuḍu̥ iruweru̥ siri kuḷenu andu̥ maḷtonḍe **Janārdhana** dēwerenu̥ andu̥ maḷtonḍe **Mūḍoṭṭu Mālingeshwara** Dēwerenu̥ andu̥ maḷtonḍe Kaṭṭipāḍi Sārangulḷāya aramane shēriye. Aḷta Ballaḷeḍa posayu̥ sāna āwaḍunde. Posaru̥ Kure Kunja kaḍatte **Maṭṭuḍu̥ Iṭṭumūrti** dēwerenu̥ sandiye Koḍidalla Bermere bala pakkoḍu nela uḍedu̥ udiya bende daḍi muṭṭa jaritana botte Ajāpakke yēḷu̥ jangiguḷu sāna kattāyeru̥ kōla koriyeru̥. Aḷtu̥ Udyāra kariya kaḍatte uḍyaraḍu Winayaka dēwerenu̥ sandiye. Udyāra munnūdāḷu̥ bārageru̥ workamba bali māda korpāyeru̥ kālādi mechchi warsādi nēma dettonḍe **Udapi** saḷaku̥ kedāragirta mīdu̥ ādi **Anantēshwara** dēwere balata bāgaḍu kempu tāware korpādu̥ udiya bende yeṇma samsthanada kartuḷenu̥ anḍu̥ maḷtonḍē dēwere sāra-bādyada vakkelenu̥ kūḍāye, dēwere kanchi māḍu̥ ānaga yenkonji kallu̥ gunḍa āwaḍunde yeṇma samsthanada kartuḷu paddāyi **Toḷḷaḷa Sānoḍu** kallu̥ gunḍa kaṭṭāyeru̥ yeṇma samsthānada appaṇe selipaḍu̥ kālādi mechchi warusādi bali nēma dettonḍe, aḷtu̥ battuḍu̥ Chiṭṭupāḍi kartu Sārangulḷāyanu̥ sandiḍu̥ Bīroṭṭi sānaḍu āye. **Pilichanḍi** bala bāgaḍu dompada bali nēma dettonḍe, aḷtu̥ Kuḍāru̥ Sankrāṇa dēwerenu̥ sandiye Waḍapānḍeshwara Balarāma dēwerenu̥ sandiye. Biliuguḍḍe Yetrālu̥ dēwerenu̥ sandiye Nandēshwara dēwerenu̥ andu̥ maḷtonḍu Kalmāḍi pādeḷu āye. Auḷu gunḍa maḷpā wonḍu warsādi bali nēma dettonḍe, Kalmāḍi pādedu̥ Tūṇada pādeku̥ workaru̥ muṭṭiye sabāsu̥ karite sanyasi paḍete muḍāyi gaṭṭada rajyaḍḍu paḍḍāyi samudra muṭṭa baḍakāyi **Angōleḍḍu̥** tenakāyi **Kāpu** muṭṭa gaḍuwāḍu̥ sthaḷoṭu nā ga jiḍe pāḍi kallu̥dauḷu Bermere gunḍa gaddigedauḷu dēwere dewasthannadauḷu wasadu̥ kāla pra pancha bali nēma dettonḍe.

Translation.

The original home of Bobbarye was an island. He was born at **Goa** and grew up at **Cochin.** His mother was **Pâtuma,** and his father **Murava Byari of Sulikal.** The father and mother had seven children. They bound up their children's navels when they were born and gave them names : — **Kâyiri, Kalasappa, Genḍa Bommaya, Siṅkiri Sûṇi, Sumuṇi Ânanṭa, Sarapoḷi, and Suṇajânu Nâyaka.** They grew up and wished to learn to write. They brought many a handful of fine sand from the sea-shore and put it on the western verandah. They wrote on sand, and learnt writing on it. They got planks. They brought short leaves of the palm-tree from **Uddanda Boṭṭu,** put them in the sun when it was low in the East and heaped them up in the evening when the sun was dark. Next day they cut off both ends of the leaves and bound the middle parts into books. They had five handfuls of leaves, and three of written books. They clearly read the writing on the leaves, and only murmurred the books. Their writing on sand, planks and leaves was done well.

"Now let us go and trade in the villages," said they.

They put on their shoulders a vessel holding about one-fourth of a *ser* and a vessel of bell-metal into a bag.

"We wish to sell a thousand bundles of sugar and coir of cocoanut fibre," said they.

They sold the sugar and the coir. They got a bamboo and a plaited cocoanut leaf from each house. They built a shop of cocoanut leaves on the sea-shore with sixteen partitions of thick bamboos. They put sixteen kinds of goods within the sixteen partitions. The goods were : — sago, oil-seed, wheat, Bengal gram, *reṅke* (a kind of grain), *ragi,* rice-flour in a

basket, red tender cocoanuts, *chunam* in shells, oil in a wooden vessel, bunches of Areca-nuts, betel-leaves heaped in a basket, toddy in bottles, cloths, tobacco in matting, and sugar. Though they sold them all, they did not recover the cost even of their Areca-nuts and living.

"We have not put on fine hanging cloth or even a *muṇḍu* (a small coarse cloth). We have not collected fifty or a hundred Pagodas in a year. Therefore, we must go and trade in a ship. So let us sell our small she-buffalo worth seven Pagodas," said they, and they sold the she-buffalo.

They put three Pagodas in their waist-cloths, and five Pagodas in a bag. Fishermen of seven houses and Byâris (Moplas, Mâpillas) of seven houses were collected together, and went to **Peirya Kaḍañjâr.** They visited Brahmâ and folded their hands.

"Byâris! are you in your caste or ejected?" asked the villagers.

"We are in our caste, not ejected," said they.

"If you are in your caste you may come into the temple-yard and touch the door, and then tell us what you want," said the village people.

"We have heard that there are trees fit to build ships within the village of Brahmâ," said they, and put the money which they had taken on a silver plate. The **Brahmâ-Bhûta,** pleased with the money, became proud, and his head was turned.

"You had better examine the trees from the lower to the upper forest."

They saw a fine *ponne* tree and a *siruva* tree and a *berpalôyi* tree, for the keel of the ship, and a teak tree fit for the planks. They called a carpenter, and brought some black and rough rice with some white *tumbe* flowers and sprinkled them over the trees. In this way they sprinkled them thrice. They made a cut as large as a horse in a tree of the size of an elephant. They cut down the trees. Then they began to cut another tree, but could not cut from it a piece as small as a *sâra* or as large as a rupee. They called **Nâḍubalaya** and asked him to refer to the *praśna*-book on a black plank made out of a *kadre* tree with white conchs. It was found that they would succeed, if a *puñjapaṭṭa* (small building) was built in twelve *mâgṇes* (villages) where the cocks crow, and if a roof was built over Brahmâ and his post.

"If **Pûñja is** the Bhûta for the *paṭṭa* for the thousand people in the twelve villages, he must ride in a palanquin at full speed and must cry out thrice. If he do this, we will present him with a beak made of gold, wings of pearls and legs of silver, and over Brahmâ we will build a roof," said they.

The Bhûta cried thrice from the palanquin. Then they presented a beak of gold, a feather of pearls, and of silver, and built a roof for Brahmâ. They cut down trees and made them into logs by measure. They cut off the top of a tree for the mast of the ship, and the trunk of a tree for the ship. They made holes in the trees and tied ropes and strong creepers to them, and drew forth the trees. They dragged them from the forest. They passed by a stone of Kalkuḍa and a place called **Paḷḷita Paḷke.** They came to the ferry of Paḷḷi. They passed by Sûḷe, Kumble, the ferry at Muṭṭa, the ferry at Pañjimâr, the deep pond at Maḍumale Guṇḍi, the ferry at Boḷḷe, the pond at Tambada Guṇḍi and the village of Taradi, and came to the ferry of Maḍum Baiḷ. Then they reached the ferry of Udyâr, and came to Ponnedongaḍi and **Pôvuḷḷanâḍ.** They dragged the trees to the higher ground at the junction of the rivers. They sent for **Malenâdechcheva,** and made him build a ship. They made seven decks in the ship, an office for business, holds for *keru* and *haruve* planks, a well, a cow-stall, a room for children and women, boxes for pearls, gems, diamonds and carbuncles, and also for rice and paddy. In this way they built the ship and finished the whole work.

"Now the necessary things of a ship are required. The old fisherman Anatanna Marakala, **Bobbarye Kunniyâli** and Kendi Devu must come too, and the fishermen must be told what we want for the ship," said they.

"Do you buy for five thousand Pagodas a silken sail, a mast of coral, an anchor of pearls, nails of wax, fish-oil, iron nails, goats, sheep, toddy and other liquors," said the fishermen. They drew up the ship on the sea-shore. They filled it with rice and paddy from all the villages. They fastened the ropes and made straight a small mast. They said the wind was coming and raised the silken sail. They sailed straight to the Southern Countries, and the wind blew and the sea was high. They anchored the ship at **Mukka** and dwelt at **Makâ**, and then anchored at an island and dwelt at **Cochin**. A year and six months passed since their departure, and they procured gold, pearls, rubies, diamonds and carbuncles.

"It is a year and six months since we left home; therefore let us return," said they.

On their return a stone ship came across theirs from the Northern Countries, when the Byâris' ship came sailing from the Southern side. The sailors of the stone ship and wooden ship spoke together and then they fought together. They fought a battle in the sea with weapons for seven nights and eight days. They hammered at each other with logs of wood, with balls, with guns and arrows. The sailors of the stone ship fired a cannon against the Byâris and then the Byâris' ship broke up, the ropes were cut through, the mast was broken, the sail was torn, and the ship was entirely wrecked. The water came in and the Byâris were drowned in the water, and went to the bottom; but the fishermen who could swim came to shore. Only one Byâri came to shore. He came to the land near **Yêrikaḷ** and **Dondikaḷ**.

There was an ancient Brahmâ called **Poḍikalâya**. The Byâri came on his right side and there he died. **A man became possessed of the Byâri (Bobbarye).** He took a shield, a fly-brush, and a ringing bell in his left hand, and a lump of bell-metal in his right hand. He left that place and went to a large *sânam* dedicated to Mâyilapûjari at Muṅgladoṭṭi. Then Bobbarye thought of going to a large *sânam* at **Mûlûr**, and went there, and there he informed some people in a dream that he wanted another *sânam* there and a well dug by a thousand coolies. He collected a thousand people, and began to dig the well called Mâyaḍaṅga and then disappeared. But a Poṅgada went to draw toddy, and saw him as he was finishing his work in the morning.

"O Poṅgada, do not tell of this, if anybody sees or asks you," said Bobbarye.

But the Poṅgada told it to whomsoever he saw and to whomsoever that asked. Having heard of it, Bobbarye sunk him in a lotus tank for seven nights and eight days. Then the family of the Poṅgada searched for him, and called aloud, and collected a hundred people of Mûlûr. All of them together prayed for him. Then his hat of areca leaf was found in a lotus tank, and they saw the marks of his feet descending into it but not ascending. The Poṅgada could not be found. But because the Poṅgada's hat was found in the tank, it was kept as a pledge for the Bhûta, and the people prayed that if the Poṅgada, who was drowned, should come up again, they would appoint him and his family for ever sweepers of the *sânam* at **Mûlûr**.

Before they could stop their tongues in their mouths, the Poṅgada came up! Then the hundred people of Mûlûr built for Bobbarye a *matam* with a tiled roof and a spire. They performed a feast once in two years and a sacrifice once a year.

The Bhûta then went to the Mallâr Sânam, where he made the people sick, and informed them in their dreams of what he wanted. A *sânam* was built and a feast was performed. Then Bobbarye went to **Woïyâr**, and made acquaintance with a thousand people there and asked them for a *sânam*. A *sânam* was built there and a feast was performed. Then he went to Kâpi, where he visited the god Janârdhan, and on to the palace at Sârâṅguḷḷâya and spoke to the King at the northern door, who gave him the Paradâni (Minister) of the Northern Door. He went then to Ajjâḷ, where he got a piece of land and made the people build a *sânam* and perform a feast. He had a sacrifice and feast at Yelledari Pâri. He went to Bâwa, where a *sânam* was built, and crossed the ferry at Pâṅgâḷa, where he visited two women. He made acquaintance with the god **Janârdhan**, and with **Mahâliṅgêśwar at Mûdoṭ**. He entered the

palace of Sârangullâya at Kattipâdi, where he asked the Ballâl for a new *sânam.* He passed by Posar and Kure Kuñja. He visited the **Vishṇu Mûrti at Maṭṭi.** He appeared from the ground on the right side of Brahmâ at Koḍidal, and went to the door trembling. Seven Brâhmaṇas at Ajapakke built a *sânam* and performed a feast for him. Then he passed by the ferry of Udyâr and visited the god Vinayaka. Three hundred fishermen of Udyâr built for him a *matam* with a pillar in front. They performed a feast once in two years, and a sacrifice once a year. He bathed in the tank at Kedâragirta looking like a red lotus, and went to the right side of the ancient god **Anantesvara at Udapi.** He made acquaintance with eight Swâmis (Sannyâsis) and collected all the musicians of the god, and told them that he wanted a stone building with a roof of bell-metal for the god. The Swâmis of the eight *mathas* built the stone temple known as Toḷaḷa Sâna on the West. He induced the Swâmis of the eight *mathas* to voluntarily perform a feast once in two years and a sacrifice once in a year. Then he went to Chiṭṭupâḍi and visited Sâraṅguḷâya and entered in a *sânam* at Bîroṭṭi. A feast was performed for him under a shed on the right side of **Pilichavanḍi Bhûta.** He left that place and went to Kudâr where he visited the god Sankrâṇa. He visited the god Balarâma at Waḍapândêśwar. He visited the gods Yetrâla and Nandêśwar at Billuguḍḍi, and made friends with them, and then went to Kalmâḍi, where a building was made for him and a feast once in two years and a sacrifice once a year. He put one foot on a rock at Kalmâḍi and the other one on a stone at Tûṇa, for which he was reckoned very powerful and able. From the Ghâṭs on the East to the ocean on the West, and from **Aṅkôla** on the North to **Kâpi** on the South, Bobbarye was celebrated with feasts and sacrifices in every habitation of Nâgas and in every temple of Brahmâ, and in every temple.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 140.)

Salutations. — Of the ideas that have prompted the salutation, three layers are preserved. The top layer is **simple inquiry,** as in the English, "How do you do?" : in the French, "How do you bear yourself?" : in the German, "How do you go or fare?" The question need not be accompanied by any marked motion of the body. This form of salute, though commonest among the nations of Europe, is not unknown among peoples who preserve earlier ways. The Egyptian says: "How do you sweat?"[46] : the Shonas near lake Chad stretch out their palms with the words, "Are you well and happy?" [47]: the Abyssinian kettle-drums repeat the sound of the Amharic "How do you do?"[48]

In Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Ceremonial Institutions* certain **forms of salutation** are grouped so as to shew that their sense is the **self-surrender** of the inferior who salutes to the superior who is saluted. Submission seems to explain the standing, kneeling and prostrate attitudes of Musalmân prayer. These attitudes may imply an underlayer of spirit action, with the object of getting rid of evil influences. Still, to a Muslim, the merit of the postures of prayer is that they are signs of Islâm or submission. In the self-surrender view of the salute, the raising of the hands before the eyes, the stretching of the arms by the sides with out-turned palms, the bowing of the body, the bowing of the head, have all their origin in the inferior who salutes placing himself in the power of the superior who is saluted. The desire of the superior who is saluted to prevent an undue surrender on the part of the saluter leads to a compromise. Among Indian Musalmâns, women guests, when they arrive, try to touch the hostess's feet. The hostess draws in her feet and touches the guest's head with her hands.[49] So the salute of bowing till the fingers touch the ground, when the saluter is completely defenceless, is prevented by the person saluted, and, under the law of compromise, the ground-touching salute passes into the

[46] Hone's *Table Book*, p. 187.
[47] Denham and Clapperton, Vol. II. p. 163.
[48] *English Illustrated Magazine*, May 1884, p. 191.
[49] Herklot's *Qanun-i-Islâm*, p. 116.

wide-spread **shake of the hand. Self-surrender modified by compromise may be accepted as explaining certain forms of salutation.** At the same time, of the forms that open to the surrender key several yield only to pressure and seem to shew that the surrender meaning has been imposed on an earlier practice which has its basis in a different class of ideas. The Chinese salutation, *chinchin*, where the body is bent forward nearly to the ground with the clenched fists set together and raised two or three times, seems at first an ideal case of submission. But the clenching of the saluter's fist suggests influence-holding or other mystic virtue. In any case the clenched fist seems hardly a sign of submission. Again, surrender fails to explain many forms of salutation. Finally, it is to be noted that the entire vocabulary of salute, the words salute, salutation, salve, hail, health, peace, farewell, good-bye, God keep you, have no connection with surrender. This consideration leads to the third or lowest layer. The sense that lies in the salute, whether the salute is the raising of the open right hand, the kiss, or the discharge of cannon, is that the person honoured by the salute may be well, that is, that he may be freed from the annoyance of evil influences. How far does the wish to scare spirits explain not only the different classes of salutes which are unconnected with surrender, but also the bulk of the other salutes which the surrender theory at first sight seems sufficiently to explain?

Salutes which have for their object **the scaring of evil spirits** belong to two main classes: **salutes of honour and salutes of dishonour.** Salutes of honour vary from the short informal greeting of friends to the most primitive, and also to the most refined ceremonial. The spirit basis of honour-salutes is the universal experience that all in a position of special respect, — the king, the conqueror, the bride, the babe, the priest, the god, the dead, — are specially open to spirit-attacks. To the wandering unhoused shoals of spirits the honoured living and the dead, whether honoured or neglected, form tempting lodgings because in the case of the honoured living the lodger will share, perhaps cuckoo-like he will succeed in monopolising, the respect shewn to the original tenant. And because in the case of the dead the spirit requires no placard to shew that there are lodgings to let. **The saluting of the dead** hardly fits with the surrender-with-compromise theory. At the same time, the different forms of saluting the dead find suitable explanation in the desire of the saluter to take into himself spirits that might otherwise pass into the tenantless spirit-house, and prove either a pollution or a vampire. The object of funeral rites is to scare or to tempt spirits, mainly the accursed blue-bottle north-fly of corruptions, from settling on the dead. The flowers, the pall, the plumes, the cakes, the mourning, the bell, the gun, the soldier's volley, the sailor's ensign, have all their origin in the struggle to guard the dead from the trespass of evil influences. It follows that all salutes to the dead, kissing the hand or the pall, bowing to the passing funeral, uncapping at the grave, are part of the great funeral ritual which has for its object to draw into the saluter spirits that might corrupt or annoy the dead.

The second great branch of salutation is the salutation of dishonour. A large class of **forms of abuse,** whether by sign or by word, have their root in **the suggestion that the person abused is either a devil or is devil-possessed.** Christ's remark,[50] "Ye are of your father the Devil," and the Jews' reply, "Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil," explain the bulk of abuse both by word and by salute. Pointing the finger of scorn, spitting at, cursing, making a devil's nose, a fig, or other phallic sign, uncovering the private parts, are all an avaunt — "Get thee behind me, Satan." The spittle is lucky and full of healing virtue; but the spittle heals because it scares evil influences. In their yearly devil-driving the Wotyak Fins of East Russia, as they oust the evil influences from each house, spit at them. They spit again when they have crowded the whole array of spirits on the border.[51] It follows that to be spat at is the same as to be told, "You are a devil or devil-possessed." So in spitting on Christ the soldiers put into action what the Jews had already said: — "Thou art a Samaritan

50 *St. John's Gospel*, viii. 48.

51 Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 180.

and hast a devil." So the salute "Damn" or "Damn to hell" implies that the person saluted is a devil and ought to return to his own place. Taking a sight, cocking snooks, and other names for what is known as a devil's nose, and consists of putting the right hand to the end of the nose, either open or with the middle finger stiff and the other fingers bent back, seems to get its name because of its value in any meeting with the devil. Like the spittle or the curse, the use of the devil's nose in ordinary life implies that the person saluted is a devil or is devil-possessed. So the Neapolitan fig, the right thumb between the first and middle fingers, has the same evil-scaring sense.[52] Finally, the sense of a hiss is to scare fiends. Both the Greeks and the Romans hissed when they saw lightning, and both hissed because they believed lightning was a devil; Satan falling as lightning from heaven.[53] So like other abuse-salutes the hiss means, "You are a devil or devil-possessed."

Besides individual salutes, special forms of salutations both in honour and in dishonour, belong to bodies rather than to individuals. Such are the signs of approval or of disapproval with performers at theatres and other public places; the clapping of hands, the cheers, the vivas, or clapping of tongues, the throwing of flowers, have the same object as the individual salute of honour, namely, to guard from evil the person who is held in honour. Similarly, the signs of disapproval, the hissing and whistling, the shouts and outcry have, like private abuse-salutes, the sting that the person saluted is a devil or is devil-possessed.

It has been stated that the root of the care shewn to free the person saluted from evil influences is the experience that any person in honour is specially open to spirit-attacks. The air swarms with given-up ghosts or unhoused spirits who roam in search of lodgings. No lodging is so tempting as the honoured man or the worshipped god. Further, men may have within them as lodgers, or as permanent occupants, envious spirits which looking out through the human eye waste and wither anything or any person that strikes the envious spirit as unduly prosperous. It follows that all persons in special honour require peculiar guarding. The babe, the bride, the conqueror, the orator, the performer, the priest, the king, the god, the dead, all need protection from the Evil Eye and from other hurtful influences. The need for saluting, that is, for saving or guarding those in honour, spreads into the not less pressing need of protecting one's friends, and, from a different view-point, of guarding one's-self and one's country from the evil influences with which strangers are haunted. The forms of greeting, both in word and in action, which have been adopted to secure safety for the great, happiness for friends, and protection against strangers, group themselves under the leading classes of device which experience has proved to have power either to scare or house evil spirits, or to secure a sacramental sameness of spirit between the person who makes and the person who receives the salute. The leading principles of protection are: —

A. To name a guardian influence at whose name evil influences flee;

B. To raise a noise;

C. To perform some act which can clear evil from (i) the saluter, (ii) the surroundings, (iii) the saluted;

D. To make the saluter the saluted's sacrifice or scape;

E. To enforce some sacrament by which saluter and saluted may have in them the same spirit.

---

52 The fig is not unknown in England:—

"Witchy, Witchy, I defy thee,
Four fingers round my thumb
Let me go quietly by thee."

The Denham Tracts, Vol. II. p. 82.

53 *St. Luke's Gospel*, x. 18; Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 384. Compare the Arabian saying (*Job*, xxvii. 23): "Men shall clap their hands at the rich hypocrite and shall hiss him out of his place."

Under A, **Guardian naming**, come :—

(*a*) The naming of God.
(*b*) The naming of Hail or Health.
(*c*) The naming of Peace.
(*d*) Goodbyes, farewells.
(*e*) Curses.
(*f*) Coarsenesses.

Under B, **Spirit-scaring noises**, come : —

(*a*) Singing and other music with national anthems and hymns of praise.
(*b*) Hand-clapping, joint-crackling, thigh-slapping.
(*c*) Gun-firing.
(*d*) Cheering, shouting, yelling, hissing.

Under C, **Actions to scare evil spirits**, come :—

(i) **From the Saluter** —

(*a*) Throwing and rubbing dust.
(*b*) Mouth-covering.
(*c*) Ground-touching.
(*d*) Eye-hiding.
(*e*) Tongue-lolling.
(*f*) Racing.
(*g*) Alms-giving.

(ii) **From the Surroundings** —

(*a*) Spitting.
(*b*) Health-drinking.
(*c*) Kerchief-throwing.
(*d*) Bough and grass-carrying.
(*e*) Lifting.
(*f*) Dancing.
(*g*) Finger-pointing.
(*h*) Offering.

(iii) **From the Saluted** —

(*a*) To pull his nose or twist his ears.
(*b*) To slap him on the back.
(*c*) To encircle him.
(*d*) To carry fire or iron round him.
(*e*) To rub him.
(*f*) To scratch him.
(*g*) To lift him.
(*h*) To wave an offering round him.

Under D, **the Sacrificial Salute**, come : —

(*a*) Evil-taking.
(*b*) Kissing and inhaling.
(*c*) Hat and robe-removing.
(*d*) Holding out the palm.
(*e*) Health-drinking.
(*f*) Tongue-lolling.
(*g*) Finger-pointing.
(*h*) Circling.
(*i*) Feet-washing and rubbing.
(*j*) Bowing.

Under E, **the Sacramental Salute,** come: —

(*a*) Hand-shaking.
(*b*) Kissing and inhaling.
(*c*) Spitting.
(*d*) Embracing.
(*e*) Health-drinking.
(*f*) Body-rubbing.
(*g*) Head-knocking.
(*h*) Bowing.
(*i*) Robe-sharing.

A (*a*), the guardian as a salute: When Dakhan Marâṭhâs meet each says, "Râma, Râma," and when Gujarâtîs meet their salute is "Jai Gôpâl, Victory to Gôpâl." In carrying the dead, in the west of India, most Hindus, admittedly with the object of keeping evil spirits from drawing near the corpse, keep up the cry "*Râm bôlô bhâî, Râmâ*, Say Râm, brothers, say Râm." A widespread use of God's name as a salute is in saluting the sneezer. In Tahiti, those near a **sneezer** say, "God be kind;" in Samoa, the salute is "May you live." The Tahitans say, "God be kind," because the cause of a sneeze is the sudden departure of an outside spirit from the sneezer.[54] The sneezing Kafir says, "May god look on me with favour." The Amazulus of South-East Africa thought a sneeze was caused by a spirit being near, and said, "Spirits, grant long life." The Damaras of South-West Africa are fond of sneezing and of saying "Lord."[55] Pârsîs think a sneeze is a sign of the victory of the vital fire over a bad spirit, and thank the guardian Hormazd for his aid.[56] When an Arab sneezes those round him say, "God bless you."[57] The Egyptians blessed God when a person sneezed, because, say the Jews, death came in a sneeze till the patriarch Jacob begged that death might be less sudden. The Greeks blessed the sneezer, of which Aristotle (B. C. 330) gives the false and philosophic explanation, that a sneeze shews the brain is in health. Pliny (A. D. 70) explained the Roman sneeze-salute by the tale that when his nostrils were touched with fire Prometheus sneezed.[58] Among modern European nations the Italians salute the sneezer, the Germans wish him health, the English say, "God bless you." The holiness of the sneeze is an example of the law, **the un-willed is the spirit-caused.** The sneeze marks the struggle between the trespassing spirit and the occupying spirit. The Tahitans and the Pârsîs have kept admirably near the true explanation. The common seventeenth century English greeting was: "How dost thou do," with a thump on the shoulder.[59] The parting was "God keep you," "God be with you." Coleridge's *Wedding Guest* gives the Ancient Marinera full greeting:— "God save thee, ancient mariner, from the fiends that plague thee so."[60]

A (*b*), the naming of Hail or Health: In India, after a mind or death-feast, the host says to the Brâhmaṇ guests, "Have you eaten well?" The Brâhmaṇs, into whom, along with the food, the dead and other spirits have passed, say, "May there be Health." In all ceremonies to the dead the word Hail or Health is the best blessing.[61] In North Africa, in saluting a stranger, a chief kisses the stranger's hand and says, "My men are come to wish you health."[62] The early Hebrew salute was "In the name of God." Then *shalom*, which strictly means welfare, not peace, came into fashion.[63] The Muslim greeting is "Peace be on you," and the reply is "On you be peace and the mercy of God."[64] The pathetic salute of the doomed gladiators, "*Morituri salutant*," was to save the god-emperor from the Evil Eye of the crowd

[54] *Reville Les Religions des Peuples Non Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 112.
[55] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. VIII. p. 284.
[56] *Op. cit.* Vol. VIII. p. 284. [57] *Op. cit.* Vol. VIII. p. 223. [58] *Op. cit.* Vol. VIII. p. 223.
[59] Aubrey in Hone's *Table Book*, Vol. I. p. 390; Pepy's *Diary* in Hone's *Table Book*, Vol. II. p. 830.
[60] Moxon's *Coleridge* (1870), p. 93. [61] Burnell's *Manu*, p. 74.
[62] Denham and Clapperton's *North Africa*, Vol. I. p. 29.
[63] Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III. p. 1093. [64] Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, p. 198.

and from the haunting of any gladiator spirit that might die unavenged. The greeting in Germany, Belgium and France is "Good Health."[65] Hail and health are the same; the Swedish for both is *helsa*.[66] So in Macbeth the witches salute is "All Hail," and Westmoreland's in Henry IV. is, "Health to my lord and gentle cousin Mowbray."[67]

The guardian power of a salute of curses and coarsenesses, A (*e*) and (*f*), is shewn by the women of the Mandan Indians saluting the devil with hisses and gibes;[68] by the Australian salute of whirling a lighted fire brand round their heads and muttering imprecations[69] to drive out the night-mare, and greeting a new moon with curses and coarse abuse,[70] the curses and coarseness being not for the moon but to scare the evil spirits that might harm the baby-moon.

Instances of B (*a*), that is, of the playing of music, national anthems, and hymns of praise as a salute, are numerous and universal. The great Abyssinian kettle-drums beat a welcome whose pulsings form sounds equivalent to the Amharic words of greeting.[71] Polynesians, who have not met for long, salute by a sad song or wail over those who have died since they met,[72] apparently with the object of clearing the air of their spirits. In North Africa, when high travellers visit a tribe, the tribesmen go out to meet the travellers, fall on their knees, beat a drum, and sing.[73] In Râjputânâ villages, early in the present century, women used to come out singing and dancing to meet travellers.[74]

In support of B (*b*), that the salute of hand-clapping scares evil, according to Brâhmaṇic Hindus,[75] on the great night of 'Siva (February 27th), all beings are purified, that is, are cleansed from evil spirits, by thrice clapping the hands. When the Kochs of Assam offer the first fruits, they call to their ancestors and clap their hands,[76] the clapping being to clear the air of evil influences which might deter the ancestors from coming. In West Africa, north of the Congo, when the chief drinks, a man strikes together two iron bars. All who hear bury their faces in the sand, and, when the sound ceases, clap their hands.[77] When a South African Balonda salutes, he drops on his knees, rubs dust on his arms and chest, and keeps on clapping his hands.[78] In Central South Africa, the salute of several tribes is by clapping hands.[79] Certain Africans consider the lion to be a chief. When they see a lion they give him the chief's salutation by clapping their hands.[80] The Shonas of Lake Chad, in North Africa, salute by closing the hands several times gently, as Europeans applaud.[81] In Japan, when a sun-worshipper enters a temple, he twice claps his hands.[82] At Nagasaki, in Japan, after the October festival, when the god is brought back to his temple, as he passes, the people bow and clap hands.[83] Pliny (A. D. 77) remarks: "All nations agree in clapping their hands when it lightens."[84] The other Roman mode of saluting lightning, namely, by a hiss, proves that to the Roman, as to the Jew "I have seen Lucifer as lightning fall," lightning was a fiend. It follows that in this case the object of the Roman hand-clapping was to scare a fiend; it further follows that the root of hand-clapping as a salute or as a means of honour is to keep evil from the person honoured. A form of hand-clapping is to clap the thigh instead of the other hand. The Andamanese, when they meet, raise one leg and clap the hand on the lower part of the thigh.[85] A trace of this

65 *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. VIII. p. 108.

66 Skeat in *Piers the Ploughman*, p. 108.

67 *Henry IV.*, Part II. Act IV. Sc. 2.

68 Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 184.

69 Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. p. 176.

70 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 175. The reason why the coarse is lucky is explained in the note on "Indecency," in a former number of the *Indian Antiquary*. Compare the strangely coarse abuse and jokes called *stenia* among Greek women at the Thesmophoria in honour of Demeter. Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 831.

71 *English Illustrated Magazine*, 1884, p. 191.

72 *Reville Les Religions des Peuples non Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 136. [So do the Andamanese. — ED.]

73 Denham and Clapperton, Vol. I. p. 143.

74 Tod's *Râjasthân*. [They do so still. — ED.]

75 Wilson's *Works*, Vol. III. p. 214.

76 Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 374.

77 Burton's *Mission to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 245.

78 Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 293.

79 *Op. cit.* p. 537.

80 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 350.

81 Denham and Clapperton, Vol. II. p. 63.

82 Ranjit Singh's *Japan*, p. 48.

83 *St. James's Budget*, 10th December 1887, p. 11.

84 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxvii. Chap. 5.

85 Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. p. 231.

practice perhaps remains in the outlying English slapping of the thigh under the influence of a joke, originally apparently with the object of guarding the honoured jester. Of finger-snapping and joint-cracking as salutes to scare evil, is the case of the Hindu snapping fingers in front of a gaping mouth to prevent evil spirits entering, or perhaps to prevent the yawner's spirit leaving his body. On the Guinea coast, after grasping hands as a salute, the thumb and mid-finger are three or four times sharply withdrawn on both sides with a snap.[86] When Negroes meet they pull their fingers till the joints crack, and when Negro chiefs meet they thrice snap the third finger.[87] Gun-firing as a salute, or guardian of the honoured, is a commonplace among European nations. Some Musalmâns of North-East Africa compliment a stranger by firing a gun close to his head.[88] In 1824, the traveller, Denham, and the local ruler were met outside of Sohna, in North Africa, by dancing and singing men and by shouts and gun-firing.[89]

Of noise as a salute B (*d*): In the Middle Ages, the people of Turin saluted an eclipse with a shout.[90] Both Greeks and Romans saluted the fiend lightning with a hiss and Romans with a whistle.[91] A form of noise much in use to scare fiends is cheering — cheers when a health is proposed, cheers in the battle-field, cheers at a ship-launching or a stone-laying. In the old North-East Scotland fisher's rite of carrying a burning barrel, called a *clavie*, round the fishing boats at the end of the year, the *clavie* was saluted with cheers when it was begun, when it was complete, and when it was burnt.[92]

To prevent the risk of injuring the person saluted the saluter must be careful that none of the spirits with which he is haunted pass to the saluted. The earth is the great mother and home of spirits. By **touching the earth** the dangerous spirit-force, that is, the evil spirits who make their abode in men, can be discharged. The larger or the more important part of a man that touches Mother Earth, the easier the channel for the discharge of these evil trespassers; the finger tip, the knee, the brow, the prostrate body. In the sixteenth century, the Yukatan or Central American salute was to touch the ground with the finger tips and kiss the fingers.[93] In A. D. 1520, when they came into the presence of Cortez, the Mexican ambassadors touched the ground with their finger tips, kissed the fingers, bowed three times, and perfumed their bodies with copal.[94] That, in **kneeling**, the knee is a channel of special efficacy is shewn by the practice in the Greek Church of anointing the knees of those who partake of the Sacrament. In the holy island, in Loch Finn, in Ireland (A. D. 1760), the penitent hobbled on his bare knees over sharp stones. By this means his sins, or haunting spirits, passed out through his knees.[95] The Balondah of South Africa salutes by dropping on his knees and rubbing dust on his arms and chest.[96] Valuable as kneeling may be as a means of passing haunting influences from the saluter into the earth the knee cannot compete as a discharge channel with the whole of the body. Like the Hebrew reverence, the Hindu eight-limbed earth-touching,[97] or *sâshṭâṅga namaskâra*, the Chinese cowtow, the Muslim *sijdah*, the chief salute in South-East and in equatorial Africa is **prostration**. At Dahomey, in West Central Africa, when presented to the king, people lie prostrate and shuffle handfuls of dust over their head and arms. In South-West Africa, in the Congo regions, before every village chief the saluter prostrates, kisses the earth, and scatters dust.[98] To the merit of discharging haunting influences, prostration adds the merit of **mouth and eye-covering**, and so of

[86] Burton's *Mission to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 36. The sense seems to be: the grasp is sacramental, that is, the grasp secures communion of spirit. The grasp is of the nature of an oath or bargain. The snapping is to prevent evil spirits gathering and spoiling the agreement.

[87] *Reference Mislaid.*

[88] Hay's *Western Barbary*, p. 55.

[89] Denham and Clapperton, Vol. I. p. 28.

[90] Lecky's *European Morals*, Vol. I. p. 390.

[91] Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 384.

[92] Mitchell's *The Past in the Present*, pp. 257-259.

[93] Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. II. "Central America."

[94] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 32.

[95] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," pp. 111, 112.

[96] Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 293.

[97] *Hitopadesha*, Wilkin's Translation, p. 117.

[98] Burton's *Mission to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 259.

closing the two great openings for the passage of impure influence from the saluter to the saluted. To prevent evil influences issuing from his mouth the Dahomey saluter rubs his face, especially his mouth, with earth or sand till a coating of earth gathers on his lips.[99] In Egyptian pictures the hand is placed over the mouth.[100] In coming into the presence of the Lord of Hosts the prophet Isaiah has his unclean lips purified by the touch of a live coal from the altar.[1] So in India, the Śrâvak or Jain priest, when engaged in temple service, wears a cloth tied over his mouth; the Pârsî priest adopts the same precaution in worshipping fire. The prevention of the issue of evil-laden glances from the eye of the saluter is a still greater merit in prostration than the closing of the saluter's mouth. In China, in A. D. 1583, when the king passed, all people knelt with their faces to the ground, holding their hands over their heads, forbidden to look up till the king was gone.[2] In Siam, in A. D. 1660, every one had to lie flat at the king's coming. To look on the king was death.[3] So, about the same time, in Central Asia, ruled the mighty Prester John, whose person none dared look upon.[4] In Loango, in West Africa, north of the Congo, when the chief drank, a man struck together two iron bars. All who heard the noise buried their faces in the sand.[5] Other salutes find their sense in this same need for guarding against the Evil Eye, the most dangerous of influences. In Western India, the women of many hill and forest tribes turn their back when they meet an European. This back-turning is due neither to want of manners nor to excess of timidity. The sense is to prevent a glance harming the superior. In Dahomey and in other parts of West Africa, when the royal charmers or fetish women come to draw water, all men must run off and turn their backs.[6] The spirit-origin of the bow, as in the case of the Pârsî three separate bows to the dead, may be partly to guard the person saluted by exposing the top of the head through which, even without the laying on of hands, spirit influences enter. But the main spirit-sense of the low ceremonial bow is to save the saluted from the saluter's evil-laden eye. In Japan at Nagasaki, after the October festival, when the Shinto god O-Suwa is brought back to his temple, as the god passes, the people bow and clap their hands.[7] When the Amir of Bokhâra passed through the city, the people saluted by extending their palms and bowing low their heads.[8] The horror of the mischief of the Evil Eye enforces the stricter precaution of holding the hand in front of the eyes. When the people of Sikhim, in the Himalayas, lay gifts on the altar, they lift both hands to the forehead, fall on their knees, and touch the ground three times with head and hands.[9] The Bhots of the Western Himalayas salute by raising the backs of both hands level with the forehead, repeatedly describing circles in the air, and ending by drooping the fingers down and turning the palm in.[10] The German, and now the British, right-palm salute is like the first part of the Bhot salute. The position suggests the open right palm of the *sati*, or of the baronet, guarding the saluted from evil-laden glances. When a Bombay Beni-Isrâ'îl repeats the verse:[11] "The Lord our God is one Lord," he puts his right thumb in his right eye, his little finger in his left eye, and rests the three remaining fingers on his brow.[12] The closing of the eyes by the finger tips forms part of the prayer gesture in the regular Jewish and Musalmân service. In Christian prayer, the eyes are closed, either with or without the aid of hand-pressure.

Besides the evil influences that come out of a man, he goes pestered with spirits as if with a swarm of flies. Unless the saluter clears his fly-swarm, they may annoy and injure the saluted. Earth and sand are among the chief scarers and cleansers. In Cheshire, white sand, called greet, is strewn in front of the bride.[13] Burial scares corruption : the scanty present of a little

99 Burton's *Mission to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 261.
100 Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. II. p. 378.
1 *Isaiah*, vi. 5-8.
2 Kerr's *Voyages*, Vol. VII. p. 500.
3 Mr. Pepy's *Diary*, August 17th, 1666.
4 *Hudibras*, Book iii, Section 3.
5 Burton's *Mission to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 245.
6 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 191, 192.
7 *St. James's Budget*, 10th December 1887, p. 11.
8 *Op. cit.* 24th November 1888, p. 5.
9 Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, Vol. I. p. 312.
10 Balfour's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. V. p. 34.
11 *Deuteronomy*, vi. 4.
12 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 512.
13 Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 198.

dust lays the vagrant soul of the ship-wrecked Archytas.[14] To the Muslim the dusty forehead is lucky or *mubârak:* where water is scarce, a sand-bath makes the Muslim ceremonially clean. No evil can assail the Shî'a Muhammadan who rests his brow on a cake of earth from holy Karbala. The Muslims of Senegal in Upper-West Africa throw sand or earth over their heads. Ibn Batuta, the great Arab traveller (A. D. 1342), has described the wallowing and dusting of the old Negrotic courts. Johnson remarked the same at Zenda, Clapperton at Oyo, and Denham among the Musgows.[15] Among the Waguhas of South-Central Africa the saluter takes a handful of sand or earth with his right hand, throws a little into his left hand, and rubs the rest over his elbow and stomach.[16] When the South African Balonda salutes, he drops on his knees, rubs dust on his arms and chest, and keeps on clapping his hands.[17] The Negro keeper at Whydah, in West Africa, before lifting *dauhghwe*, the sacred python, rubbed his right hand on the ground and dusted his forehead, as if grovelling before a king.[18] In this West African case, the keeper's object in touching the ground was apparently to discharge his haunting evils, as his object in dusting his brow was to scare his swarm of fly-spirits which, if not scattered, might annoy the holy python. The well-made gigantic Patagonian (A. D. 1520), who ran capering and singing to the beach to meet the Spaniards, kept throwing dust on his head in token of friendship.[19] Here, as in the Christian burial service, the dust thrown on the Patagonian's head lays the spirits which swarm round him, and which, if not laid, might harm or annoy the strangers to whom the Patagonian was anxious to be civil. The horror of the fly-swarm, shewn in the proverb, "*Scabies supremum capiet,* Plague take the hindmost," seens to explain the "Onrush" as a salute. In North Africa, before coming to a town, the horsemen skirmish in front of the caravan, and gallop by pairs to the Governor's door, firing muskets.[20] At Mandara, in Central Africa, in A. D. 1824, on visiting a great man, the rule was to gallop to him at full speed.[21] The old faith, in leaving evil behind, is perhaps at the root of the English canter for the avenue.

At first thought, submission seems rightly to claim the salute of **standing on one foot.** Still the details are difficult, and seem to point to an underlying spirit basis. When Philippine Islanders meet, they bend low, place their hands on their cheeks, and raise one foot in the air with the knee bent,[22] apparently shewing that standing on one foot is lucky. Meadows Taylor describes the fear-struck Hindu broker standing on his left leg, with the sole of the right leg pressed against the left calf, his hands joined, his turban awry.[23] Submission seems sufficiently to explain this action. At the same time the standing of a Hindu ascetic on one foot "like a crane" is among the most merit-giving of positions. So, in Siam, the temporary or hop king, who stands three hours on one foot, by so standing, gains a victory over evil influences.[24] The Catholic Church recognises the fly-swarm and the in-dwelling evils. The holy water at the Church porch scatters the fly-swarm; the Sign of the Cross made in front of the face prevents the in-dwelling evil in the worshipper annoying the Crucifix or the High Altar.

Of the salute as a clearer of the surroundings rather than of the spirit-swarms that fly-like go with the saluter, **spitting** is an instance. In Europe, spitting is an abusive salute. To spit in a man's face means: "You are a devil or devil-ridden and must be scared." So to keep off evil influences, when a Sunni talks with a Shî'a, he spits secretly. Similarly, some natives of India keep secretly spitting when they talk to an European, or when they talk on some ill-omened topic. The root of this practice is the belief in the healing, and therefore spirit-scaring, virtue of spittle. If the spittle is a guardian, to spit on a person may be a gracious as well as an abusive salute.

[14] Horace, *Odes*, I. xxviii.
[15] Burton's *Mission to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 259.
[16] Stanley's *Dark Continent*, Vol. I. p. 54.
[17] Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 296.
[18] Burton's *Mission to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 95.
[19] Drake's *Cavendish and Dampier*, p. 37.
[20] Denham and Clapperton, Vol. II. p. 229.
[21] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 284.
[22] Hone's *Table Book*, p. 187.
[23] *Confessions of a Thug*, p. 147.
[24] Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. pp. 230, 231, 233.

When they meet, the Masais of East Africa spit on each other.[25] In North-East Africa, the traveller Johnson was much sought after as a medicine-man. His salute was so highly valued that he had to keep his mouth full of water.[26] In Scotland, at the beginning of this century, it was usual to spit in the hand, before clenching a bargain by grasping the hand of the person with whom you were dealing.[27] The apparent sense of the spit before the grip is to prevent any devil of crookedness finding his way into the grip, and so into the bargain. A Peruvian salute was to approach the superior, carrying green boughs and palm-leaves;[28] and a New Guinea custom is that the saluters lay leaves on the heads of those they salute.[29] In A. D. 1519, the people of Kohat, in despair, came to meet Baber with grass between their teeth.[30] In India, the mouthing of grass is generally accompanied by standing on one foot. The practice has been explained as an example of abject submission, as if with the sense, "We are your oxen."[31] That surrender explains the mouthing of grass seems doubtful, and the ox idea is a natural case of meaning-raising. The grass seems to be taken into the mouth with the object of turning aside wrath. The root of the practice may therefore be the belief that grass scares evil, as, in the North-West Provinces, a blade of grass is stuck in a heap of corn to keep off the Evil Eye.[32] Another salute, whose apparent sense is to keep the honoured safe from spirit-attacks, is lifting or raising shoulder-high. Grimm quotes a German song which moans the flight of merriment:— "If we could only get her back, we would bear her on our hands as a king or a bride is raised and carried."[33] Dancing, another admirable scarer, is also a salute. In India, the religiousness or luckiness of the trained dance or *nâch* is that like the priest, the dancing-girl is the scape, and draws ill-luck into herself. In the early years of the present century, in Râjputânâ, when the chief or an honoured guest arrived, women at a country town went out to welcome them, dancing and singing. And still occasionally, in Gujarât Native States, at the entrance of a town, a dancing-girl stands and salutes a stranger. A common Roman salute was to point with one of the right fingers: to point the first or index finger was complimentary; to point the middle finger was an insult. The middle finger was known as the *impudicus*, that is, immodest, or the *infamis*, that is, disreputable. The finger was immodest because, if held out with the other fingers doubled back, its likeness to a *phallus* made it a valuable guard against the Evil Eye. In its case, as in other cases, the indecent was the lucky. Its tip applied the evil-scaring spittle to the temples, the brow, and the lips of the infant. Still, in spite of its luckiness, to be saluted by this middle finger was an insult. The gesture meant "You are a devil, or you have a devil." On the other hand, it was an honour to be pointed at by the first finger. The Romans saluted their gods from a distance by kissing the first finger tip, and holding out the finger to the god.[34] Certain tourists came to see Demosthenes. As they drew near, they failed to salute him by pointing to him the finger of honour or by blowing him a kiss from its tip. In return, the sage saluted the tourists by holding out his horn or priapus middle finger, apparently signifying "Ye mannerless Devils."[35]

The object of the next class of salutes, C (iii.), is, by pinching, slapping or circling, to drive evil out of the person saluted. When a Bombay Beni-Isrâ'îl bridegroom reaches the bride's house, her brother meets him and squeezes his ear, puts sugar in his mouth, and gives him a cocoanut.[36] Among the Pâtâne Prabhus of Poona, a new-born babe has its head squeezed, its nose pulled, and its ears pinched.[37] Among the Mârwâr Vânis of Poona, a custom observed by most Gujarât castes, when the bridegroom

[25] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 422.
[26] MS. note from Dr. Graham, 5th April, 1835.
[27] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 100.
[28] *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. II., "Ancient Peruvians."
[29] Hone's *Table Book*, p. 187.
[30] Caldecott's *Baber*, p. 90.
[31] *Op. cit.* p. 90; Elliot's *Races, North-West Provinces*, Vol. I. p. 240; *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII. p. 180.
[32] Elliot's *Races, North-West Provinces*, Vol. I. p. 239.
[33] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 891.
[34] This practice seems to have remained in force till the seventeenth century, as Prætorius (Elworthy's *The Evi Eye*, p. 413) writes in A. D. 1677:—" Even now-a-days we teach our boys that the right index is to be kissed as a salutation to persons worthy of honour."
[35] Laertius in Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 414.
[36] MS. note.
[37] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 220.

reaches the bride's marriage porch, he is met by the bride's mother, who four times pulls his nose.[38] These nose and ear wringings are performed neither to cause laughter, nor to beguile spirits to believe that the babe and the bridegroom are not held in honour. The great care taken, in the Musalmân ceremonial bath at the close of a period of impurity, to prevent any spirit lurking in the ear or up the nostril suggests that both in the case of the babe and of the bridegroom the object of the nose and ear pulling is to expell trespassers. Among Englishmen, boys or intimates are saluted by a slap on the back. Aubrey (A. D. 1650) says: — "The common old English salutation was, 'How dost thou do,' with a thump on the shoulder."[39] The king of Dahomey used to affect familiarity with the English and slap them on the back with his open hand. This apparently was a copied salute.[40] To attach a spirit-meaning to the slap on the back as a salute or evil-scarer might seem more than farfetched, but for this passage in Plato's *Timæus*:[41] "The most painful attacks of air are caused when the wind gets about the sinews, and especially when the pressure is in the great sinews of the shoulder. These are termed tetanus." Furious dancing is another salute to scare evil out of the stranger. In A. D. 575, Zemarchus, the emperor Justin's ambassador to the Great Turk, Dizabulos, on reaching the encampment, was met by raging men who shewed him iron, carried fire round him, and danced furiously, as if driving away evil spirits.[42] It was apparently to scare spirits out of the stranger, that, in 1836, the herald of the South African chief, Moselekatse, a naked man, foaming and glaring with excitement, appeared before Capt. Harris.[43] When he entered, the herald roared like a lion, moved his arm like an elephant's trunk, tip-toed like an ostrich, and humbled himself in the dust like an infant and wept. The object of these, as of other animal dances, apparently, was to house the spirits which had come with the stranger. In Malacca and Singapur, the saluter lifts the left leg of the person saluted first over the saluter's right leg, and then over the saluter's face.[44] This, at first, seems a case of submission. Consideration shews that the action is inconsistent with submission, as submission could hardly have devised a form of salute which gives the submitter so excellent a chance of laying his lord and master on the broad of his back. The lifting of the leg seems to stand for a lifting of the whole body with the object of helping the saluted to shake off evil influences. Offerings are another salute whose object is to relieve the saluted from haunting influences. When a pregnant Pârsî girl goes to her parents' house, as she enters the house, an elderly woman passes round the girl's head a copper or brass platter with rice and water in it, throws the contents of the platter and also a broken egg and a cocoanut at the girl's feet, and welcomes her. The Bîjâpur Raddîs, at the first ploughing of the season, rub the oxen's heads with cow-dung ashes, and bow before them.[45] When a Brâhmaṇ bids neighbours to a thread-girding or to a wedding, the bidder drops red coloured rice into the hands of the chief person asked, and touches, with red powder and turmeric, the neck, hands and brows of the women of the house. In return, the women place in the bidder's lap, rice, a cocoanut and betel-nuts and leaves.[46] The turning, which means the offering, of silver coins to the new moon is to scare fiends from the baby-moon. And Job's kissing of hands to the moon is the same as the Roman practice of blowing a kiss from the first finger tip.[47]

Of the great class of sacrificial salutes, which have for their object to secure the safety of the saluted by the saluter taking into himself the ill-luck of the saluted, the clearest example is the Râjput and other high class Hindu and Musalmân women's salute in Gujarât. In Kacch, in 1819, when a distinguished visitor came to a village, the women of the half-priestly tribe of Chârans formed a ring round him, and each woman joined the backs of her two hands, and

---

[38] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 279.
[39] Hone's *Table Book*, Vol. I. p. 390.
[40] Burton's *Mission to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 142.
[41] Jowett's *Dialogues*, Vol. II. p. 498.
[42] Yule's *Cathay*, p. clxiii.
[43] Harris' *Africa*, p. 101.
[44] Hone's *Table Book*, p. 187.
[45] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII. p. 147.
[46] *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. pp. 152, 153.
[47] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 98; *Job*, xxxi. 26.

cracked the knuckles over her own head.[48] The sense of this salute is clear. The saluter gathers into her fingers all the evil swarms that buzz about or have entered into the strangers. Once in her hands the cracking of her joints drives the spirits into the woman's head. The salute is interesting, because not only does its Gujarâtî name, *ovarna*, that is, removing, and its Hindustânî name, *balaiya lêna*, that is, evil-taking, shew the object of the rite, but the practice is still continued in the belief that it passes ill-luck from the saluted to the saluter. When a Hindu by mistake jostles a neighbour in a crowd, he touches the place on his neighbour's body which he struck against, and then touches his own body with his hand. The pain returns with the touch. It is a case of evil-taking. One of the Dahomey salutes was to move the body so as to touch the saluted,[49] apparently with the object of taking his ill-luck. That **kissing** is a salute, as the firing of guns is a salute or health, shews that one object of the kiss is to take evil from the person saluted. In kissing, the object is either sacrificial, that is, the kisser, by taking or sucking the ill-luck of the saluter, becomes his scape or sacrifice, or kissing is sacramental, that is, it secures communion of soul between the kisser and the kissed. That, in its sacrificial aspect, kissing is sucking, is shewn in Marâṭhî where *chumbanê* means both to kiss and to suck. The same object, namely, to take in the ill-luck of the person saluted, is the explanation of the Indo-Chinese salute of inhaling.[50] The Slav kissing of the hand of the aged,[51] the Roman kissing of the foot of the god, the English kissing of their sovereign, the Prophet Job kissing his hand to the moon walking in brightness, are all apparently sacrificial, that is, done with the object of taking into the saluter evils that might annoy the saluted. That the kiss was a formal and religious salute is shewn by its history in England, where up to Charles II.'s time (A. D. 1660) the kiss was the usual salute and shaking hands was a mark either of close intimacy or of high favour.[52] In Banffshire (A. D. 1800), a newly-married couple were wished happy feet. As a preventive of misfortune, if they chanced to meet on the road to or from church, they saluted each other by kissing.[53] The kiss in the ring and the kiss in the Russian and Kamschatkan dance,[54] seems indirectly to be a sacrificial salute. As the object of the dance is to house spirits, the kiss element in the dance seems to find its sense in providing specially tempting quarters for the guests who have to be housed. The Laplander's salute is to rub the person saluted with his nose,[55] apparently, like the Indo-Chinese, with the object of helping the saluted by sniffing into himself the saluted person's ill-luck.

Capping, that is, uncovering the head is a widespread salute. At first sight it appears to have its origin in submission. As a sign of submission, the uncovering may either be placing the unguarded head at the mercy of the person saluted, or, according to Mr. Baring Gould,[56] since the Roman slave wore no hat, the uncovering may mean "I am your slave." But uncovering the head is a salute in many countries, where all wear head-dresses and where Roman slave practices have never been heard of. Uncapping is also a salute in many circumstances, into which no trace of submission enters. Further, the sacredness of the head-dress as the protector of those in honour, or in other form of danger, the christening cap, the Jewish, Greek and Hindu bridal crown, the noble's coronet, the royal diadem, the Bishop's mitre, and the Pope's tiara, shews that a special guardian-importance attaches to the hat, and makes it probable that the root of uncapping as a salute is the fact that the hatless saluter makes himself a home or scape for the ill-luck or worries of the saluted. In the south of Scotland, when a man meets a funeral, he takes off his hat.[57] Capping on meeting a funeral is also the rule in the west of Scotland, where the (modern) explanation is given that lifting the hat is a sign of respect and sympathy

[48] Macmurdo in *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 307. Meadows Taylor (*Confessions of a Thug*, p. 132) describes the practice somewhat more clearly: "The old lady approached Mir Ali. She passed her hands over his face, cracked her knuckles and every joint of her fingers by pressing the backs of her hands against her temples.".

[49] Burton's *Mission to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 260.

[50] *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 269.

[51] Victor Tissot's *Unknown Hungary*, Vol. I. p. 216.

[52] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. V. p. 15.

[53] Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 125.

[54] *St. James's Budget*, 8th January 1887, p. 16.

[55] Hone's *Table Book*, p. 187.

[56] Baring Gould's *Strange Survivals*, pp. 282-287.

[57] Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 42.

with the mourners. Uncovering on meeting a funeral is usual in most Catholic countries in Europe. And that the origin of the uncovering is sacrificial or religious is supported by the salute being accompanied by a prayer for the soul of the dead. A note from Lincoln (A. D. 1833) throws light on the practice: "It is unlucky to meet a funeral. But if you take off your hat the evil spirits which hover about the corpse will take it as a compliment and do no harm."[58] This is old. But it is warped by the Protestant prejudice that man can do nothing to aid his dead brother; and it misjudges the character of corpse-haunting spirits who seek not honour but a lodging. It seems to follow that in uncovering to a corpse, as in uncovering to any one else in a position of honour, the saluter's object is sacrificial, that is, to tempt into himself some of the spirit-swarm that buzz round the saluted. In Yorkshire, if you see an ominous, that is spirit-haunted, magpie, you should lift your hat and make the sign of cross-thumbs:[59] the lifting the hat seems an offer to take a share of the ill-luck that dogs the magpie; the cross-thumbs, like signing the cross in front of one's face in a Catholic Church, is to prevent the saluter's Evil Eye annoying the saluted. In Tibet, both Chinese and Tibetans take off the hat as a salute.[60] That the Tibetan un-hatting is sacrificial, that is, that its object is to take the ill-luck of the saluted, is in agreement with the Tibet practice of preserving the skull-top entrance from fiend-trespass by wearing charms between the outer and the inner hat.[61] In crossing the log that marked the entrance to Kana town in Dahomey, the people took off their caps.[62] The Mingrelians of the Western Caucasus go bare-headed on Saturdays (the Sabbath) in honour of the day.[63] When Fiji sailors pass certain parts of the ocean, they quiet their fear by uncovering their head.[65] These places are probably haunted, and the spirits, being offered lodgings in the uncovered heads, let the boat pass in peace. So in Sweden, at the stone where Gunnar's boat sank, fishermen salute by raising their hats; if they failed to salute, they would catch no fish.[64] Though it is specially notable in the case of the hat, the chief guardian and protector, the sacrificial or ceremonial removing of other articles of dress is also a widespread form of salute. Examples of the rule of ceremonial or sacrificial uncovering seem to occur in the African chiefs who are waited on by naked women: in the scanty trace of clothing among the attendants of the chiefs in Indian cave-paintings and sculptures: in the queen of Attengo punishing any of her women who came before her with the upper part of the body covered: and in the bare shoulders of European evening full dress. At Dahomey, the male ministers, in saluting the king, bowed, bared their bodies to the waist, knelt, and made obeisance.[66]

The salute of salutes, whose special virtue secures to it the early and honourable name of **Health** is the drinking of wine in honour of the saluted. **Wine-drinking,** as a salute, contains two main luck-elements: one sacrificial, that is, the saluter takes into his wine, and so into himself, the hovering ill-luck of the person saluted; the other sacramental, that is, by drinking the same wine a communion of spirit is secured to the saluter and the saluted. This second element is what gives its name to the Loving Cup, that is, to the cup passed round from hand to hand, all present drinking the same wine and through the wine gaining a communion of spirit. Of the scape or sacrificial element, that is, when the drinker takes into himself hovering ill-spirits and ill-luck, Coleridge[67] gives the following example from Cotton's *Ode on Winter*:—

"Men that remote in sorrows live
Shall by our lusty brimmers thrive:
We'll drink the wanting into wealth
And those that languish into health,
The afflicted into joy, th' oppressed
Into security and rest."

[58] *Gentleman's Magazine Library,* "Popular Superstitions," p. 118.
[59] Dyer's *Folk-Lore,* p. 82.
[60] Schlagintweit's *Tibet,* p. 171.
[61] *Op. cit.* p. 169.
[62] Burton's *Mission to Dahomey,* Vol. I. p. 281.
[63] *St. James's Budget,* 16th June 1888, p. 12.
[64] Featherman's *Social History,* Vol. II. p. 221.
[65] Bassett's *Sea Legends,* p. 174.
[66] Burton's *Mission to Dahomey,* Vol. I. p. 260, and Vol. II. p. 43.
[67] *Table Talk,* p. 244.

In Peru, an invitation to drink was a form of salute.[68] The Abyssinians open an interview by drinking tedge, that is, mead or honey beer.[69] Among the classic Greeks, health-drinking was a favourite salute, each guest specially drinking to the health of the guest to whom he handed the cup.[70] A Tartar salutes by putting the tongue in the cheek, and scratching the right ear.[71] In Sikhim, in the Himalayas,[72] the Tibetan salutation is to hold out the tongue, grin, nod and scratch the ear. The general meaning of the lolling or out-thrust tongue in gods, in Medusas, in horned guardian faces, and in other masks is that the tongue drives away evil. The outstretched or lolling tongue, if directed against a man, is an abusive gesture, with the sense of avaunting the person saluted. At the same time the lolling tongue is a great spirit home, and the sense of the kindly Tibetan out-thrust tongue as a salute seems to be that the saluter becomes the scape and takes into his tongue the ill-luck of the saluted. The earscratching is not easy to explain. The sight of the scratching may re-call to some of the swarm of the buzzing unhoused spirits past pleasurable feelings, and may tempt some of them to abandon the saluted for the saluter's well-scratched ear.

A widespread salute is to walk round the person saluted. The *Râmâyaṇa* has many examples of saluting by circling. Râma (Vol. VI. page 35)[73] touches his father's feet and goes round him with circling steps; Râma (Vol. VI. p. 38) goes round the coronation vases in the same way; he also (Vol. VI. p. 51) circles Queen Kausalya. Again (Vol. VI. p. 72) Queen Kausalya fondly paces round Râma; Râma (Vol. VI. p. 136) goes round the king sadly with slow steps reverent. Bharat (Vol. VI. p. 454) in humble reverence paces round Râma. These steppings and circlings must be *pradakshiṇâs*, that is, with the right in front or next the object saluted. So one of the leading Hindu temple rites is to pace the *pradakshiṇâ* path that circles the god. In the Scottish Highlands, the old salute in receiving a stranger was to pace round him *deas-il*, that is, right next.[74] The reverse of this was called *widder-shins*, that is, against the shine or sun. That the object of saluting the king, the stranger and the god by walking round him is to draw troublesome evils from him into the saluter agrees with the tale of the Mughal Emperor Babar (A. D. 1530). Babar's eldest son, Humâyûn, was sick to death with fever. The physicians offered no hope. Babar stood at the head of his son's bed. He prayed that, if it pleased God, Humâyûn's fever might come to him. He walked thrice round the bed with his right hand next it. He said: "My prayer is granted." Babar lay down and never rose: the fever left Humâyûn and he was well.

The last class of salute is the sacramental salute, that is, salutes whose object is to secure communion of spirit between the saluter and the saluted. When he salutes an elder the Coorg boy puts off his shoes, and with folded hands raised to his brow, bows till he touches his senior's feet. In return, the senior lays his hands on the boy's head and blesses him, so securing a sameness of spirit in himself and the lad.[75] Hand-shaking has been explained as the result of a compromise between two persons, each of whom is anxious to shew his respect for the other by touching the ground with his fingers. It may be possible that certain hand-shakings can be traced to the supposed law of submission tempered by compromise. Still other instances, notably the hand-grasping at oath-taking and in solemn agreements, seem unconnected with submission or compromise. Further, many hand-shaking salutes bear traces of, or are still explained by, the belief that a grasp of the hand secures communion of spirit. In the Peninsular War, a favourite officer of the Duke, chosen for some service of special danger, before starting, craved a grasp of the Duke's conquering right hand.[76] Among the English, till the time of Charles II. (A. D. 1660), the kiss was the formal salute, the shake or grasp of the right hand, presumably from its sacramental virtue, was confined to close friends or was

---

68 *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. II.

69 *English Illustrated Magazine*, December 1884, p. 191.

70 Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 741.

71 Huc's *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 63.

72 Hooker's *Himalayan Journal*, Vol. I. p. 203, and Vol. II. p. 22.

73 These references are to Griffith's Translation.

74 Walter Scott's *Two Drovers*.

75 Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 225.

76 Napier's *Peninsular War*.

a sign of very high honour. This, like other English customs, may have come from the Romans to whom a grasp of the right hand was a form of oath, a strong union of souls.[77] In Scotland, a bargain is clenched by a shake of the hand.[78] Among the Greeks, palm-tickling was a sign of fellowship in the Eleusinian mysteries.[79] And the modern mystics, the Freemasons, mark with a special grip the communion of spirit among the initiated.[80] Freemasons also practice a form of funeral hand-shaking. In this, which is known as the *chaine d'union*, the brethren form a circle round the grave, each with his arms crossed over his chest, his right hand holding his left neighbour's left and his left hand holding his right neighbour's right.[81] The Coorgs of Southern India shake hands when they meet. They also shake hands over an agreement.[82] In Nubia, when men have been some time separate, on meeting, they kiss and shake hands:[83] the apparent object of the grip as well as of the kiss is to restore their former sameness of spirit. As a rule, the sense of the kiss-salute is to suck evil into the saluter. A few cases, like the Nubian case, seem rather to have their explanation in the attempt to secure sameness of spirit. Among Egyptian Musalmâns, the son kisses the father's hand, the wife the husband's, the slave or servant the master's. If the master is a great man the servant kisses his sleeve or the hem of his garment.[84] Even in this instance it seems probable that the kiss is to suck evil out of the person saluted. Still the Christian kiss of peace and kiss of charity, which all members of the early congregations interchanged, shew a wide belief that a spirit passes in a kiss. This seems to have been a Greek belief, since in the Greek salute the kiss was accompanied with an embrace,[85] whose object can scarcely have been other than to secure sameness of spirit. Rubbing, like embracing, would secure sameness of spirit. When the half-Papuan-half-Malay people of Micronesia meet, they smell each other and rub noses.[86] The Black-feet North American Indians, in saluting, rub their nose on a friend's back.[87] In Canada, when Red Skins meet, they rub each other's stomach, arm and head.[88] In 1800, in North Scotland, when the friends of the bride and bridegroom met between Banns' Sunday and the marriage day, they rubbed shoulders. To get the infection of marriage, suggests Mr. Gregor,[89] perhaps rather to secure sameness of spirit and so prevent disputes arising till the wedding was over. In Normandy and Brittany, the peasants keep up the salute of striking head against head on the two sides of the brow.[90] Among the Dhangars of Poona, when a widow marries, a chief rite is to knock together the heads of the widow and of the bridegroom.[91] When two people are needlessly quarrelsome, a common advice is to knock their heads together. The object in this and other head-knocking salutes may be to obtain sameness of spirit in the persons whose heads are knocked together. Still it seems more natural to suppose that the head-knocking of the quarrellers will drive out of both of them the devil of contention, and that, in the case of the Dhangar second marriage, the main object is to knock out the troublesome ghost of the deceased husband. The people of Camene salute their friends by cutting themselves and giving their friends blood to drink.[92] An Ethiopian, in saluting, takes the robe of the person saluted, and ties it about himself, leaving the person saluted almost naked.[93] This may be a symbolic binding of the saluter, as if under the orders of the saluted. It is perhaps more probable that the root idea is to secure a sameness of spirit by binding both the saluter and the saluted with the same cloth. The sacramental forms of salute, that is, those salutes whose object is either to become possessed by the spirit saluted or to bring

77 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 295.

78 Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 100.

79 King's *Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 121.

80 *Op. cit.* p. 121. Compare Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 351: "Freemasons make a (special) grip of the right hand the token of a covenant of friendship.

81 Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 50.

82 Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. pp. 219, 233.

83 Burkhardt's *Nubia*, p. 225.

84 Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, p. 200.

85 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 370.

86 *Reville les Religions des Peuples non Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 136.

87 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 204.

88 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 203.

89 *An Echo of the Olden Time from the North of Scotland.*

90 *Reville les Religions des Peuples non Civilisés*, Vol. I. p. 203.

91 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 385.

92 Hone's *Table Book*, p. 187.

93 *Op. cit.* p. 187.

the same spirit into different people, are illustrated by the Hindu mystic or magic *Ajapa Gáyatri.* The virtue of this charm is that its repetition secures that the saluter shall be possessed by the *Paramahaṅsa* or Supreme Soul. To bring into his body the Supreme Soul the saluter should repeat the word *haṅsa*, while he presses his heart with his right fingers: he should repeat the word *haṅsi*, while he squeezes his skull with his right fingers: he should repeat the word *haṅsu*, while he touches his top-knot with his right hand: he should repeat the word *haṅsê*, while his crossed hands are spread on his shoulders: he should repeat the word *haṅso*, while his right fingers close his eyes: he should repeat the word *haṅsaha*, while he strikes the right fore and middle fingers on the left palm. A snap of his finger, a wave of his hand round his head and the saluter's possession by the Supreme Soul is complete.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

SEBUNDY.

I HAVE lately had reason to dive into the word sebundy, and give here a list of the quotations regarding it which I have come across. It would appear that the word is really of South-Indian usage, as it is not to be found in Elliot's *Memoirs* by Beames, Carnegy's *Kachahri Technicalities*, Crooke's *Rural Glossary*, Grierson's *Bihar Peasant Life*, and similar works relating to Northern India.—R. C. TEMPLE.

c. **1778.** — "At Dacca I made acquaintance with my venerable friend John Cowe . . . . I found him in command of a regiment of Sebundees or native militia." — *Hon. R. Lindsay in Lives of the Lindsays, Vol. iii., p.* 161, *in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1784. — "2,586 Sibbandy and Pike [*páik*] peons for the forts and hilly countries." — *Report of the Circuit Committee, in Carmichael's Vizagapatam, p.* 209.

1785. — "The Board were pleased to direct that in order to supply the place of the Sebundy Corps, four regiments of Sepoys be employed in the necessary collection of revenue." — *In Seton-Karr, Selections, Vol. i., p.* 92, *in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1785. — "One considerable charge upon the Nabob's country was for extraordinary Sibbendies, sepoys and horsemen, who appear to us to be an unnecessary encumbrance upon the revenues." — *Appendix to Speech on Nabob of Arcot's Debts in Burke's Works, Vol. iv., p.* 18, *ed.* 1852, *in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

c. **1786.** — "The zamindars were bound [in 1751-9] to . . . . keep on foot a Sibbundy corps of 12,000 infantry which, over and above the ordinary services of preserving the three yearly crops or enforcing the equal division between Government and the tenants, were liable to be called on to repel any invading foe." — *Grant's Political Survey of the Northern Circars, in Mackenzie, Kistna District,* 1883, *p.* 67.

1790. — "The enemy's [Marâṭhâ] force consisted of . . . . Rajepoot Sybundees with eight pieces of cannon." — *Extract of a letter from Major de Boigne, dated Camp at Patan, June 24th,* 1790, *in Seton-Karr, Selections, Vol. iii., p.* 269.

1790. — "Calcourchy, which place fell to the enemy on the 17th instant, after the Amuldar, with a few Sibundies, making some resistance against a detachment from Cumaruddeen's [Tippoo's Lieutenant] camp with two guns." — *Extract of a letter from Tiagar, 19th December* 1790, *in Seton-Karr, Selections, p.* 283.

1796. — "The Collector at Midnapoor having reported the Sebundy Corps attached to that Collectorship Sufficiently Trained in the Exercise, the Regular Sepoys who have been Employed on that Duty are to be withdrawn." — *G. O.* 23 *Feb. in Supplt. to Code of Bengal Military Regulations,* 1799, *p.* 145, *in Yule, Hobson-Jobson.*

1803. — "The employment of their people therefore . . . . as sebundy is advantageous . . . . it lessens the number of idle and discontented at a time of general invasion and confusion." — *Wellington, Despatches, ed.* 1837, *Vol. ii., p.* 170, *in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1803. — "Ali Behaudar [Nawab of Banda] the Mahratta Chief who is in possession of the open country as likewise of the strongholds in Boondeelcund has four battalions . . . . The battalions, each about 500 strong, are without discipline or military regulation of any kind and may be considered as a rabble. The infantry consists of Rohillas, Boondeelahs and Malwa Sebundys who aare armed with match-locks." — *Francklin, George Thomas, p.* 268 *f.*

1804. — "The Kot Raja has in his service a force of 2,000 seebundees (or irregular infan-

try)." — *Col. Walker's Report, in Forbes, Râs Mâlâ, p.* 585, *ed.* 1878.

1812. — "**Sebundy** or provincial corps of native troops." — *Fifth Report, House of Commons Committee on E. I. Company, p.* 38, *in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1817. — "The Maharaja will thenceforward have no further concern with the **Sebundies** of the garrisons, but His Highness's other troops including the Pagah, etc., shall encamp at such places as may be prescribed by the British officers." — *Treaty with Dowlet Row Sindia, in Malcolm, Central India, Vol. ii., p.* 330, *ed.* 1877.

1821. — "The Raja of Kot, who, at the time of Colonel Walker's report in **1804**, maintained a body of 150 horse and 2,000 **Seebundees**." — *Selections, East India House,* 1826, *Vol. iii., pp.* 677-697, *in Forbes, Râs Mâlâ, p.* 583, *ed.* 1878.

1821. — "The Raja of Kot who at the time of Colonel Walker's report in **1804** maintained a body of 180 horse and 200 **seebundees** was sent to prison for neglecting a summons from a magistrate." — *Elphinstone in Ras Mala, ed.* 1878, *p.* 583.

c. **1821.** — "Ahalya Baee [**1765-1795 A. D.**] after paying the civil and militia charges sent the balance that remained in the public treasury to supply the exigency of the army employed abroad . . . . the term **Sebundy** which means a local military employed for the preserving of internal peace and to aid in revenue collections may be literally interpreted 'militia.'" — *Malcolm, Central India, Vol. i., ed.* 1880, *p.* 136 *and n.*

c. **1821.** — [Before **1806**] in all these services Ameer Khan [the Pindarry] and his followers were employed as **Sebundy** or local militia with an average monthly pay of three or four rupees a man, and from ten to fifteen to him as their commander." — *Malcolm, Central India, Vol. i., ed.* 1880, *p.* 263 *f.*

c. **1821.** — "The Dewan [under Mahratta Government] has independent of this pay from the prince . . . . in some places an anna or sixteenth part of a rupee — in others half that amount — from the pay of the **Sebundies** or militia of the country." — *Malcolm, Central India, Vol. i., ed.* 1880, *p.* 441.

c. **1821.** — "The only grants in this village [Belloda near Dhâr] that appear excessive are those to Brahmins of 172 begahs, and 150 begahs to two Jemadars and five Choukeedars, but the latter is the pay of these men, who use in part the hereditary **Sebundies** or soldiers of the village." — *Malcolm, Central India, Vol. ii., ed.* 1880, *p.* 24*n.*

c. **1821.** — "The Mewatties a well known Mahomedan tribe in Hindustan have long resorted to Central India. They were entertained as **Sebundies** or militia by the renters and managers of the country and were deemed faithful to those they served; but great numbers of them who settled in the villages became professed depredators . . . . They were in fact in general both the police soldiers and principal robbers, and the wealth and influence many of this tribe acquired enabled them often to escape detection and almost always to evade punishment." — *Malcolm, Central India, Vol. ii., ed.* 1880, *p.* 144 *and n.*

c. **1821.** — "None of these however include soldiers receiving regular pay, garrisons or local militia (**sebundies**)." — *Malcolm, Central India, Vol. ii., ed.* 1880, *p.* 185.

c. **1821.** — "[In **1817**] this petty State [Dhar] had a predatory army of 8,000 men; it has now a well paid body of 300 horse and 800 irregulars and **Sebundies.**" — *Malcolm, Central India, Vol. ii., ed.* 1880, *p.* 198.

c. **1821.** — "[In] all the Rajpoot principalities West and East of the Chumbul . . . . the foreign mercenaries have been disbanded and no troops are employed beyond a few adherents of the family and some natives of the country as **Sebundies.** — *Malcolm, Central India, Vol. ii., ed.* 1880, *p.* 202.

c. **1821.** — "Substance of the Treaty with the State of Dewass [**1819**] . . . . to keep in service a contingent of 50 good horse and 50 infantry to be at the disposal of the British Government. The remaining troops, **Sebundies**, etc., to be at command when required." — *Malcolm, Central India, Vol. ii., ed.* 1880, *p.* 341.

c. **1821.** — "Kishen Row Madhoo Boscottah with the British Government . . . . paying for four successive years 500 rupees annually as his share of **Sebundy** expenses, July 1819." — *Malcolm, Central India, Vol. ii., ed.* 1880, *p.* 351.

c. **1824.** — "Military Establishments of the Princes and Chiefs of Malwa. Sindia . . . . **Sebundies** and garrisons of forts . . . . Holkar . . . . **sebundies**, garrisons, etc., etc., ... Dhar . . . . Foot, irregulars, **sebundies** . . . . Kotah . . . . Hindus, Rajpoots, **Sebundies**, irregulars . . . ." — *Appx. xiii. to Malcolm, Central India, Vol. ii., p.* 316, *ed.* 1877.

c. **1825.** — Since Saṁvat 1836 [**A. D. 1779**] the fort of Verâval had belonged to the Divân Raghunâthji [of Junâgaḍh], but three confiden-

tial leaders of sibandi, namely the Jamadârs Rabyâ, Rakhyah and Nebhor and Tâj Muhammad Qamar were decoyed by the Navâb to his own side from motives of gain, and they forgetting the obligations under which they were to the Divân Sâheb Raghunâthji expelled him from the fort.' — *Tarikh-i-Sorath, Burgess, ed.* 1882, p. 177.

c. **1825.** — "In this year [1779 A. D.] . . . it happened that Mehtâ Parbhâshankar — a Bânsvâḍâ Nâgar who had been a confidential servan of Divân Dulabhji [of Junâgaḍh] and had been employed by him for years . . . . swerved from his loyalty in consequence of the events of the times and instigated the Jamadars of the **Sirbandi** namely Rayah (Rabi) and Punah and Jesa and Rahim and Avud 'Ali to expel Dulabhj which they did at the beginning of the rainy season." — *Tarikh-i-Sorath, Burgess, ed.* 1882 p. 179.

c. **1825.** — In Saṁvat 1844 [A. D. 1787] - Divân Raghunâthji and Govindji managed the army whilst Dulabhji who suffered much from dropsy remained in Junâgaḍh and sent to them the war material they required, and took care that the **Sibandis** were paid." — *Tarikh-i-Sorath, Burgess, ed.* 1882, p. 183.

c. **1825.** — "[In 1815] Vithal Râo began by introducing several Arab regiments into Nâgar under the command of Bodar Khatir and others whilst Sundarji Khatir the Nâyib of Ballantine Sâheb on the other hand as well as the new **Sibandis**, who had always been desirous of employment, all contributed to drain the Treasury of the Jâm Saheb and succeeded on account of the misunderstanding between Jagjiwan and Motirâm in emptying it." — *Tarikh-i-Sorath, Burgess, ed.* 1882, p. 293.

1826. — "**Sebundee**, irregular infantry and in assisting in the police and other civil duties of the province." — *Grant-Duff, History of the Mahrattas, Index and Glossary.*

c. **1832.** — "We subjoin a rough estimate of the household establishments, etc., of this desert king [Jessalmer] . . . . **Sebundies** or mercenaries . . . . **Sebundies** are mercenary soldiers in the forts . . . ." — *Tod, Rajasthan, Vol. ii., p.* 246 *f. and n.*

1841. — "A share of the **Sebundies** (the local force commanded by Gopee Sing, brother of Soondera Sing) should be made available for the execution of my decrees above the Ghauts." — *Report in Macpherson's Memorials, p.* 180.

1844. — "Gopee Singh, the Sirdar of the **Sebundies**, proceeded to the village of Sam Bissye." — *Letter in Macpherson's Memorials p.* 201.

1852. — "**Sih-bandi.** A soldier employed in collecting revenue. An establishment of peons, etc." — *Johnson, Persian Dictionary.*

1852. — "**Sibbandi.** Hind. **Sibandi** Rangers, militia. Armed peons. Irregular Infantry. An establishment of clerks, peons, etc." — *Brown, Dictionary of Mixed Telugu.*

1855. — "[In 1835-36] the capture and imprisonment of the Zamindar, a more direct management of the Goomsoor tracts under British officers and the establishment of a Corps of Hill **Sebundees**, closed the affair." — *Gazetteer of Southern India, Pharoah & Co., Madras.*

1857. — "[*s. v., Sih*] **Si-bundi**, a militia soldier employed in collecting revenue. *Forbes, Hindustani Dictionary.*

(*To be continued.*)

KHAKEE.

THIS Anglo-Indian word has a far more interesting history than one would expect, and quotations regarding it may be sought with good results. It is usually, I think, supposed by military men of the existing generation that it came into general use in the Afghan War of 1879-81, but this idea is apparently a mistake. With reference to what follows, the word is not, in the sense of military clothing at any rate, in Brown, *Dict. of Mixed Telugu,* 1852, in Forbes, *Hindustani Dict.* 1857, the *Panjabi Dict.* of 1854, or in Bate, *Hindi Dict.*, 1875. When I joined the First Goorkha Light Infantry (now the First Gûrkha Rifle Regiment dressed in green) in 1878 the uniform was red and '*khakee.*' The Panjab Frontier Force, the first British Army to generally adopt the dress, was mostly raised in 1846 and the following years, and hence *khâkî* as a dress may date from then, unless that Force borrowed it from some previous organization.

1859. — "The arms and accoutrements [of the Andaman Sebundy Corps] were directed to be the same as those in use with the Ganjam Sibbundies, and it has been decided that the full dress will be of dark blue cloth made up, not like the tunic, but as the native *ungreekah,* and set off with red piping. The undress clothing will be entirely of **khakee.**" — *Letter from Madras Government to Government of India,* 18*th February,* 1859.

1878. — "The Amir, we may mention, wore a **khâki** suit edged with gold, and the well-known Herati cap." — *Saturday Review,* 30*th November, p.* 683, *in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1879. — "**Khâkî** . . . . the uniform of Panjâbî soldiers, hence Sikh Infantry." — *Fallon, New Hindustani Dict., s. v. khak.*

1886. — "**Khakee** from Hindustani **khâkî**, dusty or dust-coloured from Persian *khák*. Applied to a kind of light drab or chocolate-coloured cloth. This was the colour of the uniform worn by some of the Punjab Regiments at the seige of Dehli, and became very popular in the army generally during the campaigns of 1857-58; being adopted as a convenient material by many other corps. The original **khakee** was a stout cotton cloth, but the colour was also used in broadcloth. It is said that it is about to be introduced into the army generally." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SOME MODERN FORMS OF BHAIRAVA.

THE name means the terrible one (Sanskrit, *Bhairava*). His worship is connected with that of Śiva, and he is regarded as Kâlî's attendant or servant. He is worshipped under many forms, but I have only ascertained the names of five of these, which I note below :—

(1) **Kâl Bhairôn** — *i. e.*, he who frightens death.

(2) **Bhût Bhairôn** — *i. e.*, the driver away of evil spirits.

(3) **Bhattuk Bhairôn** — *i. e.*, the child Bhairon.

(4) **Lâṭh Bhairôn** — *i. e.*, Bhairon with the club.

(5) **Nand Bhairôn.**[1]

Outside a temple of Śiva at Ṭhânêsar, Ambâlâ District, there is a picture of **Kâl Bhairôn**. He is black, and holds a decapitated head in one hand. To the east of the river Jamnâ he is worshipped to a considerable extent, offerings of intoxicating liquor being made at his shrine. His worshippers drink spirits. Some Vaishnavas worship him, they do not, however, offer intoxicating liquor, but molasses and milk.

Bhairôn is also called **Khetrpâl** (*i. e.*, **the protector of the fields**), under which name he is worshipped with sweets, milk, etc. When a man has built a house and begins to occupy it, he should worship Khetrpâl, who is considered to be the owner of the soil, and who drives away the evil spirits (*bhûts*) that live in the ground. He is also worshipped at marriages.

I found some time ago two shrinelets, one of Hanumân and one of Bhairôn on one side of Gûgâ Pîr's *mâṛî* (shrine), and one of Goraknâth on the other side. The shrinelets of Hanumân and Bhairôn were connected. How far is Bhairôn an object of worship in Panjâb villages?

On the outside of the temple of Śiva, in Ṭhânêsar, already alluded to, there is on one side a picture of Bhairôn, and on the other side one of Hanumân with a mountain in one hand and a club (*gadhâ*) in the other.

J. M. DOUIE, in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] [Bhairôn appears to be a favourite godling, and as such is even much venerated by the ignorant Musalmâns — *e. g.*, he is the chief minister or agent of the great Musalmân saint Sakhî Sarwar of Nigâhâ, in the Dêrâ Ghâzî Khân District. He generally goes by the name of Bhairôn Jatî, or Bhairôn the chaste, which sufficiently shews the estimation he is held in. His prototype, Bhairava, was the terrible form of Śiva, just as Kâlî, or Bhairavî, was of Devî. His many forms suggest his being a survival of various aboriginal deities whose personalites and attributes are now confused together. — Ed.]

A SURVIVAL OF MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE.

IN Bhiwânî, Hissâr District, and the neighbourhood, there exist a curious custom which I have not noticed elsewhere. In anticipation of the arrival of the bridegroom, here called *nâushâh*, or in common parlance *naushô*, or *nôshô*, literally the "new king" (for the bridegroom is looked upon as king of the occasion for 2½ days, the term being borrowed by the Hindûs of these parts from the Musalmâns), a short stick, bearing a cross arm, with five or seven uprights on it, each a few inches high and rudely cut to imitate the human figure, the whole thing thus resembling the end of a clumsy wooden rake with long teeth, is stuck into the wall above or to one side of the outer doorway. It is called *tauran* or *tôran*.[1] When the bridegroom arrives he strikes at the *tauran* with a stick, and if he smashes the whole thing to bits, it is considered an excellent omen. Should he not succeed in doing so, it is considered that his advent brings but scant luck to the house. Is this a relic of marriage by capture when the bridegroom had to fight with foes, the bride's relatives, before he could win her? It looks very like it. I could get no intelligent explanation of it on the spot. I noticed two of these *taurans* at the doors of houses on one visit to the city. The bridegroom in Bâgaṛ or Bîkâner is called *bîn* and the bride *bîndrî*.

W. COLDSTREAM in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] [It is to be noted that *tôran* is the technical name for the huge gateways to Buddhist topes or *stûpas*. See Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture*, pp. 87, 95, etc. — ED.]

THE SOHGAURA COPPER PLATE.[1]

BY GEORGE BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

THE important **Sohgaurâ copper plate**, which was discovered by Dr. Hoey in 1894, and published in a full size facsimile together with notes by the discoverer, by Mr. V. A. Smith and Dr. Hörnle in the May-June number of the Bengal As. Society's *Proceedings* of 1894, p. 84 ff., has not yet received its due share of attention on the part of the epigraphists, and only a small portion of its ancient and curious inscription has as yet been explained.

What has been made out regarding the character, purpose and contents of the Sohgaurâ plate by the distinguished scholars mentioned, may be briefly stated as follows. Mr. V. A. Smith has recognised that it is a cast plate, differing in this particular from all other Tâmraśâsanas, and Dr. Hörnle has correctly inferred from the unevenness of its surface that "it was cast in a sand-mould of imperfect smoothness," in consequence of which circumstance various meaningless dots stand between the letters, that may be easily mistaken for Anusvâras. Moreover, Mr. V. A. Smith has seen that the four holes in the corners indicate that it "was intended to attach by rivets to some other object," and his statement that the characters of the document are those of the Brâhmî of the Maurya period is incontestable, as every one of them is traceable in the Edicts. His description of the illustrations above the inscription — a tree, a double-roofed pavilion with four pillars, an object like a long-handled spoon, the so-called Chaitya symbol, a disc with a crescent above, a second tree and a second pavilion — is in general correct, and so is the greater portion of his transcript of the characters. But unfortunately the transcript admits, as he himself states, of no translation, and the meaning of the pictorial representations has not been stated.

Dr. Hörnle who differs as to the reading of several letters, has begun the explanation of the inscription and has made some very important discoveries. First, he has recognised in line 1 the word *sasane* and has remarked that this may be equivalent to the Sanskrit *śâsane*, as in this document "the length of the vowels does not seem to be always indicated." Secondly, he has recognised in the second half of line 2 the words *ete duve koṭhagalani* and has proposed to explain the last either by the Sanskrit *koshṭhârgalâni* "(these two) bolts of storehouses" or by *koshṭhâgârâṇi* "(these two) storehouses," adding that these words "would seem to refer to the two houses, depicted above the writing." These remarks really give the key to the general interpretation of the whole document. Taken together with the fact that the plate "was intended to attach to some other object," they raise a strong presumption that we have here an official placard, giving some order or other about two royal storehouses. Dr. Hörnle's remark about the omission of the long vowels is equally valuable. If it is followed up, it will enable us to attempt a verbal interpretation of the whole inscription.

Before I try to substantiate these assertions and to give, with the help of an electrotype of the plate kindly presented to me by Dr. Grierson, my version of document, I have to offer some remarks on the figures above the inscriptions. Sculptured or engraved representations in connexion with inscriptions on stone or copper are of three kinds.[2] We find (1) symbols of auspicious meaning, which take the place of the verbal Maṅgalas, like *siddham*, *svasti* and so forth, required according to Hindu notions in order to secure the completion and long duration of compositions, (2) illustrations alluding to the contents of the inscriptions, — such as a lotus above an inscription recording the presentation of a silver lotus — or alluding to wishes or imprecations occurring in the text, *e. g.* sun and moon, meaning that the donation is to have force *âchandrârkam*, as long as sun and moon exist, (3) royal crests which take the place of the seal, such as the Garuḍa in the left hand lower corner of the grants of the Paramâras of Dhâr. The Sohgaurâ plate bears five figures which undoubtedly are Maṅgala symbols, *viz.*, (1-2) two trees

[1] From the *Vienna Oriental Journal.*

[2] See the *Grundriss der Indo-Ar. Phil. und Alterthumsk.* Vol. I. part 11, p. 85.

recognisable by the railing which surrounds them as Chaitya trees such as are often mentioned in the Buddhist Canon, the Brahmanical lawbooks and elsewhere, — the second of them without leaves being probably one of the so-called "shameless" trees which shed their leaves in winter, — (4) the object which Mr. Smith describes as a long-handled spoon, but which is probably meant for a toilet mirror, as the mirror is one of the auspicious objects (*Vishṇusmṛiti*, 63, 29) and is depicted as such, together with other symbols, above the entrance of the Jaina cave at Junâgaḍh, called Bâwâ Pyârî's Maṭh,[3] — (5) the so-called Chaitya symbol, which however in reality may be meant for a rude representation of Mount Meru, — (6) the symbol to the right of the preceding, which Mr. Smith takes to represent the sun and the moon, but which I call with Dr. Bhagvânlâl[4] a *nandipada*, the foot-mark of Śiva's bull Nandin. The two double-roofed "pavilions," which I would rather describe as sheds on four posts with a double "chupper" or straw roof, can of course not have any auspicious meaning, but unquestionably are intended to illustrate the inscription, as Dr. Hörnle has suggested.

Turning now to the inscription, I must state that, though in general agreeing with the readings of my predecessors, especially with Dr. Hörnle, I differ from them regarding the value of six signs. The seventh sign of line 1 is neither *dha* (Smith) nor *gha* (Hörnle), but *ha*. On the facsimile the little horizontal stroke to the right of the top of the curve is rather difficult to recognise, but on the electrotype it is plainly visible and it may be felt with the finger. The interior of the curve, which is too narrow for a *gha*, is half filled in owing to the unevenness of the mould. The first sign of the line 2 may no doubt be read as *ri*, as Mr. Smith and Dr. Hörnle do, but it may also be read as *ḍa*. The same *ḍa* occurs in the word *aṁbavaḍikya* of the Allahabad Queen's Edict and similar forms with rounded backs are found in the Kâlsi version of the Rock-Edicts.[5] The reading *ḍa* is necessary, because this alone makes sense and because the dialect of the inscription, which is the old Mâgadhî of the 3rd century B. C., found also in Aśoka's Pillar Edicts, his Bairât Edict No. 1, his Barâbar and Sahasrâm inscriptions and his Rock Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada has no *ra*, invariably substituting *la* for it. The sixth sign of the same line is not *dhe* (Smith) or *dha* (Hörnle), but a cursive *va*, which resembles a *cha* turned round. The character is not at all uncommon in Aśoka's Edicts.[6] The fourteenth sign of line 3 is in my opinion neither *le* (Smith) nor *nara* (Hörnle), but simply a slightly disfigured *la*. The electrotype does not shew the straight line of the facsimile across the curve, but two shapeless excrescences, a larger one on the outside and a smaller one on the inside of the curve, which no doubt have been caused by the unevenness of the mould. In line 4 the first sign is *la* both according to the facsimile and the electrotype and the fifteenth is a stunted *ta* of the type, common in Kâlsi, not a *ga*. This appears plain on the electrotype. Regarding two other signs, the ninth and tenth of line 3, I feel very doubtful, though I give Dr. Hörnle's transcription. The ninth may be intended for *cha*, *tu* or *lu* and the tenth may be either *me* or *mo*.

In accordance with these remarks, my transcript of the inscription is as follows :—

1. सवतियनमहमगनससनेमनवासितिक
2. डसिलिमतेवसगमेवएतेडुवेक्रोऽगलानि
3. तिघवनिमथुलचचमोदंमभलकनछ्
4. लकयियातिआतियायिकयनोगहितवय

The new readings alone will, however, not do much for the explanation of the text. It is absolutely necessary to accept Dr. Hörnle's suggestion regarding the omission of the long vowels and to claim the liberty of adding *â*-strokes, where they are required, as well as some Anusvâras, and to convert short *i*, when necessary, into long *î*. And it seems to me that this is not asking

[3] Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.* Vol. III. Pl. xviii. No. 3; compare Dr. Bhagvânlâl's remarks in the paper quoted in note 2.

[4] *Actes du* VIème *Congrès Int. Or.* Vol. III. 2, p. 139.

[5] See Tafel II. 20, III. of the *Grundriss*, Vol. I. part 11.

[6] See Tafel II. 36, VIII. of the *Grundriss*.

too much. For a Prakrit inscription of 72 syllables with various inflected forms of *a*-stems must have more than a single long *â*, and the omission of *â*-strokes and Anusvâras, as well as the total neglect of the distinction between *i* and *î*, occurs very frequently in the ancient inscriptions, written by badly educated office clerks and monks. The Kâlsi version of Aśoka's Edicts has no *î* or *û* and there are numerous cases in the Edicts, where the omission of *â*-strokes and Anusvâras is probable or certain.

In the introduction to my first article on the votive inscriptions of the Sânchi Stûpas (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 90 f.) I have shewn how matters stand there in this respect, and I may point in further confirmation of what I have said, to such inscriptions as No. 257 (*op. cit.* p. 384) where जितमितय इनं undoubtedly is meant for जितामिताय दानं and three *â*-strokes have been omitted in seven syllables.

If it is therefore permissible to supply the long vowels and Anusvâras, the text may be restored as follows :—

सावतीयान महामतान सासने मानवासितिक· [1] डा । सिलिमाते[7] वंसगामेव एते दुवे कोठागालानि [2] तिधावानि मथुलचाचमोदंमभालकान छ[3]लं कयीयति अतियायिकाय । नो गहितवयं [॥]

and it then admits of a complete explanation.

The chief word of the first sentence is *s(â)sane*, which Dr. Hörnle has recognised. It ought, however, to be taken as a Mâgadhî nominative singular and as equivalent to Sanskrit *śâsanam* 'the order, the edict.' The two preceding words are of course plural genitives in *âna* for *ânaṁ*. *Mah(â)may(â)na* "of the great Magas" gives no good sense, as it is more than doubtful whether the Magas, now found in the North-Western Provinces, had immigrated into India before the beginning of our era, and as it is not intelligible how Magas could issue a Śâsana. It is, therefore, advisable to add another *â*-stroke and to write *ta* (ʎ) instead of *ga* (Λ). We thus obtain the common word *mah(â)m(â)t(â)na* "of the great officials," by which name Aśoka commonly designates the governors of his provinces and the councillors, assisting the royal princes who served as viceroys in Ujjain, Taxila and in Mysore, and other servants of high rank. The first words *s(â)vat(î)y(â)na* is, as the termination *(î)ya* shows, an adjective in the genitive plural, and may be taken as equivalent to the Pali *Sâvatthîyânaṁ* and to the Sanskrit *Śrâvastî-yânâm* "of those belonging to," or "residing in, Śrâvastî." The want of the aspiration in *S(â)vat(î)ya* need not cause uneasiness, as the literary Pali and the dialects of the Aśoka inscriptions offer other instances, in which *sta* becomes *(t)ta* instead of *(t)tha*.[8] The distance of the find-spot of the plate from the site of Śrâvastî, the modern Sahet Mahet, is about eighty miles and hence not too great for the assumption that Sohgaurâ belonged to the Commissionership or Province of Śrâvastî, which in very early times was not only a very large town but the capital of a kingdom. *M(â)navasitikaḍ(â)* the next word after *sâsane* is no doubt the ablative singular of the name of a place. Names of towns ending in *kaṭa*, or with the softening of the tenuis in *kaḍa*, are not uncommon in modern and ancient India. In the Sânchi votive inscriptions[9] we find Bhasikaḍa, Maḍalachhikaṭa, Morasihikaṭa, Sidakaḍa and Virohakaṭa and in other inscriptions as well as in literary works there are more. In all such names *kaṭa-kaḍa* appears to have the same meaning as the Sanskrit *kaṭaka*, "camp, royal camp." With respect to the first part of the compound *M(â)navasiti* it is not possible to suggest any certain explanation. It may, however, represent a Sanskrit compound *mânavâśriti* or *mânavasati*. With these emendations and explanations the translation of the first sentence would be: "The order of the great officials residing at Śrâvastî, (*issued*) from M(â)navasitikaḍa," with which the opening sentence of the Siddâpur Edicts, *Suvaṇagirîte ayaputasa mahâmâtânaṁ cha vachanena Isilasi mahâmâtâ ârogiyaṁ vataviyâ hevaṁ cha vataviyâ*, as well as the beginnings of the later landgrants may be appropriately compared.

7 Or सिलिमंते. —

8 See E. Müller, *Simpl. Pali Grammar*, p. 57.

9 See the Index of names, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 407 f.

Among the words in line 2 *silim(â)te*[10] is the locative of the Mâgadhî representative of the southern *sirimâto,* found in the Nânâghât inscription[11] below the portrait of Simuka Sâtavâhana, and the equivalent of Sanskrit *śrîmati.* The second part of the next word *Va(ṁ)sag(â)me* is of course the Sanskrit *grâme,* and the whole name would correspond to Sanskrit *Vaṁśagrâma* "the village of the bamboos." Geographical names with *bans* or *bâns,* the modern form of *vaṁśa,* are very common on the map of modern India, and a town called Bânsgâm (Bansgaon), *i. e.* Vaṁśagrâma, is found about six miles west of *Soghowra*[12] (Sohgaurâ), the find-spot of the plate. The immediately following syllable *va* no doubt represents here the word *eva* just as in Pali and in the Aśoka Edicts. The next three words *ete duve koṭh(â)g(â)l(â)ni* have been explained by Dr. Hörnle. I have only to add that his second explanation, which takes them as equivalent to *ete dve koshṭhâgâre* seems to me the correct one, as *ete* no doubt points to the two "pavilions" at the top of the plate which may be representations of storehouses but not of "bolts of storehouses." A further qualification of *koṭh(â)g(â)l(â)ni* is contained, as the termination *(â)ni* shews, in the first word of line 3, *tigh(â)v(â)ni,* or possibly *tighav(â)ni.* Its first part *ti* is certainly the numeral *tri* and refers to the three sections into which each of the two *koshṭhâgâras* is divided. The second part *ghǎva* must therefore mean "a division," "a room," "a chamber" or the like. The Western Cave-inscriptions offer not rarely a somewhat similar term *gâbha* or *gabha,* equivalent to Sanskrit *garbha.* Thus we read[13] in Bhâjâ No. 1 of a *gâbho* "a cell" or "room," the gift of Nâdasava, in Junnar No. 9 of a *satagabhaṁ* "a (dwelling) with seven cells or rooms," the gift of the guild of the grain-dealers, in Junnar No. 16 of a *gabhadâra* 'the door of a cell,' the meritorious gift of the Yavana Chanda, in Junnar No. 19 of a *bigabhaṁ* "a double-roomed (dwelling)," in Junnar No. 31 of a *pachagabhaṁ* "a (dwelling) with five rooms or cells" and in Kaṇheri[14] No. 16 of a *bagabhaṁ* "a (dwelling) with two rooms." As the transposition of the aspiration which is frequent in the modern Prakrits[15] occurs occasionally already in Pali,[16] I would propose to take *gh(â)va* or *ghava* as a representative of *gâbha* or *gabha* of the Western Cave-inscriptions and to render the compound *tighǎv(â)ni*[17] in Sanskrit by *trigarbhâṇi,* or as properly the dual is required, by *trigarbhe.*

The words *koṭh(â)g(â)l(â)ni tighǎv(â)ni* of course contain the subject of the chief sentence. Its verb can only be *kay(î)yati* in line 4, which must be corrected to, or considered to stand for,[18] *kayiya(ṁ)ti,* as a third person plural is required. *Kayiyati,* or with the full spelling *kayy(î)yati,* is clearly a denominative in *îya* from *kayya,* Sanskrit *kârya,* "that which is to be done, duty, business." In the Aśoka Edicts the affix *îya* is sometimes used with the sense of *aya* as in *dukhîyati* 'he makes unhappy,' and in the verbal nouns *dukhîyana* 'afflicting,' *sukhîyana* 'making happy.' On the analogy of these two verbs *kay(î)yati* may mean 'makes it a duty, the business, something to be done' or briefly "requires," all of which renderings would be appropriate. The object of the verb has to be looked for in the preceding word *chhala,* which

---

[10] *Silima(ṁ)te,* which is equally possible, would be the representative of the ordinary Pali *sirimaṁte.*

[11] Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.* Vol. V. Pl. li.

[12] *Indian Atlas,* Sheet 102, N. Lat. 26° 32′ and E. long. 83° 31′.

[13] Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 82 ff.

[14] *Op. cit.* Vol. V. p. 80.

[15] Compare *e. g.* Mârâṭhî *gâḍhava* for Sanskrit *gardabha,* and the instances in Hörnle's *Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages,* p. 170, § 130, 132.

[16] Compare *e. g. mittaddhuṁ* for *mitradruham* and *ghara* for **garha.*

[17] Professor Pischel kindly points out to me that the Marâṭhî has a word तिघई "having three rooms or divisions along its length, a building," which no doubt is intimately connected with the word of the plate, and that *tighaï* may be derived from *thigava* and may stand for **trighraba.*

[18] Instances of *ati* for *anti* occur both in Vedic Sanskrit (*Mahâbhâshya,* III. 256), *chashâlaṁ ye aśvayûpâya takshati,* and in Pali, *ubho dhaṁmaṁ na passati* (*Jât.* II. 28, l. 20), *eta mahidâyo . . . . maṁgalaṁ karote, atra tu bâlika janika . . . . magala[ṁ] karoti* (Aśoka, *R. Ed.* IX. Girnâr and Mansehra).

may stand for *chhala(ṁ)* or for *chh^(â)la(ṁ)*. As the Pali *chha* commonly represents an older *ksha*, its Sanskrit form would be **kshălam* or *kshăram*.. Though **kshăla* is not mentioned in our Dictionaries, the Dhâtupâṭha gives the root *kshal chaye* and hence **kshălam* may be formed and be translated by "the collection, the accumulation," which suits very well. As the last part of the word, preceding *chhala*, ends in the termination *^(â)na*, it must be a plural genitive and describe the things, the accumulation of which the two storehouses required. And, as the dialect of the inscription requires *la* for *ra*, *bhalakana*, or with the full spelling *bh^(â)lak^(â)na*, may correspond to Sanskrit *bhârakâṇâm* 'of loads.' The *bhâra* or *bhâraka* is a weight equal to 20 Tulâs or 2,000 Palas and "nearly equal to the weight of an ox."[19] The term is still commonly used in India for loads of grass, wood, leaves and the like, with very different values, and from Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 115 ff., it appears that the **Bahar** (Bhâr) occurs in Java, Sumatra and other parts of the Indian Archipelago as a measure for dry goods with a value from about 400-600 pounds. Various passages[20] in literary works shew also that the Bhâra was in ancient India one of the larger weights.

The eight syllables between *tigh^(â)vâni* and *bh^(â)lak^(â)na* may be expected to give a detailed specification of the goods to be stored. A storehouse, the filling of which was the object of an official order, can hardly have been anything else than a granary. And this conjecture is confirmed by the word *atiyâyik^(â)ya*, which in line 4 follows after *kay^(i)yati* and is clearly the dative of *atiyâyika*[21] "an urgent (matter)," found in Kâlsi Ed. VI. If the storehouse is to be filled for "an urgent occasion," that can only mean that it is to serve for the, in India, so common times of distress, when a drought causes a bad harvest. Under these circumstances the syllables *mathul^(â)ch^(â)chamodaṁma* must contain the names of various kinds of grain, fit for storage. This will actually be the case if we may transcribe them in Sanskrit by *madhukâlâ*, *jâjamodâmba*, which proceeding is not quite unwarranted as the hardening of *dha* and *ja* and the substitution of *mma* for *mba* occasionally occur in other Pali words.[22] *Madhukâ* is according to Hemachandra and the Vaijayantî, Black Panicum, *lâja* is any kind of parched grain, *ajamoda* cummin or aniseed, and *âmbâḥ*, which occurs only in Vedic works, means according to Sâyaṇa on *Taitt. Saṁhitâ*, I. 8, 10, 1, *dhânyaviśeshâḥ* "some kind of grain." It is of course undeniable that an explanation, which assumes for each word a not very common phonetic change is merely tentative. I must, therefore, acknowledge that it is open to doubt, especially as the value of two signs is not certain. But I am unable to find any thing better.

The last two words of the inscription, which form a separate sentence, hardly require any remark, as *no* is very common in the Aśoka Edicts and in Pali, and as *gahitavaya(ṁ)* is clearly the representative of Sanskrit *grahîtavyam*, compare *lâkhâpetavaya* for *likhâpetavaya* in the Rûpnâth Edict.[23]

In accordance with these remarks the Sanskrit **translation of the inscription** is:—

श्रावस्तीयानां महामात्राणां शासनं मानवसितिकटात् । श्रीमति वंशग्राम एवैते द्वे कोष्ठागारे त्रिगर्भे मधुकालाजाजमो-दाम्बभारकाणां क्षलं कार्यायत आत्ययिकाय । नो ग्रहीतव्यम् ॥

and the English: —

"The order of the great officials of Śrâvastî, (*issued*) from (*their camp at*) Mănavasitikaṭa: — 'These two storehouses with three partitions, (*which are situated*) even in famous Vaṁśagrâma require the storage of loads (*bhâraka*) of Black Panicum, parched grain,[24] cummin-seed[25] and Âmba for (*times of*) urgent (*need*). One should not take (*any thing from the grain stored*).'"

[19] Bêrûnî, *India*, I. p. 165 (Sachau).

[20] See the larger Petersburg Dict. sub voce *bhâra*, 4.

[21] In Sanskrit *âtyayika*, urgent.

[22] *E. g.* in *upatheyya* for *upadheya*, *pithîyare* for *pidhîyante*, *saṁthamaṁ* for *saṁdhamam*; *pâcheti* for *prâjayati*, *pâchana* for *prâjana*, *vâchapeyya* for *vâjapeya*; *ammâ* for *ambâ* and *ârammana* for *ârambana*.

[23] *Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. XXII. p. 300.

[24] Or possibly "parched Black Panicum."

[25] Or "aniseed."

As the number of Bhâras is not stated, the people had possibly to furnish one of, say, 400-600 pounds for each of the six divisions or chambers of the two storehouses, which would give about a ton or a ton and a half of grain for both. Such a hoard would be sufficient for about 2,400 to 3,600 rations of one Ser each. The order evidently was issued during a progress of Mahâmâtras through their province and was nailed to one of the storehouses at Vaṁśagrâma, which I would identify with the modern Bansgaon, mentioned above. Dr. Hoey states, *op. cit.* p. 85, that he has reason to think "that another plate may have been found in this locality." If a second plate existed, it no doubt belonged to the second storehouse.

As regards the construction of the storehouses and the actual storage of the grain, I believe it probable that cemented vaults or, as is still done in India, large *amphorae* or *Kumbhas* were inserted in the ground under each section of the sheds and that the "chupper" roofs, which were merely supported by wooden posts, as the representations indicate, were intended to keep off the rain from the carefully closed tops of the vaults or vessels.

As the letters of the inscription certainly point to the times of the Mauryas, most Sanskritists will probably agree with me that this inscription furnishes a valuable confirmation of the also otherwise probable assumption that already in the third century B. C. the use of writing was common in the royal offices and that the knowledge of written characters was widely spread among the people.

April 25th, 1896.

ON THE DATES OF THE SAKA ERA IN INSCRIPTIONS,

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. XXIV. p. 211.)

I NOW proceed to submit to the reader such general remarks as have suggested themselves to me by the study of the dates which I have given in the preceding volumes. Since the time when I compiled my lists of dates, many other Śaka dates have been published, but an examination of the more important of these dates has shewn me that this new material in all probability will not oblige us to modify materially any conclusions that may be drawn from the limited number of dates in my own published lists.

Current and Expired Years.

Sometimes the years of the dates, by words like *atîta*, *atikrânta* or *gata*,[1] apparently are intended to be described as expired years; and the word *vartamâna*, which is used in one or two dates, would naturally be taken to indicate that the year so qualified is quoted as current. But the majority of the dates tells us nothing about the nature of the years quoted in them. And since *atîta* and *gata* are used also with current years,[2] while *vartamâna* undoubtedly qualifies expired years,[3] the fact whether the year of a date is current or expired must everywhere be ascertained from the particulars which may be given together with the year, especially from such details of the date as enable us to calculate its exact European equivalent.

Now it is clear that, to arrive at some definite notion regarding the relative frequency of the use of current and expired years, we must, in the first instance, consider those dates with full details for verification which work out regularly. In Vol. XXIII. p. 113 ff., I have given 122 such dates, and the result of my calculations shews that, out of this number, the years of 95 dates are expired, and the years of 23 dates current years, while the years of four dates (Nos. 106-109) may *primâ facie* be taken as either current or expired. Of the 400 dates of the

---

1 On the exact phrases, employed by the writers of the dates, see below. Sometimes, as in the date No. 33 in Vol. XXIII. p. 118, it is stated that the Jovian year which is quoted along with the Śaka year, followed upon that year, and the Śaka year thereby is distinctly described as expired.

2 See *e. g.* Vol. XXIII. p. 127, No. 86, and p. 128, Nos. 88 and 93.

3 See *e. g.* Vol. XXIV. p. 16, No. 194.

chronological list in Vol. XXIV. p. 181 ff., 16 are from inscriptions marked as spurious, and 116 dates contain no details for exact verification; 78 other dates[4] would seem to be altogether irregular; and the remaining 190 dates (which include the 122 dates already mentioned) are either quite regular or contain only slight errors which do not prevent our ascertaining their exact European equivalents. And here, again, I find that, of the years of these 190 dates, 141 undoubtedly are expired and 38 current. The result of our examination, therefore, so far shews that, **for about every four Saka dates with expired years, we have one date the year of which is a current one.**

But this very general conclusion is liable to considerable modifications, when we take into account the different periods to which the dates belong.

Of 30 regular dates of the classified list from S. 534 (the year of the earliest genuine Saka date which contains details for verification) to S. 1000, the years of 29 dates were expired years, and the year of only one date was a current year; of 48 dates from S. 1001 to S. 1200, 30 quote expired and 18 current years; of 15 dates from S. 1201 to S. 1400, 12 quote expired and 3 current years; and of 25 dates from S. 1401 to the most recent times, 24 quote expired years, and the year of only one date is a current one. Or, taking the dates of the chronological list, of 41 dates from S. 534 to S. 1000, 40 dates quote expired years, and the year of only one date is a current one; of 71 dates from S. 1001 to S. 1200, 41 quote expired and 30 current years; of 31 dates from S. 1201 to S. 1400, 26 quote expired and 5 current years; and of 36 dates from S. 1401 to the most recent times, 34 quote expired and only 2 current years.

From these details it appears that, **down to S. 1000, the rule was to quote the Saka years as expired years,** and that current years, till then, were quoted very exceptionally indeed.[5] Afterwards we see a remarkable change. In the 11th and 12th centuries the proportion of current to expired years is as 3 to 5, or even as 3 to 4. During the two next centuries current years again are quoted much less frequently; and during the four last centuries the earlier practice of quoting expired years only has been re-established to such an extent that my list of quite regular dates contains only a single date with a current year, which is later than S. 1400. Had we only the Saka dates before S. 1000 and after S. 1400, the practice of the Saka era, so far as can be judged by the dates collected, might be said to entirely agree with the general practice of the Vikrama era. The difference between the two eras in the relative frequency of expired and current years is due to the Saka dates between S. 1000 and S. 1400, more especially to those between S. 1000 and S. 1200.

The result arrived at regarding the nature of the earlier years of the Saka era, in my opinion, must lead us to consider as expired the years of the four dates[6] (of S. 534, 716, 730 and 789) also, the calculation of which, owing to the fact that no weekdays are given by the dates, has left us the choice between current and expired years. And it will be seen below that, in respect of at least two of these dates (those of S. 716 and 730), this view is supported by the fact that the solar eclipses mentioned in them were visible in India in the expired, and not visible in the current years.

---

[4] It should not be forgotten that of many of the inscriptions from which these dates are taken we do not, as yet, possess critical editions.

[5] Down to S. 1000, the only genuine and correct date in my published lists, with details for exact verification, which quotes a current year, is that of the Kalas-Budrûkh plates of the Yâdava Bhillama III. of S. 948, Vol. XXIII. p. 129, No. 98. An earlier correct date, of S. 943 current, I have given in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 68. The dates Nos. 46, 49 and 86 of the chronological list, of S. 730, 735 and 896, which would seem to quote current years, are irregular. The date No. 79 of the same list, of S. 872, contains no details for exact verification; and the date No. 80, also of S. 872, is called by Dr. Fleet, on historical grounds, a quite impossible date. — Perhaps it may be noted here, what will be more fully shown hereafter, that of three of the principal technical expressions by which the Saka era is denoted in the dates — *Saka-varshêshv-atîtêshu*, *Sakanripa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara*, and *Saka-varsha* — so far as regards the dates collected, the two first are used comparatively rarely after S. 1000, while the last is used more frequently between S. 1000 and S. 1200 than in all the other centuries together.

[6] Vol. XXIII. pp. 130, 131, Nos. 106-109.

In Vol. XXIV. pp. 4 and 5, I have given three dates[7] (Nos. 140-142) which are quite regular, except that the given year in each case falls short by 1 of the expired year to which the date really belongs. Thus the year of the date No. 140 is put down as *Śaka-saṁvat* 1063, but as the European equivalent of the date falls in May A. D. 1142, the year undoubtedly was Ś. 1064 expired. To account for this, it may be supposed that the writer of the date erroneously regarded the (expired) Śaka years as current ones, and that then, intending to give the number of expired years, he quoted the year which preceded the actually expired year.[8] This class of dates — my chronological list contains about 20 of them — clearly differs from dates like No. 139, *ibid.* p. 4, where wrong years have been quoted in consequence of mistakes of which it seems impossible to suggest a general explanation. — On the whole, my experience is that such errors of the writers rarely cause us any great difficulty, because the Śaka years of the dates may nearly always be checked at once by the Jovian years quoted along with them, which to the Hindus appear to be much more familiar than the numbers of the Śaka years, and which they generally quote in a remarkably accurate manner.

Jupiter Years.

Commencing with the date No. 44 of the chronological list of Ś. 726 (Vol. XXIV. p. 185), as many as 322 out of 357 dates quote the years of the sixty-years' cycle of Jupiter to which the dates belong.[9] The 35 dates, which fail to do so, are mostly from Java, Bengal, Northern India, Gujarât and Kâṭhiâvâḍ, or taken from Eastern Chalukya and Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions. Although, in itself, as independent of the Śaka era as of any other era,[10] the sixty-years' cycle, in practice, is closely connected with the era with which we are dealing here, because, from about the beginning of the 9th century A. D., it is principally used in the very parts of India where the Śaka era also is chiefly employed. And the use of it would seem to be even more common in those parts than that of the Śaka era itself, because we hitherto have found there more dates recorded in Jovian years, without the corresponding Śaka years, than we have Śaka dates that do not quote the corresponding Jovian years.

The regular dates which admit of exact verification shew that, excepting a date of Ś. 867 of which I shall speak below, beginning with Ś. 855 (Vol. XXIII. p. 114, No. 8), the system of the sixty-years' cycle followed in these dates can only be the southern luni-solar system by which, irrespectively of Jupiter's position, the name of the Jovian year is merely a name for a certain solar or luni-solar year.[11] The case is different with the dates before Ś. 855, which require a more detailed examination.

The date No. 55 (*ibid.* p. 122), of Ś. 726 expired and the year Subhânu, corresponds to the 4th April A. D. 804. Here Subhânu, by the southern luni-solar system, cannot be connected with Ś. 726 expired at all, but by the mean-sign system Subhânu was current both at the

---

[7] The year of the date No. 143, *ibid.* p. 5, which at the time I had to take from a translation, is in the original inscription 1646. See *Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 59, No. 100.

[8] This explanation was first given by Dr. Bhandarkar, *Early History*, 1st ed., p. 107. — On the other hand, in the date No. 184 (Vol. XXIV. p. 14), the year of which appears to be really Ś. 1055 current, the writer has given us Ś. 1056, probably because he considered 1055 as an expired year and wished to quote the current year.

[9] Years of the sixty-years' cycle are also quoted in six earlier Śaka dates of the list (from Ś. 169 to Ś. 411), but these are all from spurious records. The date of Ś. 726, therefore, is so far the earliest genuine date, with details for verification, that quotes a year of the sixty-years' cycle. And the only earlier instance of the occurrence in a date of a year of the same cycle we seem to have in the Mahâkûṭa (Bâdâmi) pillar inscription of the Early Chalukya Maṅgalêśa, which thereby would be referred to A. D. 602. See *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 18.

[10] In dates of the Vikrama era the years of the sixty-years' cycle are quoted rarely, in those of the Chêdi, Gupta and some other eras not at all.

[11] Dates like No. 64 in Vol. XXIII. p. 124, and Nos. 53 and 54, *ibid.* pp. 121 and 122, shew that, where the year is luni-solar, the Jovian year coincides with the luni-solar year, while the date No. 138 in Vol. XXIV. p. 4, shews that, where the year is solar, the Jovian year coincides with the solar year. To determine, therefore, what dass pare contained in a articular Jovian year, one must know what kind of calenda was used.

commencement of S. 726 expired[12] and on the actual day of the date. The date No. 108 (*ibid.* p. 131) of S. 730 expired[13] and the year Sarvajit, corresponds to the 27th July A. D. 808. Here also the year Sarvajit, by the southern luni-solar system, cannot be connected with S. 730 expired; and by the mean-sign system Sarvajit was current at the commencement of S. 733 expired, but was no longer so on the day of the date. The date No 59 (*ibid.* p. 123), of S. 788 expired and the year Vyaya, corresponds to the 16th June A. D. 866. Here Vyaya, by the southern luni-solar system, would be S. 788 expired; and by the mean-sign system also Vyaya was current both at the commencement of S. 788 expired and on the actual day of the date. The date No. 7 (*ibid.* p. 114), of S. 851 expired and the year Vikṛita, corresponds to the 17th January A. D. 930. And here, again, the year Vikṛita, by the southern luni-solar system, cannot be combined with S. 851 expired at all, while by the mean-sign system Vikṛita was current at the commencement of S. 851 expired, but was no longer so on the day of the date. These four regular dates, then, (the only regular dates with Jovian years before S. 855, with details for verification,) have this in common that **the given Jovian year, by the mean-sign system, was current at the commencement of the given Saka year.** And taking this to be the characteristic feature of these dates, and regarding as accidental the facts that in one case the southern luni-solar system would suit equally well, and that in two dates the given Jovian year by the mean-sign system was current also on the actual day of the date, I conclude that the system which was followed here is **the so-called northern luni-solar system.** And I am the more inclined to regard this conclusion as correct because I find that, with perhaps one exception, the same system is equally applicable to the other dates of my chronological list, before S. 851. The exception alluded to is that of the date No. 70 of S. 838 (Vol. XXIV. p. 187), in the case of which the given year S. 838, as an expired year, can be connected with the given Jovian year Dhâtṛi only by the southern luni-solar system.[14]

Of the dates subsequent to S. 851, the date No. 61 of S. 867 expired (Vol. XXIII. p. 123) causes some difficulty. The inscription from which that date is taken,[15] first, in lines 3 and 4, has the words 'the years passed from the time of the Saka (or Sakas) being eight hundred and sixty-seven, ... in the current year Plavaṅga'; and then, in line 45, it gives a specific date which commences with the words 'in the aforesaid current year,' and which corresponds to the 9th September A. D. 945 (in S. 867 expired). Here the connection of the year Plavaṅga with S. 867 expired would seem really to be owing to some mistake. By the southern luni-solar system S. 867 expired would be Viśvâvasu (not Plavaṅga), while by the northern luni-solar system as well as by the strict mean-sign system the Jovian year that should have been quoted is Parâbhava, which was current both at the commencement of S. 867 expired and on the 9th September A. D. 945, the day of the date. Now, as the year Plavaṅga, by the mean-sign system, commenced on the 17th October A. D. 945, in S. 867 expired, I formerly have assumed that the first statement of the inscription, in lines 3 and 4, refers to the time when the inscription was put up, in S. 867 expired, on or after the 17th October A. D. 945 when the year Plavaṅga was really current, and that the donation, to which the second part of the date in line 45 ff. more immediately relates, was made some time before the inscription was put up, in the given year S. 867 expired, but before the commencement of the Jovian year Plavaṅga. But this explanation does not satisfy me because the use of the strict mean-sign system, the only

[12] Here and in the following dates it makes no difference whether we take the Saka year to commence with the Mêsha-saṁkrânti or with Chaitra-sudi 1.

[13] See the remarks on this date above.

[14] If we were to take 838 as a current year, the northern luni-solar system would here also apply; but it seems to me more probable that, in accordance with the general rule, the year of the date is an expired year. This date would thus, in my opinion, furnish the earliest certain instance for the use of the southern luni-solar system. The date deserves notice also for the peculiar manner in which the Jovian year is described in it. — In the two dates of S. 833 and S. 840, which immediately surround the date of S. 838, the system followed cannot be the southern luni-solar system.

[15] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 60 ff.

one by which the year Plavaṅga could be connected with (part of) Ś. 867 expired, has not been proved for the part of India where the date comes from. And another suggestion, which would make the words 'in the current year Plavaṅga' equivalent to 'when Jupiter stood in the sign Mithuna,'[16] appears to me equally liable to objection.

As regards Jupiter's place, I may state here that, besides being given in several Śaka dates of inscriptions from Cambodia, it is recorded also in two South-Indian dates[17] of my chronological list, the years of which are regularly named in accordance with the southern luni-solar system. In No. 297 (Vol. XXIV. p. 203) of Ś. 1309 current and the year Kshaya, it is stated that on the given date, which corresponds to the 10th January A. D. 1387, Jupiter stood in the sign Siṁha. And the same position is assigned to him in the date No. 322 (*ibid.* p. 205) of Ś. 1403 expired and the year Plava, which corresponds to the 3rd February A. D. 1482. These statements, as I now see, must probably be taken to refer to Jupiter's true (or apparent) place; but it so happens that both Jupiter's mean place and his true place were in the sign of Siṁha on either date.[18] For (calculated by Warren's rules) on the 10th January A. D. 1387 Jupiter's mean longitude was 4ˢ 11° 48′, and his true longitude 4ˢ 21° 45′; and on the 3rd February A. D. 1482 his mean longitude was 4ˢ 17° 9′, and his true longitude 4ˢ 23° 5′.

Solar Months.

Beginning with the date No. 104 of Ś. 944 expired, my chronological list contains 29 dates[19] the months of which are given as solar months (and the years of which therefore must be solar). Of the inscriptions which contain these dates, two are Eastern Chalukya and three Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions, one is from Bengal, and the rest are from the south of India. In the date from Bengal (No. 227 of Ś. 1141), the month is described as 'Phâlguna by the sun's motion' (*sûryya-gatyâ*[20] *Phâlguna-dinê* 26). In three dates, which are in verse, no word for month is employed, but the sun is said to have stood in a particular sign of the zodiac. In 14 dates, the earliest of which is No. 135 of Ś. 1003 expired, the months by such expressions as *Mêsha-mâsa*, 'the month of Mêsha,' are called after the sign of the zodiac in which the sun happened to be; and the remaining 11 dates, the earliest of which is No. 241 of Ś. 1160, use the Tamil names from Śittirai[21] (= the solar Vaiśâkha) to Paṅguṇi (= the solar Chaitra).

Now, although the months of these dates are solar, of 24 dates which give details no less than 17 quote *tithis* and *pakshas*, just as is done in dates with lunar months, and do not give us the civil day of the recorded solar month; 5 dates, in addition to the *tithi* and *paksha*, also give the day of the solar month; and in only two dates (one of which is the date from Bengal) has the writer confined himself to giving the day of the solar month. As most of the religious ceremonies are connected with certain *tithis*, not with civil days, this is perhaps only natural; and it would seem to shew that, at least in Southern India where most of the dates come

16 See Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, 2nd ed., p. 421, note 1. By the mean-sign system the year Plavaṅga (the 15th year of the cycle, counted from Vijaya) lasts as long as Jupiter's *mean place* is in Mithuna (the 3rd sign). Now, since on the day of the date, the 9th September A. D. 945, Jupiter's *true place* was in Mithuna — Jupiter's true longitude on that day, calculated by Warren's rules from his mean longitude 56° 50′, was 73° 14′ — it is suggested that there may have been a year Plavaṅga which lasted as long as Jupiter's *true place* was in the sign Mithuna. But there is nothing to prove the existence of such a year; and if the writer had intended to give us Jupiter's true place on the day of the date, he in all probability would have employed some phrase like *Mithuna-sthê gurau*, which we meet with in other dates.

17 Jupiter's place is often given in dates of the Kollam era.

18 In the case of the date No. 58 of Ś. 589 expired (Vol. XXIII. p. 122), from Cambodia, I find that on the 15th April A. D. 667 Jupiter's mean longitude was 8ˢ 7° 1′, and his true longitude 8ˢ 10° 28′, *i. e.*, Jupiter in either case was in the sign Dhanus.

19 A few other dates, with lunar months, incidentally record that on the day of the date the sun stood in a particular sign of the zodiac. Of the saṁkrântis, which mark the commencement of the solar months, I shall treat below.

20 The same expression is used in line 53 of the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadêva; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 353.

21 These names of course are really the names of the lunar months in which the solar months commence.

from, the solar reckoning, notwithstanding the nominal use of solar months, is of little practical importance.[22]

As regards the civil beginning of the solar month, attention may perhaps be drawn to the date No. 392 of S. 1714 (Vol. XXIV. p. 4, No. 138), from which it appears that a day on which the saṁkrânti took place, by the Ârya-siddhânta, as late as 11 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise, was counted the first day of the solar month.[23]

Lunar Months.

Intercalary months. — Intercalary months are distinctly quoted only in the regular dates Nos. 27, 28 and 96 of S. 1121 expired, 1145 expired, and 1355 current (Vol. XXIII. p. 117 ff.), and in the irregular date No. 188 of S. 1091 expired (Vol. XXIV. p. 15). In three of these four dates the name of the month (Âshâḍha, Srâvaṇa, and Bhâdrapada) is qualified by the word *dvitîya*, and in one by *prathama* (*pratham-Âshâḍha*). But the months were intercalary also in other dates where this is not actually stated. Thus the month Srâvaṇa of the date No. 8 of S. 855 expired[24] (Vol. XXIII. p. 114) was the *second* Srâvaṇa; the month Jyaishṭha of the date No. 71 of S. 1113 expired (*ibid.* p. 125) was the *second* Jyaishṭha; the same month of the date No. 74 of S. 1189 expired (*ibid.* p. 125) was the *first* Jyaishṭha; and the month Bhâdrapada of the date No. 41 of S. 1332 expired (*ibid.* p. 119) was the *first* Bhâdrapada. — The true and intercalated months are nowhere distinguished by the terms *nija* and *adhika*.

The pûrṇimânta and amânta schemes. — With the exception of apparently four dates, the dates in dark fortnights of which we are able to give the exact European equivalents all work out satisfactorily with the *amânta* scheme of the lunar months. Omitting the dates from Cambodia,[25] the earliest *amânta* date is that of the Paiṭhan plates of the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda III. of S. 716 (Vol. XXIII. p. 131, No. 107), and the next that of the Râdhanpur plates of the same king of S. 730 (*ibid.* No. 108). After that, the *amânta* scheme is used throughout, except as it would seem, in a Baḷagâṁve inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômêśvara I. of S. 976 expired (*ibid.* p. 122, No. 56), and in a copper-plate inscription of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara of S. 1313 expired (*ibid.* No. 57). But there can hardly be any doubt that the wording of these two dates of S. 976 and S. 1313 is incorrect. With the universal agreement of all the other dates after S. 730, it would be impossible to admit that at the time of these two dates the *pûrṇimânta* scheme could have been used in the localities where these dates come from; and we possess other dates both of Sômêśvara I.[26] and of Harihara II.[27] — of Sômêśvara I. one other date of nominally the very same *tithi*[28] — which shew that the scheme of the months during their reigns was the *amânta* scheme. The probabilities, therefore, in my opinion, are that in the date of S. 976, as in another date of Sômêśvara I.,[29] the day Sunday has been wrongly put down instead of Tuesday (which would make the date fall in the *amânta* Vaiśâkha), and that in the date of S. 1313 the month Vaiśâkha has been quoted erroneously instead of (the *amânta*) Chaitra.

The number of *pûrṇimânta* dates is thus reduced to two only, one of which, of S. 534 (Vol. XXIII. p. 130, No. 106), is from a copper-plate inscription of the Western Chalukya Pulikêśin II., while the other, of S. 726 expired (*ibid.* p. 122, No. 55), is from a copper-plate inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda III. The first of these two dates we need not

[22] The same conclusion may be drawn from the practice observed in dates of the Kollam era.

[23] The date also shews that the beginning of the month was calculated by the Ârya-siddhânta, not by the Sûrya-siddhânta.

[24] This date shews that the system of intercalation followed in S. 855 expired was the true system; for by the mean system of intercalation the day of the date, the 8th August A. D. 933, would have been the full-moon day of the first Bhâdrapada (not of the second Srâvaṇa).

[25] In Cambodia the *amânta* scheme was used in S. 589 (Vol. XXIII. p. 122, No. 58), and, before that, in S. 548 (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 47).

[26] Vol. XXIV. p. 7, Nos. 150 and 151.

[27] Vol. XXIII. p. 126, No. 77, and Vol. XXIV. p. 203, No. 297.

[28] Vol. XXIV. p. 7, No. 150.

[29] *Ibid.* No. 151.

hesitate to accept as correct, because in an inscription of a later Western Chalukya king we have another date[30] (corresponding to the 25th June A. D. 754 in S. 676 expired) which also can be accounted for only by the *pûrṇimânta* scheme. The date of S. 726 expired, on the other hand, I cannot help regarding with some suspicion, because it falls between the two *amânta* dates, already mentioned, of S. 716 and S. 730 of the same king Gôvinda III., which tend to prove that the scheme of the months, used during that king's reign, was the *amânta* scheme. With the two other dates to guide us, we might well suppose that the mistake, which undoubtedly was committed in the date of S. 1313 of Harihara II., was made also in the date of S. 726. The result I consider to be that, among **all the dates collected, there is only the single date of S. 534 which may confidently be taken to prove the use of the pûrṇimânta scheme of the lunar months in connection with the Saka era.**[31]

(To be continued.)

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(Continued from p. 242.)

BURNELL MSS. No. 27.

THE STORY OF PANJURLI.

Original in the Kanarese character : translation according to Burnell MSS. Original, text and translation occupies leaves 272 to 277 in Burnell MSS.

Translation.

Pañjurli was cursed by **Nârâyaṇa** and was blessed by **Îśvara.** Îśvara made a nice garden which he called **Nandanavaṇa,** and as the pigs destroyed it entirely, he went out to kill them; but Parvatî, his wife, prevented him, and so he cursed them.

"Do not live near me! Be called pigs in the forest, and Pañjurli in the villages! Let a feast and a sacrifice be performed for you," said Îśvara.

There was a woman called **Gollaramma Deyar,** and a man called **Guru Sarapoli.** They lived at **Êjanagar** on the Ghâṭs, and had four sons, whose names were **Kâṇṭu Sêṭṭi, Kadamana Sêṭṭi, Uttoma Sêṭṭi,** and **Mattu Marbala Sêṭṭi.**

The sons considered together: — "What occupation shall we follow? What shall we do?"

Then one of them said:—"Let us go and trade by sea."

"Goods which are cheap in this country and dear in another country are those which we must procure for our commerce," said another.

"What are those things which we must procure?" asked his brother.

"A mast of coral, a sail of silk, and an anchor of pearl: sailors, a master, and goods to fill the ship, — pearls, rubies, and diamonds," said he.

"Can we go to Mecca, or to Macao, or to the Island, or to Cochin, or to Cannanore?" asked they of the sailors.

---

[30] *Viz.*, in the Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of the Western Chalukya Kîrtivarman II., *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 3. An earlier *pûrṇimânta* date, corresponding to the 17th February A. D. 668 (in S. 589 expired), we have in the Maṭṭewâḍa (?) plates of the Eastern Chalukya Vishṇuvardhana II., *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 9.

[31] So far as I know, up to the present the earliest indication, in an inscription, of the use of the *pûrṇimânta* scheme we have in the date of the Majhgawâṁ plates of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Hastin, of Gupta-saṁvat 191 = A. D. 510-11 (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 107); and the earliest proof for the use of the *amânta* scheme is furnished by an inscription from Cambodia of S. 548 = A. D. 626-27, referred to above.

"There is no difficulty at all in going where you like," said the sailors.

Then they traded by the sea for two years.

"However much we try we cannot even gain three pagodas, and there has been no profit by our trade. What shall we do now?" said they.

"Let us trade in bullocks," said one.

So they traded in bullocks.

"Where do bullocks come from? And whence do cocks come?" asked they.

"Cocks come from Kokada, the elephant from Anegundi (Vijayanagar), and bullocks from the Ghâṭs," they were told, and so they went to buy bullocks.

They kept three hundred rupees in a bag and tied up three hundred rupees in their upper garments. They went to the herd of cows. There were three thousand bullocks, but they found only two good ones amongst them. They asked the price.

"A thousand rupees for the front leg, and a thousand rupees for the hind leg. Altogether two thousand rupees," said the **Ganda.**

"What is there important about them?" asked they.

"There are certain points in oxen, *viz.*, a white tail, a white spot on the forehead, and points in the four legs, a white tongue, a bent horn and a certain colour in the belly. These are the points in these oxen," said the Ganda.

"We want to buy such," said they.

So the Ganda sold the oxen to them.

"Though you have bought the oxen, I do not give you the rope," said he.

"Let that be: there is our master, one **Kareṅki Ballâḷ of Kukyâli,**" said they.

They went there, and the Ballâḷ said to them: — "You had better cut in pieces very long cloth and tie the oxen together with it and bring them."

They did so, and descended the Ghâṭs. There was one **Pergadî (Vokketinar) of Kallaboṭṭi,** and they went to his village. There was a jack-tree in front of the house, a wide-spreading tree, giving good shade. So they stood under the tree in the shade, but the herdsmen said: — "You cannot let your oxen lie under that tree, nor can you stand there."

"Why not?" asked they.

"There are three hundred unripe fruit on the branches and a thousand fruit below, which belong to our master. If you steal them, you will incur the curse of Pañjurli."

"It is said that unripe fruit bears a curse but not ripe fruit," replied they, and tied their oxen to the trunk of the tree, cut off the fruit, ate the inner part, and gave the oxen the skin. Then they took their oxen and went to the *biḍu* at **Kukyâḷi Karaṅge,** where they gave their oxen both rice water and ordinary water, and tied them up. But the oxen disappeared from that place. They had been tied up at night, but could not be found in the morning. As they could not find the oxen, they referred to the *praśna* book, from which they found that as they had disregarded what the herdsmen of the *biḍu* had said and had mocked them and had stolen the jack-fruit and eaten them, the Bhûta of the place had followed them and caused the bullocks to disappear. But if they prayed and worshipped the Bhûta, they would find their oxen.

"How are we to worship the Bhûta?" asked they of the astrologer.

"There is one **Kâṇṭu, a Pombaḍa** by caste; call him and give him betel-nut for the sake of the Bhûta. If you do this, you will find your oxen. Also, if you give him rice on Tuesday so that he may perform a feast on the following Tuesday, you will find your oxen," said the astrologer. Next day they called Kâṇṭu the Pombaḍa, and gave him rice on that very Tuesday.

Next day the oxen were found tied up in the same place as before. The villagers and the Ballaḷ met together, and Kâṇṭu the Pombaḍa said: — "I can dress and personate the Bhûta and take the rice, but as no feast has ever been performed for that Bhûta, how am I to tell you his origin and his history?"

"If you do not know, we will tell you," said Kareṅki the Ballâḷ of Kukyâli.

So Kâṇṭu dressed and personated the Bhûta, but said he did not know how to make up the Bhûta's face."

"If you do not know how to make up the Bhûta's face, you had better take a look at my pig's face and make yours up like that," said the Ballâḷ.

So Kâṇṭu looked at the pig's face and made himself up like that.

"If you do not know the history of the Bhûṭa, there is my squirrel, ask it, and sing like him," said the Ballâḷ.

The squirrel sung and Kâṇṭu learnt its song and sang like it. Thus was the feast and sacrifice performed, and **the Bhûta possessed Kâṇṭu.**

"There are many great people in the Eastern Countries. I will go to them and get a feast and sacrifice," said the Bhûta.

"You get only a vow from the poor, but a feast and sacrifice from the rich," said the Ballâḷ. "If you go to a forest you will be called a pig, but be a Bhûṭa, that is, the master of a thousand people. Îśvara has given you authority to kill a man, who was to have lived twelve years more, if he had not disregarded you! So great a Bhûta are you."

"I go to the Eastern countries," said the Bhûta.

He went to the temple of **Vêṅkeṭa Râmaṇa at Tirupati**, where he did not cease to cause the Garuḍa Vâhaṇa to turn round.

"What is the matter?" asked the god.

Then a man became possessed, and said:—"I am a servant of Nârâyaṇa, and I came here to get a feast and a sacrifice."

Then Vêṅkata Râmaṇa saw the Bhûta, and came to know that he was a servant of Nârâyaṇa.

"You shall be called **Kâla Bhairava or Nija Kâṇṭa,** and sit on my right in the middle of the hill; so take a vow before me," said the god.

A building was made there, and the Bhûta was called Kâla Bhairava or Nija Kâṇṭa, and got a feast and sacrifice.

"I want to go to the superior gods, and get blessings from them," said the Bhûta. "I go to **Darmasthâla.**"

He went there and blinded the Bhaṭṭa who carried about the god, and so a *pañchâyat* was called by the villagers and Hobalis, and a man became possessed.

"What is it?" asked they of him.

He said: — "This Bhûta is a servant of Nârâyaṇa. He stood at the right side of Vêṅkaṭa Râmaṇa at Tirupati, took vows before the god, and was called Kâla Bhairava, and he asked the god what he would give him, and the god asked him what he wanted. And so he replied: a place on his right side from the upper part of the Ghâṭs to the lower countries, so that he might make the people fill his treasury."

"How are a feast and sacrifice to be performed for you?" asked the god.

"My name shall be **Aṇṇappa,** and a feast and sacrifice shall be performed for me after your feast," said he.

Thus was a *guḍi* built for the Bhûṭa on the right side of the god, and there he stayed and got a sacrifice and a feast.

He took vows before the god, and said he would go to other temples and villages. He came to a temple at **Kêpaḍi.**

He made the god's elephant sick, and would not let the god's image be mounted upon the elephant to go in procession. When all the villagers were called together and made an inquiry, a certain man became possessed.

"I was called Kâla Bhairava in Tirupati, and Aṇṇappa at Dharmasthâla. I stood on the right side of the god, and made the people give me vows first. I want to have the same rights in this place also," said he.

Then the villagers built a *guḍi* on the right side of the god and a feast and a sacrifice were performed, and he was called **Pañjurli.** Then he came to the *biḍu* at **Kalle**, and made a cow and a calf sick. When this was referred to in the *praśna*-book, it was found to be the work of this Bhûta, and that a sacrifice and a feast were to be performed to avert the evil. The people made offerings to him, and the sickness was cured.

There were **Ait Ullaya, Chikkarâya Ullaya, Baṇarâya Ullaya,** and they had two sisters, **Padupâla** and **Jâkama Deyar.** Their husband's name was **Hebbiri Ballâḷ,** who presented the younger wife with a jewel for her neck, and a quarrel arose between the women. Then the elder made an oath: — "O Pañjurli, if you will kill my sister, I will build for you a *gunda*, and present you an image of a pig made of bell-metal and of silver too. I will perform a feast with one hundred and twenty cocoanut leaves, and with tender cocoanuts, and with one hundred and twenty cocks." Next day Pañjurli made the younger wife sick; he broke her legs and hands, and was about to cause her death, when an outcry of men and women arose. The younger called to the elder sister: — "Will you see me die?"

"I asked you, O Pañjurli, to kill her when I was angry. You made her sick, but I do not want you to kill her. Release her this once, and let her live. Do not kill her," prayed the elder sister.

Then her brother Ait Ballâḷ became possessed.

"You prayed one way before, and now you pray another way. I will kill you both," said the Bhûta, and he killed the two women in one night. They were burnt together in a large paddy field called Janananda Bâkyâr. The funeral ceremony was performed, and then Hebbiri Ballâḷ came and said: — "Although you quarrelled and are dead, you two women, the feast which was promised must be performed."

So he built a *gunda*, made a car, and performed a feast with one hundred and twenty cocoanut leaves, one hundred and twenty tender cocoanuts and with one hundred and twenty seers of rice-flour. Then the Bhûta was call **Pañjurli of Kalya.**

He left that place, went to Chembukal, and reached the temple of **Vinâyaka,** when the feast was about to be finished. A man became possessed of the Bhûta and said that he wanted a feast and sacrifice.

"If you are a Bhûta, you must give a proof," said the villagers.

"It will suffice if you inquire of **Mahâṅkâḷi,**" said he.

When they asked Mahâṅkâḷi, she said that he had been to many places, had given many many proofs, had stood at the right side of the god, and had got feasts. "So have I heard. Therefore, it is not necessary to shew a sign here as well," said she.

"If you will make this place a celebrated one, we will build you a *sânam* on the right side of the god, and perform a feast and sacrifice," said the people. He made this place known to the four countries, and got many vows.

"I shall make the people bring vows both for you and me," said he.

A temple was built, and a car was made at the right side of the temple. A feast and a sacrifice were performed, and he was called **Pañjurli of Chembukal.** After that he used to get feasts and sacrifices from every house, following the ropes of the bullocks and the relations of women.

BURNELL MSS. — No. 28.

THE STORY OF VODILUTAYA.

Original in the Kanarese character; translation according to Burnell MSS. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 278 to 280.

There was a woman named **Gollaramma Deyar,** and a man named **Êka Salyar,** who had a son called **Bâlu Sênava.** When he was a pretty little child, and suckling, his mother died, and when he was old enough to eat rice, his father, too, died. Seven years passed over him, and when ten or twelve years had passed, he put his mother's ashes on a golden plate and his father's on a silver plate, and said he wanted to go to the Ganges to throw them into it. He heard that the Ganges lay to the north, and said: — "No one has seen it as yet." But **Nârâyaṇa Sênava,** his brother-in-law, had seen the Ganges, and so he called Nârâyaṇa Sênava to his house, and said :—

"I have heard that you have been to the Ganges. How far is it and what is it like?"

"I will tell you. There is the Mahâ Gaṅgê and the Maṇi Gaṅgê, the beautiful Ganges in the north for sin and Râmêśwar for crime. When I went to the Ganges, I had an iron stick as long as a man, and when I returned back and reached home it was decreased by half a cubit. I crept on my belly for a month, on my knees for two months, and on my haunches for three months. It was a gloomy road with pits in it and deserted as well. For four months' journey, there was a tiger waiting to seize any one who tried to pass. For five months' journey, there were the black serpents called Saṅkapâla. I went on enduring all these difficulties, and have returned back; you will have to go through the same."

Knowing that he would have to suffer all these dangers, he started for the Ganges with ten or twelve persons, and reached it after passing all the dangers. There was a temple called **Jagamantamî** in the Ganges, and there he offered a vow. He bathed there at the *tîrtha,* and he cast the ashes into the water, and he took sandal.

There was a Bhûta, called **the Great Vodilutâya.**

"I shall go along with you," said the Bhûta.

"I will not tell a Bhûta, who wishes to come with me, not to follow me, and I will not tell a Bhûta, not willing to come with me, to follow me. If you are willing to come, you may come along with me," said Bâlu Sênava. "But, if you come with me, how can a feast be performed for you?"

"As I follow you, a frame of bamboos of the height of the sky and another of the breadth of the world must be made. Sheep must be killed and put in a pan, a thousand torches made of sticks of the areca palms, balls of rice heaped on bamboo mats, fowls must be killed and heaped on a pan, tender cocoanuts cut and a pot of toddy presented," said the Bhûta.

"I will give you what you ask: do you follow me," said Bâlu Sênava, (and in due course) he returned home from the Ganges.

He came to the *bîḍu* of **Idakajê Margal.** He built a *sânam* like a palace.

"And now a feast must be performed,' said Bâlu Sênava.

He dug twelve rows of cucumber beds for the feast of the Bhûta. He planted cucumber seeds. Cucumbers of the colour of squirrels were produced. He counted them daily.

Bâlu Sênava had three daughters called **Vopoṭṭi, Kinnantê,** and **Saraswatî.** He set them to watch the cucumbers, and once, during their daily counting, one cucumber was not to be found.

"What is the cause of my not finding the cucumber?" asked he of his daughter Vopoṭṭi.

"I do not know," said she.

He asked Saraswatî. "I do not know," said she.

And he asked Kinnantê. "I do not know," said she.

"Don't you know, any of you?" asked he. "If none of you know, let it be discovered by the Great Vodilutâya," said he.

Next day Vodilutâya killed Kinnantê and Vopoṭṭi, and then Saraswatî grieved very much.

"Even if the cucumber was stolen, do not kill this daughter also: she is as a medicine for the whole family. I shall do as I have promised," prayed Bâlu Sênava.

He built a *sânam* like a palace. He sprinkled about a thousand *sêrs* of rice-flour. He planted a plantain-tree to the south of the *sânam*. He gave food to a thousand people. He planted an areca-tree to the north, and he performed a feast with a thousand torches of the areca-tree; he killed sheep and put them in a pan; he cut open tender cocoanuts, killed fowls and heaped them up; he made a round frame as broad as the world, and another as high as the sky. Thus did he perform the feast for the Bhûta. This was the feast performed for the Bhûta at Idakajê Margal.

"O Bhûta, protect the men and the women of the world! Accept your festival and stay in this world!" prayed Bâlu Sênava. Judge between the false and the true with justice. Take only a vow from the poor and a festival from the rich, from the southern to the northern countries."

(*To be continued.*)

NARSINH MEHETANUN MAMERUN.

A POEM BY PREMANAND.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GUJARATI WITH NOTES BY MRS. J. K. KABRAJI.

(*Concluded from* p. 21.)

Canto XIII.

With haste the Lord of Vaikuṇṭh started up, crying, "Where is my eagle, where is my eagle?"
And said Chaturbhuj[25] to his wife, "Come Chaturâ,[26] the wicked Nâgars have discovered my plans.[27]
Be quick; fill up his basket: Narsiṅh, the Nâgar, is my worshipper.
The mob is very obstinate and there is no help (for us) but to go, so you go first with all the necessary articles.
Go and adorn her person[28] with goodly ornaments: for her hands, golden bracelets and faultless gems.
Do not forget to take with you all the requisites (for a *môsâluṅ*) in kind and in cash, for my servant is very importunate.
Take a good many clothes made by clever hands, each more valuable than the other;

---

[25] The four-handed.

[26] *I. e.*, clever one, used here for alliteration.

[27] It is not clear what the god exactly means by saying नहनागरे मारी गत्य जाणी, but this is the literal translation.

[28] It may be "your person" just as well as "her person," but the meaning is the adornment of Kuṅvarbâî.

Such as have never been dreamt of, whose names are not even known: bring such with you, shaking off sloth.
Let them be beyond the conception of Brahma himself . . . . .[29]"
Saying this, the Lord of Lakshmî proceeded on his way and arrived hither, bringing with him numberless bundles.
Seeing the distress of his worshipper Narsiṅh, the Ancient One started up and rushed (to his help).
The Lord of the strong bow was dressed as a merchant and Lakshmî as a merchant's wife.
The son of Naṇḍ had his eagle with him, who carried the bundles on his head.
Srî Gôpâḷ was seated in a chariot, and the air resounded with the tread of the bullocks and the jingling of their bells.
The people did not recognise the Lord of the Universe[30] as he went on with some ten or twenty servants.
Every one wondered who he was, as the god entered the *maṇḍap*.
When the mace-bearers cried, "Make way," the Nâgar community came forth to see
(And said): "This is some rich merchant that has come, bringing a great many bundles."
But nobody knew the Lord of the Three Worlds, since he was dressed as a *vaṇik*.[31]
Alighting from his chariot, Harî walked amongst the assembled guests.
The god whom all the six orders of devotees cannot even discover, and whom the husband of Umîyâ (himself) adores ;
Whom no amount of knowledge or meditation or devotion could reveal: such a god went barefooted (through the assemblage).
The great King of the Fourteen Worlds is turned into a draper for the Mêhtâ's sake.
His coat is sprinkled over with saffron water, and his turban wrapped with oblique folds (like a Vâṇîâ's).
He wears ear-ornaments studded with diamonds, and the lines at his eyes reach his very ears.[32]
He has thrust a pen at the back of his ear, and has taken the name of Dâmôdar the draper.
His robe is of fine and yet rich cloth, and Harî walks slowly along.
On his shoulders the god has a plaid, the two ends of which he holds in his hands.
All the ten fingers are full of rings, and his feet are entirely covered with socks.
He has a number of servants with him, some of whom carry pouches.
Many servants are round him to do his bidding, Odhav[33] carrying his *gaj*-measure[34] for him.
Kamaḷâ Râṇî walks behind the god, and all eyes are fixed on the *śêthâṇî*.[35]
The pride of the Nâgar women is humbled, for the lady's appearance is like that of the moon and the sun,
The bright head-ornament greatly becoming the beautiful forehead,
And a diamond bracelet glistening on her wrist.
Her large eyes beam with intelligence, sparkling like a number of *khanjan* birds caught in a net.
The crescent of her (upper) lip is coral-red, and the braided hair on her head abundant.
She has on armlets and necklets, and strings (of pearls) and a most glistening nose-ring.
Her waist is jingling with small bells, worn over her many-coloured *sâṛî*.
The anklets on her fair feet look resplendent, while the bells on her toes jingle as she goes.
The arms are covered with bangles: Mercy herself has come in the guise of a merchant's wife.

[29] Half a line seems to be missing here.

[30] A different epithet of the god is used in each line.

[31] वणीक, a member of the trading class.

[32] The black lines of beauty drawn with *kâjal*.

[33] Odhava was a friend and constant companion of Kṛishṇa.

[34] The *gaj*-measure is about ¾ of a yard.

[35] Fem. of *śêṭh*, a rich man.

The assemblage feel enamoured of Lakshmî and of her two servant-maids, Lalîtâ and Visâkhâ.
As the god of gods approached with his wife the Mêhtâ at once recognized him.
And went up to meet him, saying, "You are welcome Sêṭh Samâḷîâ."[36]
As they met, said the beauteous Sâm :— "Do not mention my name openly.
Beware, lest you proclaim the fact of my being here; you may spend whatever you like (and)
Gratify the wishes of Kuṅvarbâî." Saying so, Raṇchhôḍ took his seat.
Then, in the hearing of the whole assemblage, Harî said these words :—
"Go, Sêṭhâṇî, and mitigate her sufferings, by pressing Kuṅvarbâî to your heart."
As he said this, Kamaḷâ walked forth and pressed Kuṅvarvahû to her heart.
"My sweet, do not shed tears; call your mother-in-law: where is she?"
Two or four Nâgar women, who were near, felt their pride humbled to see her beauty.
The *vêhvân* questioned Kamaḷâ thus :— "What relative are *you* to the Mêhtâ?"
Then in lucid accents spoke the Sêṭhâṇî these sweet words smilingly :—
"Vêhvâṇ, did you not know us? You are Brâhmaṇs, so are we Vâṇîâs.
We trade in clothes, and have stores of our own; we get much help from Narsiṅh.
We take gold from the Mêhtâjî, and with it carry on trade in clothes.
We are come to provide the maternity gifts and to fill the empty basket with gold.
We have brought every article that the Mêhtâ sent for."
So saying sat down the Sêṭhâṇî, while the Nâgar women were breathless with expectation.
Sending for the Vêhvâi, Srîrang Mêhêtâ, Srî Jadûrâi met him with affection.
While all the Nâgars felt astonished, the Ocean of Mercy filled up the empty basket,
And said to the Mêhtâ : — "Distribute the gifts with due care."

Refrain.

"Distribute the gifts with due care," saith the beauteous Sâm,
"And if anything is wanting, bid us, your servants, (bring it)."

कडवुं १३ मुं. राग प्रभाती.

धडकी उठियो वेगे वैकुंठपति, गरुड, क्यां, गरुड क्यां वदत वाणी,
चाल्य, चतुरा, चतुरभुज भणे भामनी, नष्ट नागरे मारी गत्य जाणी.
नरसैयो नागरों भक्त ते मारो, छाब भरों तेनी शीघ्र थाओ.
जन घणा हठ करे, ज्यावन नव सरे, रिद्धि सिद्धि लई सखी अभ जावो.
हाथ हेम सांकळां, नंग बहु नीरमळां सुभ शणगार जई अंग सारो.
रीत ने भात्य रोकड रखे वीसरो, दीन थई करगरे दास मारो.
चीर चरणां होय चतुरे वण्यां, अधीक एक एकथी अमूल्य जाणो.
स्वपने को नव पडे, नाभ को नव जडे, अंग आळस तजी ते आणो.
उपेंद्र ब्रह्म जेनो पार पामे नहीं[37] * * * *
मार्गे मुख बोलतां वदत वाणी, नाथ लक्ष्मी तणो
एणीपेरे आव्यो; अगण्णीत गांडडी संग आणी.

राग मारु.[38]

भक्त नरसैयानुं दुःख जाणीरे, उठी धाया पुरुष पूराणी रे.
थया शेठ ते सारंग पाणी रे, साथे लक्ष्मी थयां शेठाणी रे.
नंद सुनंद गरुड साथे रे, अगण्णीत गांडडीओ तेने माथे रे.
रथे बेठा श्री गोपाळ रे, धमके धोरी ने घुंघर माळ रे.
लोके ओळख्या नहीं जगदीश रे, साथे वाणोतर दस वीस रे.
सर्व जोई जोई विसमय थाय रे, प्रभु आव्या मंडप मांहे रे.
छडीदारे वाट मुकावी रे,नागरी नात्य जोवाने आवी रे
आ वेहेवारीओ कोईक आव्यो रे अगण्णीत गांडडांओ साथे लाव्यो रे.
कोई नव जाणे त्रीभुवन भूप रे, व्हाले लीधुं वणीकनुं रूप रे.
रथ उपरथीं उतर्या रे, हरी सभा मांही संचरीआ रे.
खटदरशणे खोल्यो नव लाधे रे, जेने उमीयांवर आराधे रे.

[36] Samâḷîâ is a name of Krishṇa, but is in common use among Vâṇîâs.
[37] Something has been left out here.
[38] The metre changes here.

न जडे ज्ञाने ध्याने बहु गाये रे, ते हरी अडवाणे पाये रे.
जे चउद लोकनो महाराज रे, मेहता माटे थया बेजाज रे.
वागो सोभे केसर छांटे रे, पाघडी बांधी अवले आंटे रे.
काने कुंडल हीरे जडीआं रे, नेत्र प्रलंब श्रवणे अडीआं रे.
एक लेखण काने खोसी रे, नाम धर्युं दामोदर डोसी रे.
झीणा जामा ने पटका भारे रे, हरी हळवे हळवे सधारे रे.
खांधे पछेडी ओढी नाथे रे, बेऊ छेडा ग्रह्या छे हाथे रे.
विंटी वेढ दसे आंगळीए रे, सारां मोजां पेहर्यां सामळीए रे.
घणा वाणोतर छे साथे रे, कोणे झोळी ग्रह्यो छे हाथे रे.
घणा सेवक सेवामां सज रे, औधवना हाथमां गजरे
प्रभु पुठे कमळा राणी रे, सउ सभाए जोयां शेठाणी रे,
उतर्यां नागरीओनां अभिमान रे, जाणे उग्या शशि ने भानु रे.
भलुं भाल भंमर रुडी राजे रे, रत्न जडीत राखडी छाजे रे.
विशाळ लोचन चंचल चाले रे, केशुं खंजन पड्यां जाले रे.
छे अधर बींब परवाळी रे, मस्तक उपर वेण विशाळी रे.
बाजुबंध गळुंबंध माळ रे, नाक वेसर झाक झमाल रे
कटी धमके क्षुद्र घंटाळी रे, पेहरण छे पंचरंगी साडी रे
झमके झांझर उजवळ पागे रे, वींछुवा अणवट बहु वागे रे.
जडाव चुडो हाथमां कहावे रे, माया मेहेती रुपे आवे रे
मोही सभा लक्ष्मी निरखी रे, ललीता विसाखा बे खवासी रे.
आव्या सजोडे देवाधि देव रे, मेहते हरी ओळख्या, तत्खेव रे.
भले आव्या शेठ सामळीआ रे, मेहतो माधवजीने मळीया रे.
मळतां बोल्या सुंदर शाम रे, मारुं प्रगट न लेशो नाम रे.
रखे वात अमारी चरचो रे, तमारे जे जोइए ते खरचो रे.
कुंवरबाईना पुरो कोड रे; एम कही बेठा रणछोड रे
पछे सभा सहु सांभळतां रे, हरी वचन बोल्या छे वळता रे.
जाओ शेठाणी दुःख कापो रे, कुंवरबाईने रुडीआंसु चांपो रे.
एवुं केहेतामां कमळा उठ्यां रे, कुंवरबाईने रुडीआंसुं भीडीयां रे.
मारी मीठी न भरीए आंसु रे, तेडो क्यां छे तमारी सासु रे.
मळी नागरीओ छे बेचार रे, जोई रूप मेल्यो अहंकार रे.
वेवाण कमळाने एम पुछे रे, मेहता साथे सगपण शुं छे रे.
कोकिला स्वरे अमृत वाणी रे, त्यारे हसीने बोल्यां शेठाणी रे.
वेहवाण तमोए शुं न जाणीआं रे, तमे ब्राह्मण अमे वाणीआ रे.
वेपार शेठोनो घरे कोठी रे, अमारे ओठ नरसैंआनी मोटी रे.
अमो धन मेहताजीनुं लीजीए रे, तेणे वेपार कापडनो कीजीए रे.
अमो आव्यां मोसाळुं करवा रे, ठाली छाब सुनैये भरवा रे.
मेहेते जे जे वस्तु मंगाव्या रे, अमो लख्या प्रमाणे लाव्यां रे.
एवुं कहीने बेठां शेठाणी रे, सहु नागरी सासे भराणी रे.
तेड्या श्रीरंग मेहेतो वेवाई रे, भावे भेट्या श्री जदुराई रे.
त्यारे वीस्मय थया सहु नागर रे, छाब भरी ते करुणा सागर रे.
मेहताने कहे वनमाली रे, पेहरामणी करो संभाळी रे.

वलण.

संभाळी करो पेहरामणी एवुं कहे सुंदर साम रे.
वळी घटे ते मांगजो, अमो वाणोतर सरखुं काम रे.

Canto XIV.

The Mêhêtâ sent for his daughter and said :— "See here, the basket is filled with gold.
Give gifts to all the Nâgar community : such an opportunity will not occur again."
With *kuṅkâvatî*[39] in hand, the daughter went up to the mother-in-law,
And laughing, said proudly :— "Madam, distribute the gifts.
You were abusing the Vaishṇav and saying "What gifts will *he*, the pauper, give?
You were ridiculing the *tulasî* and the *tâl*, but see they have won (the love of) Srî Gôpâḷ.
See the earnings of the poor, where the heart is given to the praise of Harî.

[39] Cup of *kunkuṅ*.

If you desire more things than you have laid down, you may ask for them."
Hearing this speech of Kuṅvarvahû, the mother-in-law called forth the priest and the priestess.
Worshipping at their feet with *pîgâṇî* in hand, Kuṅvarbâî brought forth eight articles of clothing for them.
Then seeing a crowd of Nâgars (approaching), Vaṇmâlî folded up his plaid;
He went up to where the basket was, and began selecting the clothes, after undoing the bundles.
Mêhêtâjî said:—" Here, daughter, give your father-in-law (this) *pâmrî*.
Folding up these gold-embroidered clothes, place the golden armlets upon them.
Go and hold them before your husband, and return with your eyes cast down.
Give away whatever your mind wishes, do not take a step backwards."
Then the *jêṭh* and *jêṭhâṇî*[40] were invited, and all the eight clothes brought to them.
And as she (Kuṅvarbâî) bowed with affection before the *dîyar* and *dêrâṇî*,[41] the *busaṭîyô*[41] said these words:
"All the nine treasures must be (ready) where Narsiṅh is concerned," and sat obstinately refusing what was offered.
It was when they gave him five gold *môhôr* that he allowed the distribution to proceed.
Next the *nandî*[42] stopped the proceedings, and Kuṅvarbâî went up to her father, with the two-*tôlâ* bracelets, and appeased her with ten-*tôlâ* ones.
Then she gave all the sixteen articles[43] to her mother-in-law, and bowed down to her :
At which the *grand*-mother-in-law was highly angered, and censured the whole family.

Refrain.

The old woman censured the whole family, "*Now* I won't accept any gifts" (said she).
Should my daughter-in-law supersede *me*, the oldest relative ?"

कडवुं १४ मुं, राग मारु.

मेहेते तेडावी दीकरी, आ जुओ छाब सोनइए भरी,
पेहरावो सउ नात नागरी, आवो अवसर नहीं आवे फरी.
कंकावटी करमां धरी साझु पासे वहु सांचरी.
हास करी गर्वे ओचरी, बाईजी वस्त्रों आपो वेंहेंची करी.
वैष्णव कहीने देतां गाळ, ए शुं मोसाळुं करशे कंगाल
तमे निंदतां तुलसीने ताल, तेने वस कीधा गोपाळ.
जुओ कमाइ दूर्बल तणी, जीव छे हरीना गुण भणी
जो लख्याथी आसा होय घणी तो मांगी लेजो पेहेरामणी.
सांभळी कुंवर वहुनी वाणी साझुए तेडी गोर गोराणी.
पुज्या पाग करमां पीगाणी आठवस्त्र आप्यां तेने आणी.
पछे नागरनी भीड घणी भाळी, पछेडीनी पळवट वाळी.
आव्या छाब पासे वनमाळी, छोडे गांठ वस्त्र आपे टाळी.
मेहेताजी कहे ल्यो दीकरी, ससराने आपो पामरी.
घडी जरकशी वागाना करी हेम सांकळां उपर धरी.
वरना मुख आगळ धरो, नीचुं जोइने पाछां फरो.
पेहेरामणी मनगमती करो, रखे पगलुं पाछुं भरो.
सजोडे तेड्यां जेठ जेठाणी, आठे वस्त्र त्यां आप्यां आणी.
प्रिते पुज्यां दीएर देराणी, बुसटीओ तव बोल्यों वाणी.
ज्यां नरसईयो त्यां नवनीध, दीयरियो बेठो हठ कीध,
पांच मोहोर सोनानी लीधी, पछी पेहेरामणी चालती कीधी.

40 The eldest brother of Kuṅvarbâî's husband and his wife.

41 The youngest brother of Kuṅvarbâî's husband and his wife. *Busaṭîyô* is the pet name for *dîyar*. He, being e youngest brother, and a mere boy, the girl-wife is on terms of friendship with him, whereas she has to observe a certain decorum towards the whole family from their being her husband's elders. He carries her messages to her parents-in-law and even to her husband, and is allowed to be her companion and playmate. Hence his claim for a better gift.

42 Eldest sister of Kuṅvarbâî's husband. Nandî is poetical for नणंद. It appears that she was presented first with a pair of bracelets of gold weighing two *tôlâs*, but she refused to accept them, and was given another pair weighing ten *tôlâs*.

43 See note 31, p. 105.

पेहरामणी नणदीए अटकावी, कुंवरबाई पीता कने आवी.
बे तोलानी राखडी लावी, दस तोला आपी समजावी.
आप्या सासुने सोळ सणगार, पेहरावीने कीधो नमस्कार.
तव कोप्यां वडसासु अपार, सर्व कुटुंबनो कीधो तिरस्कार.

वलण.

तिरस्कार कीधो डोसीए, हवे पेहरामणी पेहेरुं नहीं.
वडी वहुवर आगळ थई, ने हुं घरडी बेसी रही.

Canto XV.

Knowing of the anger of the elder *vêhvâṇ* Lakshmîjî went up to her,
And, placing a precious plaid on her shoulders, appeased her wrath :
At which there were cries of acclamation in the *maṇḍap* and women began to sing,
(Saying), " Call this (real) *môsâḷuṅ* that the Mêhêtâjî gives, all others are but trash."
Each one called forth her relatives as best suited her :
To see such wished-for things, they called each other actively.
And women flocked up, each thinking she would take the best cloth she liked.
All the four communities walked up and went into the *maṇḍap*.
And Śrî Vanmâḷî, folding up his plaid, went up to them.
The Mêhtâ stood performing on the *tâl*, while the *vêrâgîs* stood singing,
And the grand-mother-in-law stood instructing Kuṅvarbâî how to distribute the presents.
Śrî Rang's priest Sâmal got white *sêlâṅ*.[44]
Hêmjî and Khêmjî, two other priests, got some ten things placed on their shoulders.
Kabhâ[44] to some, and *pâmrî* and *paṭkâ*,[44] and names I cannot enumerate.
Some get *mugṭaṅ*[44] some *pîtâmbêr*,[44] some get cotton *sêlâṅ*[44] only.
Magîâṅ dôrîâṅ and *asâvḷî*[44] are given to some, to some *sêlâṅ* and *patû* and *śâl* :[44]
While the gold fringed turbans that are given glisten brightly.
Pâyajâmâ, *nîmâ* and *pachhêḍî*[44] and robes with tassels.
A shower of clothes appeared to come down, since the Ocean of Mercy himself had turned draper.
Beautiful ornaments for the arms and wrists, and rings for the fingers.
Necklaces dangling with innumerable pearls, and pendants.
Some get waist-bands, some bracelets, some are adorned with chains.
Some get golden wristlets, and earrings such as fascinate the mind.
After the gifts of the men were disbursed, the women-folk were called forth.
Their fore-heads being marked with *kuṅku*,[45] various kinds of clothes were placed on each one's shoulder.
Gaṅgâvahu[47] is given a *gajîâṇî*,[46] Sundarvahu[47] gets a *sâḷûṅ*,[46]
The black colour of which well becomes their fair skins.
Chhabîlîvahu gets a heavy *chhâyaḷ*,[46] in colour red and white.
Kôḍavahu is given a *kalghêr*, and Prêmvahu a *paṭôḷî*.[46]
Ram-kuṅvar and Kṛishṇa-kuṅvar receive precious *ghaṭ*.[46]
Chhêlvahu is given only some *chhîṇṭ*,[46] and Nanivahu some *nâṭ*.[46]
Pânvahu wears *pîtâmbar*[46] . . . . ,[48]
Rûpkuṅvar gets a red *sâṛî*, and Dêvkuṅvar is in a pet.
Śâmkuṅvar receives a gold-bordered *sâḷûṅ*, Śaṅkarvahu a bodice for home-wear.
Lakshmîvahu and Lachhavahu and Lâlvahu — each receives a *patôlûṅ*.
Jasmôdâ, Jasôdâ, Jivî, Jamunâ and Jâṇkî and many other *vahus*[49]

[44] All names of clothes. [45] *Kuṅku* paste is applied as a sign of good luck, see note 69, page 101.

[46] All names of clothes, for explanation, see notes to Canto VI.

[47] It may be noticed that the poet enters fully into alliteration here (Gaṅgâvahu gets a *gâjîâṇî* and Sundarvahu a *sâḷûṅ*, and so forth), which I have tried to show by giving the original names of the clothes ; for explanation of each article of clothing, see notes to Canto VI.

[48] The text is unintelligible here. [49] For the termination *vahu*, see note 43, Part I.

Stand dressed either in a new *sâṛî* or a bodice.
Mân-bâi and Vêlvahu and Ram̐bhâvatî and Raiyâ —
All take off their old and put on new clothes, placing their babies down.
While Chhabîlâ sits at the *chhâb* (basket), giving away whatever is required,
Measuring out *gajîân̐* and *gajîâṇî*[49a] with his *gaj*, he sits cutting them out,
Giving away for bodices and for *sâṛîs*, *pâṭ* and *pîtambar* and *utlas* and *am̐bar*.[49a]
* * * * * * *[50]
Sâṛîs and plaids, both being gold-embroidered, glisten together.
White *sâlûn̐* studded with spots of saffron have gold borders all around.
Chandrakalâ looks well in a *môrvî* and *Diyar* (?) in a *darîâî*,
Utlas five-striped,[51] and gold and silver coins for ornaments.
Some get *ak̐ôṭî*,[52] others *ṭôṭî*[52] and necklaces of great value.
Some are given *bhamrî*,[53] some *sêṇṭâ*,[53] and some little golden flowers[53] for the head.
Some women fold their palms and ask the Mêhêtâ for a necklace,
While others hold their little ones before the Mêhtâ.

Refrain.

Before the Mêhtâ some hold their little ones, thinking he would give them something, after every one has received her wished-for gift.
Thus the reproach of the *sâsariyân̐*[54] is removed, Kun̐varbâî is (considered) lucky in her parent.

कडवुं १५ मुं. राग मेवाडो.

वडी वेवाण रीसायां जाणी, लक्ष्मीजी पासे आव्यांजी
सारुं खीरोदक खांधे मुकी, डोसीने समजाव्यांजी.
जेजेकार थयो मंडपमां गीत गाय छे रामाजी.
मोसाळुं ते मेहेताजीनुं, बीजा सर्व भामाजी.
पोते पोतानां सगां तेड्यां जेनी ज्यां सगवडजी.
मन वांच्छीत पेहरामणी देखी, मांडी तेडातेडीजी.
घेर घेर वात थई नागरमां, मेहेतो करे मामेरु जी.
विचार करती अबळा दोडी, मन मानती साडी पेहेरुं जी.
चार वरण सउ चरणे चाली आवी मंडप मांह्यजी
पलवट वाळी श्री वनमाळी ततक्षणी आव्या त्यांय जी.
मेहताजी उभा ताल वजाडे गाय वेरागी गीत जी.
वडसासु कुंवरवहुने कहे पेहेरामणीनी रीत जी.
श्रीरंगनो सामळ मेहतो पाम्यो धोळां सेला जी.
हेमजी खेमजी मेहेताने दसेक खांधे मेळयां जी.
कभा कोने पामरी पटका, नाम न जाय गण्या जी.
कोने मुगटां कोने पीतांबर कोने शेलां सण्यां जी.
मगीआं दोरीआ असावळी कोणे, शेलां पतु शाल जी.
गुछ पेच पाघडीओ तोरा दीसे झाक झमाल जी.
पायजामा नीमाने जामा पछेडी वाळा बंधजी.
वस्त्र तणो तो वरसाद वरश्यो ज्यां दोशी करुणा सींधु जी.
बेरखा बाजुबंध अति सुंदर वेढ वीटीओ छाप जी.
दुगदुगी माळाने मांदळीआं आप्यां मोती अमाप जी.
कोने कंदोरा ने कंठी पोंची केाने सांकळी सोभे जी.
कनक कडां ने काने कुंडल देखीने मन मोहे जी.
पेहेरामणी पुरुषोनें पोहोंचा तेड्यो अबला साथ जी.
पीयळ काढीने खांधे मुक्यां, पटकुळ नानां भात जी.
गंगा वहुने गजीआणी साडी, सुंदर वहुने साळु जी.
गोरे अंगे सुंदर सोभे, माहे कापडु काळुं जी.
छबीली वहुने छायळ भारे भात राती घोळी जी.
कोड वहुने कलघेर आपी, प्रेम वहुने पटोळी जी.
राम कुंवरने कृष्ण कुंवरने आप्या उत्तम घाट जी.
छेल वहुने छींटज आपी, नानी वहुने नाट जी.
पान वहु तो पीतांबर पेहेरे ताके बची बाई जी.
रूपकुंवरने रातो साळु, देवकुंवर रीसाई जी.
शामकुंवरने सोनेरी साळु, संखरवहु घरचोळु जी.
लक्ष्मीवहुने लाछा वहुने लाल वहुने पटोळं जी.
जसमादे जसोदा जिवी जमुना जानकी वहुए जी.
चरण चोलीने घर साडी पेहेरी उभां सहुए जी.
मानबाईने वेलवहु ने रंभावती ने रइआं जी.
जुनां काढीने नवा पेहेराव्यां, हेठां मुकी छईआं जी
छाबनी पासे छबीला बेठा, जे जोईये ते आपे जी.
मशरु गजीआं ने गजीआणी गजभरीने कापे जी.
पाट पीतांबर अतलस अंबर चोलेरा ने चीर जी.
शोभे सुंदर भात नवरंगी पुतळीओ ने कीर जी.
साडी जरकशीनी ओढणी झलके सुंदर जोर जी.
केसर छांट्या धोळा सालु फरती कसबी कोर जी.
चंद्रकळाने मोरवी सोभे, दरीआईमां देर जी.
अतलस पांच पटा आभूषण सोना रुपांनी मोहर जी.

49a See note 45, p. 282.
50 The text is more or less unintelligible.
51 Here again the text is not clear.
52 Neck ornaments.
53 Head ornaments.
54 The husband's relatives.

कोने अक्रोटी कोने टोटी गलुंबंध बहु मुल जी.
कोने भमरी कोने सेंठो त्रेसठीआं शीश फुल जी.
को मेहेता पासे माळा मांगे उभी रही कर जोडे जी
केटलीएक पोतानां बाळक मेहता आगळ ओडे जी.

वलण.

ओडे बाळक जाणे कांई आपे, मनवांच्छीत पाम्या सहु.
सासरीयानं मेणुं टल्युं पीअर पनोती कुंवर वहु.

Canto XVI.

Kuṅvarbâi's wishes are gratified, the reproach of the *sâsarîyâṅ* is lifted.
Every one has got gifts to please his or her mind, according to his or her claims.
All the family, the Nâgar community, and also their servants of the Kôḷî and Mâḷî caste
Have been given gifts: Prabhu has really kept his word.
Giving all the fourteen articles of decoration to Kuṅvarbâi, they honoured her.
And lastly placing two golden stones[55] into the basket, Harî became invisible.
All the assemblage was astonished at the unearthly *sêṭh* and *sêṭhâṇî*,
And everybody began to fall at the Mêhêtâ's feet, knowing his devotion to be (so) true.
(Just then) Kuṅvarbâi's *naṇadî* came up grumbling loudly,
Abusing the *vêhvâi* because somebody had been left out without a gift.
"Even people of other castes were remembered, and members of the family forgotten!
My little flower-like daughter has not received so much as a piece of cloth!
Here, sister-in-law, take back what you have given me" (said she).
"The Mêhêta is only a Nâgar in name, but is a mendicant in reality.
At this Kuṅvarbâi went to the Mêhêtâ (and said): — "Father, how will it fare with me now?
In spite of all this expense, there is still cause left for reproach, and how shall I live?
I forgot to mention my *naṇadî's* daughter, by name Nânbâi.
She is a baby of six months, and just one piece of cloth is required."
The Mêhêtâjî replied: — "Daughter mine, call upon Śrî Gôpâḷ.
I cannot give a single thread, I do but sit and play on my *tâl*."
Again Mâdhav was invoked: — "Trikum, preserve our prestige."
And from the skies down fell a beautiful five-coloured cloth.
Kuṅvarbâi's *naṇadî* satisfied (thus), the Mêhêtâjî asked for leave to go,
Placing in lieu of the one thousand *môhôrs*[56] those two golden stones in the basket.
All the Nâgar people bow at his feet and praise him (saying):—
"Narsiṅh is the greatest man in the Nâgar community, he has the patronage of the Lord of the strong bow.
Praise be to you, Mêhêtâjî, none can be like you in this wicked age.
You have added to the pomp of the Nâgar community by putting everyone in new clothes.
We had no hopes that you could supply the maternity gifts:
But Prabhu has saved the honour of all, and removed the reproach."
Now the Mêhêtâjî folds his palms and asks leave to go.
"Pray send Kuṅvarbâi with me, the carriage has been brought."
Then Kuṅvarbâi sits in the carriage and goes to Junâgaḍh.[57]
Every one goes to see her off, crying — "Praise be to Vaikuṇṭhrâi."
In the town of Vîrakshêtra Varôḍarâ situated in Gujarat,
Bhâṭ Prêmânand, Chaturvaṁsî Brâhmaṇ by birth,
Finished this work according to his lights,
On Sunday the ninth of the month Asô, in *Saṁvat* 1719.
He who sings it and hears it with devotion will be freed from his difficulties.
Vaikuṇṭhrâi will remain before him who knows this and offers his devotion.

[55] These golden stones seem to have been placed in the basket to humiliate Kuṅvarbâi's sister-in-law, who had remarked with a sneer when the old woman was dictating the list, "Our purpose is surely gained: why not write for a couple of large black stones, the Mêhêtâ will be better able to provide them:" see *ante*, Vol. XXIV., p. 105, line 240.

[56] The gold *mohars* that the old woman had declared to be the husband's due.

[57] It is customary for the young wife to remain with her parents during her confinement.

Refrain.

The Lord of Vaikuṇṭh will come to him who hears with a guiltless mind,
The tale Bhâṭ Prêmânand has to tell; he is sure to get Mâdhav.

कंडवु १६ मु. राग धनाश्री.

कोड पोंत्या कुंवरवहुना, भाग्युं भवनुं मेणुं जी.
मनवांच्छीत पेहरामणी पाम्यां जेनुं जेवुं लेहेणुं जी.
नागरी नात कुटुंब पडोसी चाकर कोळी, माळी जी.
पेहरामणी सउकोने पोंहोती, वाचा प्रभुए पाळी जी.
सोळ सणगार कुंवरबाईने आपी दीधुं मान जी.
कनक पाहाण बे छाबमां मुक्या, हरी थया अंतर ध्यान जी.
सभा सऊको विसम्य पामी अलोकीक शेठाणी जी.
मेहेताने सउ पाए लागे, भक्ति साची जाणी जी.
कुंवरबाईनी नणदी आवी. बडबडती मुख मोटे जी.
पेहेरामणी कोईने नव पोंहोंती वेवाईने वखोडे जी.
पेहेरामणी परज्ञाती पाम्यां, घरनां माणस गयां भूली जी.
एक कटको कापडुं नव पामी पुत्री मारी फुलफुली जी.
मने आप्युं होय ते ल्यो भाभी पाछु राखडी बधामण जी.
नाम मेहेतो पण नोहे नागर, दीसे दुर्बल ब्राह्मण जी.
कुंवरबाई पीता कने आवी, नात हवे शुं थाशे जी.
आटलुं खरचते मेणुं रह्युं, हवे केम जीवाशे जी.
वीसरी दिकरी नणदी केरी, नानबाई तेनुं नाम जी.
छ महीनानी छे ते छोकरी, एक कपडांनुं काम जी.
मेहेताजी कहे, दीकरी मारी समरो श्री गोपाळ जी.
एक तांतणो मुजथी न पामो, बेठो वगाडुं ताल जी.
फरी ध्यान धर्युं माधवनुं, त्रीकम राखजो टेक जी.
पंचरंगी त्यां कापडुं सुंदर आकाशथी पडयुं एक जी.
नणदी संतोखी कुंवरबाईनी, मेहेताजी मागे वीदाय जी.
सहस्र मोहोर सोनाना पाहाणा मुक्या ते छाब मांहे जी.
नगर लोक सउ पाये लागे, प्रजा करे वखाण जी.
नागरी नाते मोटो नरसई साथे सारंग-पाणि जी.
धन्य मेहेता तम समोवड आ कलयुगमां नोय जी.
नागरी नातनो महीमा राख्यो, ऊजळुं कीधं सउ कोय जी.
अमने तो विश्वाश नोतो. जे मेहतो करे मामेरुं जी.
पछे मेहेताजी विदाय मांगे बोले बेउ कर जोडी जी.
कुंवरबाईने हवे वळावो, वेल्य आणी छे जोडी जी.
पछे कुंवरबाई वेले बेसी जुनेगढ ते जाय जी.
सर्वे वळावी पाछां फर्यां, धन्य धन्य वैकुंठराय जी.
वीरक्षेत्र वडोदरा नामे गुजरात मध्ये गाम जी.
चतुरवंसी ज्ञाती ब्राह्मण भट प्रेमानंद नाम जी.
संवत सतर ओगणचाळो आसो सुदी नवमी रवीवार जी.
पुरण ग्रंथ थयो ते दीवसे यथा बुद्धी वीस्तार जी.
प्रीत करी जे गाय सांभळे दलीद्र तेनुं जाय जी.
एवुं जाणी भक्ति करे तेनी सनमुख वैकुंठराय जी

वलण.

वैकुंठनाथ सनमुख होय, जो नीरमळ मने सांभळे.
भट प्रेमानंद कहे कथा माधव तेने नीश्चे मळे.

MISCELLANEA.

THE MEANING OF SRAHI.

THE second of the two important copper-plate inscriptions of the Gaṅgavaṁśa king Narasiṁhadêva IV., discovered by Babu Man Mohan Chakravarti at Purî (Jagannâth) and published by him in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIV. P. I. p. 128 ff., contains the following dates:—

1.—Page 151, inscription B., plate vi.*a*, l. 19: Śaka-nṛipatêr=atîtêshu shôḍash(ś)-âdhikêshu trayôdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarêshu . . . . śrî-Vîra-Nṛisiṁhadêva-nṛipatîḥ(têḥ) sva-râjyasya dvâviṁśaty-aṅkê abhilikhyamânê Vichhâ śukla êkâdaśyâṁ Maṁgala-vârê; *i. e.*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1316 expired, in the *aṅka* (year) 22 of the king's reign, on Tuesday, the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Vichhâ (Vṛiśchika).

Here the Śaka year 1316 has been erroneously quoted instead of 1317. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1316 expired the date would correspond to Wednesday, the 4th November A. D. 1394; but for Śaka-Saṁvat 1317 expired it corresponds to the 23rd November A. D. 1395, which *was* a Tuesday, and which did fall in the 22nd *aṅka* (year) of the king's reign, because the 6th March A. D. 1384, the equivalent of another date (p. 149, l. 9) of his reign, fell in the 8th *aṅka* (year).[1]

2.—*Ibid.* plate vi.*b*, l. 1: asmin râjyê trayôviṁśaty-aṅkê Vichhâ dvitîya-kṛishṇa-saptamî Paṇḍita-vârê; *i.e.*, in the same reign, in the *aṅka* (year) 23, on Wednesday, the 7th *tithi* of the second dark half of the month of Vichhâ (Vṛiśchika).

This date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd November A. D. 1396, when the 7th

[1] In counting the *aṅka* years (which commence in the month Bhâdrapada) the numbers ending with 6 or 0, excepting 10, are dropped. If, therefore, the 8th *aṅka* year corresponded, as it did, to A. D. 1383-84, the 22nd *aṅka* year must have corresponded to A. D. 1395-96, because in counting the years the numbers 16 and 20 would be omitted.

tithi of the dark half ended 13h. 53m. after mean sunrise.[2] It fell in the *second kṛishṇa-paksha* of the solar month of Vṛiśchika, because another *kṛishṇa-paksha* had already ended in the same month on the 1st November, the solar month having commenced on the 29th October.

3.—*Ibid.* p. 152, plate vi.*b*, l. 5: **ê srâhi Mîna-saṁkrânti kṛishṇa êkâdaśî Śani-vârê**; *i. e.*,—omitting the first two words—on the **Mîna-saṁkrânti**, on **Saturday**, the 11th *tithi* of the dark half.

This date falls in the same year as the immediately preceding date No. 2; for the **Mîna-saṁkrânti** then took place (by the Ârya-siddhânta) 1h. 24m. after mean sunrise of **Saturday**, the 24th February A. D. 1397, and on the same day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2h. 54m. after mean sunrise.

This result, in my opinion, clearly shows that the phrase *ê srâhi*, 'in this *srâhi*,' with which the date opens, takes the place of, and is synonymous with, the expressions *asminn=êva saṁvatsarê*[3] and *tasminn=êva śakê*[4] of other inscriptions; and I do not consider it doubtful that the mysterious word *srâhi* is used here in the sense of 'year.' This meaning would also suit the use of *śrâhî* in the dates to which I have drawn attention *ante*, Vol. XXIII. p. 224.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A CHARM FOR THE WHISTLING SPIRIT OF KANGRA.

THE following is a *mantra* (charm) which will summon **Sendû Bîr** :—

Parbat guphâ at base bâp terâ :
Sendû Bîr tûn hain bhâî merâ !

Ugarbîr kâ potrâ, Chhetrpâl kâ potrâ, Lohpâl kâ potrâ, Agnipâl kâ potrâ, Sangulpâl kâ potrâ, Thîkarpâl kâ potrâ; Bhûînpâl kâ dohtrâ; Mâtâ Kunthardi kâ jâyâ; Puniyâ kâ bhâî; Gurân kâ sikh: hamârâ saddiâ âve: hamârâ bhijâ âve: hamârâ kâm shitâb kar âve: Gurû kî shakt hamârî bhagat. Phure mantar: chale bâchâ: Mahândeo kâ bâchâ phure.

Thy father dwells in the shade of the mountain valley: Sendû Bîr, thou art my brother.

Grandson of Ugarbîr, grandson of Chhêtrpâl, grandson of Lohpâl, grandson of Agnîpâl, grandson of Sangulpâl, grandson of Thîkarpâl; grandson (daughter's son) of Bhûînpâl; son of Mother Kunthardî; brother of Puniyâ; disciple of the Gurû: come at my call: come for my sending: come quickly and do my bidding: I worship the power of the Gurû. Work charm: go voice: let the voice of Mahâdeo (Śiva) work.

The above *mantra* should be repeated 101 times at night for 21 days by the river side, at the spot where the dead are burnt, or under a *pîpal* tree (*ficus religiosa*), or *chambâ* (*michelia champaca*), or *chambelî* (*jasminum grandiflorum*), or at the pond, tank, or well whence the women fetch water. Dressed food of all sorts, — wine, meat, fish, tobacco, sweet-smelling flowers and sweetmeats, etc., — also a *narêl* (cocoanut pipe) should be taken to the spot every day during the ceremony. The spirit, it is said, will come on the 21st day, and ask why he is called. He should then be told to come when sent for, and do whatever is bidden. His appearance is that of a *gaddi* (hill shepherd), and before his arrival he will be heard *whistling* as he comes, and sometimes with a *whistling* sound through his limbs. On the 22nd day a ram should be taken to the place of his appearance, and presented to him to ride on. This ram is called his *ghôṛî*.[1]

SARDARU BALHARI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

NOTES ON HIGH CLASS MARRIAGES AMONG THE MARATHA SUDRAS.

AMONG high class Marâṭhâ Sûdras the men marry at all periods of life, except extreme old age, or when there are cogent physical reasons against it. The marriage does not depend on the pleasure of the parties concerned, or rarely and but too little. Most marriages among the upper classes take place when the parties are very young, on the choice of their elders. If the bridegroom be an adult he exercises some discretions though his freedom of choice is considerably limited by caste, by usage, by the customs of a community in which social regulations have become religious institutions, and by the great respect paid in a patriarchal society to parents

[2] This shows that the word *dvitîya* of the date cannot refer to the *tithi*; and it cannot refer to the month because there are no intercalary solar months.

[3] See, *e. g.*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 159, lines 5 and 11.

[4] See *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193, l. 5 from the bottom, and p. 194, l. 6.

[1] [This *mantra* probably gives a list of godlings which it would be worth while following up. Compare with it the *mantra* for the cure of scorpion-bite used by the Sâṅsîs. *Ante*, Vol. XI. p. 32ff. The *Gurû* is Nânak. — ED.]

and elders. Under any circumstances the bride, who indeed is always young, never makes choice of a husband, nor has any voice in the manner of her wedding.

After investigation of the claims of each side as to purity of descent, etc., a party of the bridegroom's relations and friends of both sexes take *kuṅkû*(turmeric-powder moistened with lemon-juice to give it a bright red colour) to the bride's house, where the ladies accompanying the procession apply it to the bride's forehead. On the same, or any other convenient day, the bride's party in return take saffron-powder, slightly liquefied with water, to the bridegroom's house, and apply it in the same manner to his forehead. This corresponds to the plighting of troth, first engagement, or betrothal amongst nations of European origin or following European customs, and is called *kuṅkûtilâ*.[1]

The late B. V. SHASTRI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A TELUGU SUPERSTITION.

IT is very unlucky for a dog to rub its buttocks along the ground in a house. It portends ruin to the inhabitants.

The belief in this omen is in no way affected by its necessarily frequent falsification.

M. N. VENKETSWAMI.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE INDIAN CALENDAR. By ROBERT SEWELL AND ŚANKARA BÂLKṚISHNA DÎKSHIT. London: 1896. Swan Sonneschein & Co. (xii. 106, cxxxvi. 52 pages).

THIS book is designed, as Mr. Sewell says in the preface, "not only for the use of those engaged in the decipherment of Indian inscriptions and the compilation of Indian history, but also for Judicial Courts and Government Offices in India." The authors have, therefore, tried to render the conversion of Hindu dates into dates of our era and *vice versâ* as easy as possible, and have in their Table I. calculated for every year between 300 A. D. and 1900 A. D. the exact beginnings of the solar and luni-solar years. For the solar year they give the instant of the *Mesha saṅkrânti* in *ghaṭikâs* and *palas* as well as in hours and minutes, calculated both by the *Ârya Siddhanta* and by the *Sûrya Siddhanta*, whilst for the luni-solar year the Table contains the moment of the first *tithi* of the year or *Chaitra śukla pratipadâ*, together with the indication if the year has an added or expunged month, and in the latter case the name of this month and the time of the preceding and the succeeding *saṅkrântis* both by true and mean intercalation. There are, moreover, three arguments *a*, *b*, *c*, which serve for the exact calculation of *tithis* and which represent the mean longitudinal distance of sun and moon, the moon's mean anomaly, and the sun's mean anomaly, all calculated for the beginning of the luni-solar year. Finally, the table contains the number and name of the concurrent *samvatsara* of the sixty-year cycle both by southern and northern reckoning, as well as the concurrent years in six principal eras. It must be remarked and borne in mind that the years given in this table are always to be taken as current years.

Table I. which occupies a hundred pages, forms the principal part of the book, and the data given by it can be utilized both for approximate and for exact calculation of dates.

For the first, the approximate calculation, two methods are given; the one (the system introduced by Mr. W. S. Kṛishṇavâmi Naidu of Madras into his South-Indian Chronological Tables) necessitates only a simple addition with the aid of Tables III. and IX., whilst the other method avoids even this and permits the finding of any solar or luni-solar date by simple inspection of an eye-table (Table XIV. and XV. invented and prepared by Mr. Lakshmia Naidu of Madras) combined with the data of Table I.

Of course, the results of such an eye-table cannot give absolute accuracy, but as the fault never exceeds two days, the result so found can be easily corrected when the week-day is known. It is, therefore, to be presumed that this method, which is indeed a very simple and easy one, will much be used in common practice.

The exact calculation of the end of the *tithis* with the aid of Tables III. to XIII., in combination with the arguments *a*, *b*, *c* given by Table I., is entirely based on Prof. Jacobi's Tables in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII. pp. 147-181. The calculation seems, perhaps, a little complicated, when absolute accuracy is wished for. But as the method itself is an indirect one which necessitates repeated approximations, this could not easily be avoided.

Table VIII. serves for finding the beginning or end of *nakshatras* and *yogas*. The rule for finding the *nakshatra* index (*n*) and the *yoga* index (*y*), given on pages 97 and 98 could, perhaps, be somewhat abridged and the calculation simplified by the addition of a Table VII.A, giving the value of (*s*) with the argument (*c*), the only one on which (*s*) depends.

The (n) would be equal to $(t) + (s)$, and (y) would be equal to $(t) + 2(s)$ or to $(n) + (s)$. Such a Table would run thus: —

[1] [See *Mookerjee's Magazine*, November 1872: *Orientalist*, July, 1883. — ED.]

TABLE VII.A.

Arg. c.	s.	Diff.
0	7147	103
10	7250	104
20	7354	104
30	7458	104
40	7562	104
50	7666	103
60	7769	104
70	7873	103
80	7976	103
90	8079	103
100	8182	103
110	8285	103
120	8388	103
130	8491	102
140	8593	103
150	8696	102
160	8798	102
170	8900	101
180	9001	102
190	9103	101
200	9204	101
210	9305	101
220	9406	101
230	9507	100
240	9607	100
250	9707	

Arg. c.	s.	Diff.
250	9707	100
260	9807	100
270	9907	99
280	6	99
290	105	99
300	204	99
310	303	98
320	401	99
330	500	98
340	598	98
350	696	97
360	793	98
370	891	97
380	988	97
390	1085	97
400	1182	97
410	1279	97
420	1376	97
430	1473	96
440	1569	97
450	1666	96
460	1762	96
470	1858	96
480	1954	96
490	2050	97
500	2147	

Arg. c.	s.	Diff.
500	2147	96
510	2243	96
520	2339	96
530	2435	96
540	2531	97
550	2628	96
560	2724	97
570	2821	96
580	2917	97
590	3014	97
600	3111	97
610	3208	97
620	3305	97
630	3402	98
640	3500	98
650	3598	97
660	3695	99
670	3794	98
680	3892	98
690	3990	99
700	4089	99
710	4188	99
720	4287	100
730	4387	99
740	4486	100
750	4586	

Arg. c.	s.	Diff.
750	4586	100
760	4686	101
770	4787	100
780	4887	101
790	4988	101
800	5089	101
810	5190	102
820	5292	102
830	5394	101
840	5495	103
850	5598	102
860	5700	102
870	5802	103
880	5905	103
890	6008	103
900	6111	103
910	6214	103
920	6317	104
930	6421	103
940	6524	104
950	6628	103
960	6731	104
970	6835	104
980	6939	104
990	7043	104
1000	7147	

AUXILIARY TABLE.

Diff. of s.	Last figure of Argument c.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Add.								
104	10	21	31	42	52	62	73	83	94
103	10	21	31	41	52	62	72	82	93
102	10	20	31	41	51	61	71	82	92
101	10	20	30	40	51	61	71	81	91
100	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90
99	10	20	30	40	50	59	69	79	89
98	10	20	29	39	49	59	69	78	88
97	10	19	29	39	49	58	68	78	87
96	10	19	29	38	48	58	67	77	86

The last Table (XVI.) gives the initial days of the Muhammadan years of the Hijra and serves for the conversion of dates of the Hijra era into Christian dates and *vice versâ*.

The Tables, which occupy together cxxxvi pages, are preceded by a text, containing as Part I. (pp. 1-39) a treatise on the Hindu Calendar fully explaining all particulars of the Hindu time-reckoning, the different *Siddhântas*, the contents of the *Pañchâṅga*, the details concerning the *nakshatras*, the cycle of Jupiter, etc. Part II. (pp. 39 to 47) treats on the various eras in use in different parts of India. Part III. (pp. 47 to 62) gives a thorough description of the Tables, whilst Part IV. (pp. 62 to 101) explains their use in a very detailed and clear manner which is illustrated by many examples, so as to make the use of the tables easy to anyone. Part V. (pp. 101 to 106) treats of the Muhammadan Calendar.

Taken all together, we must say, that the work of Messrs. Sewell and Mr. Dikshit is a very good one, and that it will certainly be of great value for all who have to do with the conversion of Indian dates.

Vienna, August, 1896. ROBERT SCHRAM.

ON THE DATES OF THE SAKA ERA IN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C. I. E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(*Continued from p. 272.*)

Tithis.

Current tithis. — Commencing with the date No. 123 (Vol. XXIV. p. 1) I have given a series of dates in which the *tithi* of the date is shewn to be joined, not with the day on which it ended, but with the day on which it commenced. Of these, the dates which mention the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti will more conveniently be considered below. The date No. 126 of S. 1452 expired furnishes a very instructive instance of a current *tithi*, because the *tithi*, the 8th of the dark half of the *amânta* Srâvaṇa, is joined with a day on which it commenced as late as about 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise (while it ended about 10 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of the following day). But the date is quite according to rule. For the *tithi* is distinctly connected in the date with Kṛishṇa's birth, and since that event took place both during the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Srâvaṇa (or *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada) and also at midnight, the 8th *tithi* or *Janmâshṭamî*, as it is called, had necessarily to be combined here with the day on which it commenced, and could not have been joined with the day on which it ended, because midnight of that day already belonged to the 9th *tithi*. In the same way, in a date of Prof. Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 96, the *Janmâshṭamî* is joined with a day on which it commenced 1 h. 38 m after mean sunrise. And, more similarly still, in one of the Kamauli plates[32] of Jayachchandra of Kanauj the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada (the *Janmâshṭamî*) is joined with a day on which it commenced 11 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. — In the twelve dates from No. 127 to No. 138 the *tithi* generally commences from two to four hours, once 1 h. 16 m. only and once as much as 6 h. 52 m., after sunrise of the day with which it is joined. Here it is no doubt possible that in one or other of these dates either the *tithi* or the weekday has been given incorrectly, but this cannot be the case in the majority of the dates. And we, therefore, may assume, either that it was desired to specify not so much the weekday as the particular *tithi* during which a donation was made or some ceremony performed, or that the donation to which the date refers was made on account of some festival[33] the rules for which required the *tithi* to be connected with the first of the two days of which it occupied part. If, *e. g.*, the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Mâgha of the date No. 129 of S. 1084 expired was taken as a *Kalpâdi*, it was quite necessary to join it with the day on which it commenced. In a Bombay calendar for S. 1814 expired I similarly find the same *Kalpâdi* joined with Sunday, the 29th January A. D. 1893, although in every-day life that day was the 12th of the bright half, because the 12th *tithi* ended (and the 13th *tithi* commenced) on the Sunday, about 5 h. after sunrise.

Repeated tithis. — A repeated *tithi*, *i. e.*, a *tithi* the number of which is given to two consecutive days, is not distinctly mentioned in any of the dates of the published lists,[34] but instances of it are furnished by the regular dates No. 13 of S. 950 expired (Vol. XXIII. p. 115) and No. 77 of S. 1307 expired (*ibid.* p. 126). In the former date a fifth *tithi* is connected with a Monday and in the latter a second *tithi* with a Friday, and in either case the *tithi*, by my calculations, commenced before the commencement of the given weekday and ended after the end of it, and the two *tithis* therefore would be more accurately described by the terms *prathama-pañchamî* and *prathama-dvitîyâ*.

Special names and epithets of particular tithis. — The 3rd *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśâkha is termed *akshaya-tṛitîyâ yugâdi-parvan* in the date No. 22 of S. 1078 (Vol. XXIII.

[32] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 127.

[33] Such festivals (or auspicious occasions for making donations, etc.) need not necessarily be actually mentioned in the dates or inscriptions.

[34] An instance of a repeated *tithi* in a date of the Śaka era is distinctly furnished by the Nañjangûḍ plates of Kṛishṇarâya of Vijayanagara (*Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 183, No. 16) where we have *pratham-aikâdaśî-tithau* in a date of the bright half of Âshâḍha of S. 1435 expired, which correctly corresponds to the 13th June A. D. 1513.

p. 117); and the full-moon *tithi* of the same month[35] is called *mahâ-Vaiśâkhî* in the dates Nos. 48, 51 and 67 of S. 734, 749 and 832 of the chronological list, and described as *mahâ-tithi* in the date No. 400 of S. 1556 of the same list. The same epithet *mahâ-tithi* is applied to the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of **Âshâḍha**[36] in the date No. 368 of S. 1558 of the same list. The full-moon *tithi* of **Srâvaṇa**[37] is called *yajñôpavîta-parvan* in the date No. 93 of S. 1199 (Vol. XXIII. p. 128). The 13th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* **Bhâdrapada** is described as *mahâtithi-yugâdi* in the date No. 67 of S. 1047 (*ibid.* p. 124). The 12th *tithi* of the bright half of **Kârttika**[38] is called the *puṇyâ utthâna-dvâdaśî-tithi* in the date No. 342 of S. 1462 of the chronological list; and the full-moon *tithi* of the same month[39] is termed *mahâ-Kârttika-paurṇamâsî* and *mahâ-Kârttikî-parvan* in the dates Nos. 13 and 52 of S. 500 and 757 of the same list, and described as *puṇyâ mahâ-tithi* in the date No. 48 of S. 1506 (*ibid.* p. 121). The 7th *tithi* of the bright half of **Pausha** is called *vijaya-saptamî* in connection with the date No. 50 of S. 735 of the chronological list; and the *ardhôdaya*[40] on the new-moon *tithi* of the *amânta* Pausha is mentioned in the date No. 321 of S. 1392 of the same list. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half of **Mâgha** is called *ratha-saptamî* in the dates Nos. 37 and 330 of S. 675 and 1442, and described as *mahâ-parvan* in the date No. 300 of S. 1317 of the same list. The full-moon *tithi* of Mâgha is called *mahâ-tithi* in the date No. 149 of S. 1317 (for 1318, Vol. XXIV. p. 7); and the Mahâmagam (Mahâmâgha) festival on that *tithi* is mentioned in the date No. 322 of S. 1403 of the chronological list. The 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Mâgha is called *Siva-tithi* in the date No. 292 of S. 1300 (for 1301), and *Siva-râtri mahâ-tithi* in the date No. 325 of S. 1434 (for 1435) of the same list. The 5th *tithi* (apparently of the bright half) of **Phâlguna** is termed *śrî-pañchamî*[41] in the date No. 62 of S. 809; and the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of the same month is called *mahâ-tithi* in the date No. 371 of S. 1566 of the same list.

In verse, the 3rd *tithi* is described as the *tithi* of Gaurî in the date No. 234 of S. 1153 of the chronological list; the 11th *tithi* as the day of Hari in the date No. 104 of S. 1172 (Vol. XXIII. p. 130) and in the date No. 143[42] of S. 1646 (Vol. XXIV. p. 5); the 13th *tithi* as the *tithi* of Madana in the date No. 44 of S. 1450 (Vol. XXIII. p. 120); and the new-moon *tithi* as *pitṛi-parvan* in the date No. 61 of S. 867 (*ibid.* p. 123). — In prose, we find the term *Nandîśvara*[43] for the 8th *tithi* (of the bright half of Kârttika and Phâlguna) in the dates Nos. 75 and 87 of S. 860 and 899 of the chronological list.[44]

---

[35] This is the *Kûrma-jayantî*.

[36] On this *tithi* the *châturmâsya-vrata* commences.

[37] The *upâkarman* or renewal of the sacred thread takes place in the bright half of this month. — On the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Śrâvaṇa see above under 'current *tithis*.'

[38] On this *tithi*, which elsewhere (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 161) is called *saṁvatsara-pûjyatamâ*, Vishṇu awakes from his sleep.

[39] On this *tithi* the *châturmâsya-vrata* ends. It also is one of the *Manvâdis*. *Ante*, Vol. XI. p. 67, l. 16, it is described as *Paitâmahî-Hiraṇyagarbha-mahôtsava-samaya.*

[40] The *ardhôdaya* takes place on the new-moon *tithi* of the *amânta* Pausha, provided this *tithi* falls on a Sunday when during day-time the *nakshatra* is Śravaṇa and the *yôga* Vyatîpâta. This most auspicious conjunction for making donations did take place on the equivalent of the date, Sunday, the 20th January A. D. 1471, and the date furnishes another correct instance of a current *tithi*.

[41] *Ante*, Vol. IX. p. 192, *śrî-pañchamî* is taken to denote the 5th day of the bright half of Mâgha.

[42] For the wording of the original date see *Ep. Carn.* Part I. pp. 63 and 64.

[43] In *Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 214, No. 192, we have *Mâgha-mâsa Peṛetale-*(*i. e.*, *Îśvara-*)*divasaṁ* in a date of apparently Ś. 890 current.

[44] It may be stated here that, besides some religious festivals, etc., mentioned in the preceding, and besides eclipses and saṁkrântis which will be treated of below, the only occasion for making donations, specially referred to in the dates collected, is the coronation festival of kings. It is mentioned (in the terms *śrîpaṭṭabandhôtsava*, *paṭṭâbhishêka-samaya*, and *paṭṭâbhishêkôtsava*) in three dates of the chronological list, *viz.* in the date No. 69 of Ś. 836 of the Nausârî plates of the Râshṭrakûṭa Nityavarsha Indra III., in the date No. 304 of Ś. 1328 of the Hâsan plates of Dêvarâya I. of Vijayanagara, and in the date No. 323 of Ś. 1430 (for 1431) of a Hampe inscription of Kṛishṇarâya of Vijayanagara. In an inscription of Chikkadêvarâja of Maisûr (*Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 58, No. 94) donations are stated to have been made when, at a recitation of the Mahâbhârata, the king heard the description of Yudhishṭhira's coronation (*Yudhishṭhirâbhishêka-śravaṇa-kôladalli*).

Nakshatras, Yôgas, Karaṇas, and Lagnas.

Of these, **nakshatras** by themselves are quoted in 39 dates. The earliest correct mention of one in an Indian Śaka date occurs in the date No. 7 of Ś. 851 expired (Vol. XXIII. p. 114). Before that year we find *nakshatras* quoted incorrectly in the two Indian dates[45] Nos. 160 and 161 of Ś. 614 and 735 (Vol. XXIV. p. 9); and *nakshatras* are also quoted in three earlier dates from Cambodia, in one from Java, and in four dates from spurious Indian inscriptions. Beginning with the date of Ś. 851 expired, the *nakshatras* are correctly quoted in 23 dates, while six other dates which mention them either are irregular or do not admit of exact verification.[46] — **Yôgas** by themselves are quoted in the two dates Nos. 27 and 50 of Ś. 1121 and 1556 (Vol. XXIII. pp. 117 and 121), and in two other quite incorrect dates. In three out of the four dates the *yôga* quoted is Vyatîpâta. — **Nakshatras and yôgas** together we have in six dates; **nakshatras, yôgas and karaṇas** in ten. In the latter, the earliest of which is the date from Java No. 5 of Ś. 782 expired (Vol. XXIII. p. 114), nearly all the items given by the dates are correct. In the former, which give the *nakshatra* and *yôga* only, the items quoted are correct in four dates, the earliest of which is No. 140 of Ś. 1063 (for 1064 expired, Vol. XXIV. p. 4); in one date, No. 162 of Ś. 822 (for 824 expired, *ibid.* p. 9), they are incorrect; and one (quite incorrect) date, No. 166 of Ś. 169 (*ibid.* p. 10), is from a spurious inscription.

As regards *nakshatras*, it may be noticed that dates with solar months from South-Indian inscriptions generally contain some such phrase as 'on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Punarvasu,' 'on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Kṛittikâ,' etc. The calculations shew that in these cases, as might be expected, that *nakshatra* is quoted in which the moon happened to be at sunrise and during a considerable portion of the day, or which she entered shortly after sunrise. — It may also be mentioned that in the date No. 51 of Ś. 1644 (Vol. XXIII. p. 121) the *nakshatra* Ârdrâ is described as the constellation under which the great reformer **Râmânuja** was born.[47]

Among the *yôgas*, **Vyatîpâta**[48] and **Vaidhṛiti** are generally described as most auspicious occasions for making donations, etc. This is distinctly indicated in the date No. 27 of Ś. 1121 (Vol. XXIII. p. 117) by the words *Bṛihaspativâra-vyatîpâta-puṇya-dinadoḷ=â vyatîpâta-nimittaṁ*, and in No. 32 of Ś. 1171 (*ibid.* p. 118) by *Vaidhṛiti-yôgê itthaṁbhûta-puṇyakâlê.*

Another item, mentioned in ten of the dates here collected, is the **lagna** which, denoting the rising on the horizon of a sign of the zodiac, gives us the time of day when the action to which the date refers was performed. The earliest Śaka date from a genuine Indian inscription in which the term occurs is No. 62 of Ś. 867 expired (*ibid.* p. 123), from an Eastern Chalukya inscription. Before that year, we find it in inscriptions from Cambodia and in the spurious Indian date of Ś. 169, above referred to.

Eclipses.

The number of eclipses mentioned in the 400 dates here collected is 69. Of these, 34 are solar and 35 lunar eclipses.

Solar eclipses. — Of the 34 dates with solar eclipses,[49] one, No. 179 of Ś. 948 (Vol. XXIV. p. 13), is a date on which a solar eclipse could not take place, and which is

[45] The three dates Nos. 160-162 in Vol. XXIV. p. 9 are the earliest Indian Śaka dates that quote *nakshatras*, from inscriptions which are not obviously spurious, and it is a curious fact that in all three the *nakshatra*, which according to the ordinary rules we should expect to be quoted, is the 5th or 6th after the *nakshatra* that is actually mentioned.

[46] A *nakshatra* by itself only rarely enables us to verify a date, for the same *tithis* of the same months ver frequently have the same *nakshatras*.

[47] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 6, note 1. — Like the *tithis*, the *nakshatras* also have their deities. Thus, Anurâdhâ is called the *Maitra-nakshatra* in the date No. 62 (Vol. XXIII. p. 123), Uttara-phalgunî the *Aryamarksha* in No. 44 (*ibid.* p. 120), and Maghâ the *nakshatra pitṛi-daivatya* in No. 149 (Vol. XXIV. p. 7).

[48] On a peculiar use of the word *vyatîpâta* in Kanarese inscriptions see below.

[49] In the two dates Nos. 65 and 102 of Ś. 972 and 1136 (Vol. XXIII. pp. 124 and 130) and in two other dates of my lists, not published here, the solar eclipse is denoted by the term *sûrya-parvaṇi.*

altogether incorrect; and seven others mention eclipses which did not take place on the days of the dates. Three of these seven dates, No. 170 of Ś. 415 (*ibid.* p. 11), No. 15 of Ś. 532 (?) of the chronological list, and No. 144 of Ś. 872[50] (*ibid.* p. 5), are from undoubtedly spurious records; the other dates are No. 176 of Ś. 922,[51] No. 193 of Ś. 1174, No. 199 of Ś. 1478 (*ibid.* pp. 12, 16 and 17), and the date No. 193 of Ś. 1106 of the chronological list.[52]

Of the remaining 26 dates, 20 mention eclipses which were visible in India, 4 apparently quote eclipses which were not visible there, and the eclipses of two dates (Nos. 107 and 108 of Ś. 716 and 730, Vol. XXIII. p. 131) were visible in India if the years of the dates are expired years, but not visible if those years are current years. But one at least of the four dates with eclipses that were not visible in India, No. 165 of Ś. 417 (Vol. XXIV. p. 10), is from a spurious inscription; and in two others (Nos. 123 and 187 of Ś. 988 and 1095 of the chronological list) the weekdays of the dates are wrong. On the other hand, the weekdays are incorrect also in two of the dates that quote visible eclipses, *viz.*, in the dates No. 150 of Ś. 976 expired and No. 155 of Ś. 1096 expired[53] (Vol. XXIV. pp. 7 and 8).

Setting aside, then, all spurious and suspicious cases, we find that **of 21 solar eclipses, mentioned in correct and apparently genuine dates, 18 were visible in India,[54] while only one eclipse** (the eclipse of the date No. 106 of Ś. 534,[55] Vol. XXIII. p. 130) **could not have been visible there.** And this result, in my opinion, makes it highly probable that the eclipses quoted in the two dates Nos. 107 and 108 of Ś. 716 and 730 also were visible ones, and that the years of those two dates, therefore, must be taken to be expired years, a conclusion which has already been arrived at above, on different grounds.

Lunar eclipses. — Of the 35 dates with lunar eclipses, one (No. 100 of Ś. 930, for 931, of the chronological list) contains no details for accurate verification; and nine others (the dates Nos. 171, 172, 173, 187, 197 and 198 of Ś. 634, 730, 872, 1084 for 1085, 1276 and 1377 in Vol. XXIV. pp. 11-17, and the dates Nos. 177, 193 and 256 of Ś. 1080, 1103 and 1185 of the chronological list) quote lunar eclipses that did not take place on the days of the dates. Of these nine dates, two at least (those of Ś. 634 and Ś. 872) are from spurious inscriptions, and

[50] On this date see now Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, 2nd ed., p. 575, note 3.

[51] This date gives no weekday; in the two following dates the given weekdays are incorrect.

[52] This date, Monday, the new-moon day of Âshâḍha of Ś. 1103 expired, '*sûryyagrahaṇa-saṁkrâṁti-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu*,' corresponds to Monday, the 9th July A. D. 1181, a day on which there was neither an eclipse nor a saṁkrânti. The date is similar to the date No. 177 of the chronological list, Monday, the full-moon day of Pausha of Ś. 1080 expired, '*uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrâṁti-vyatîpâta-sômagrahaṇad-aṁdu*,' which corresponds to Monday, the 5th January A. D. 1159, a day on which also there was neither a saṁkrânti nor an eclipse. — I shall have occasion to mention nine other Śaka dates, and I possess six more dates with years of the Châlukya-Vikrama era or regnal years, which contain the word *vyatîpâta*, used as in the above dates. With the single exception of the date No. 101 of Ś. 1110 current (Vol. XXIII. p. 130), all these dates are either entirely or partly incorrect. They are all found in inscriptions the language of which is Kanarese, and fall all in the two hundred years between Ś. 944 expired and Ś. 1145 current. In nine of them the weekday is Sunday, and in six Monday, but in 12 out of these 15 dates the given weekday is incorrect. Eight dates have *uttarâyaṇasaṁkrânti-vyatîpâta* or a synonymous expression, one has *dakshiṇâyanasaṁkrânti-vyatîpâta*, one *saṁkramaṇa-vyatîpâta*, one *sûryagrahaṇa-vyatîpâta*, one *sômagrahaṇa-vyatîpâta*, one *uttarâyaṇasaṁkramaṇa-vyatîpâta-sûryagrahaṇa*, one *uttarâyaṇasaṁkrânti-vyatîpâta-sômagrahaṇa*, one *sûryagrahaṇa-saṁkrânti-vyatîpâta*, one *sômagrahaṇa-vyatîpâta-saṁkramaṇa*, and one *grahaṇa-vyatîpâta-saṁkramaṇa*. Of the saṁkrântis so mentioned, only five took place on the given dates; of the eclipses, only two.

[53] This date has *Âdityavâra sûryyagrahaṇa-vyatîpâtadandu*, but the eclipse took place on a Saturday.

[54] The earliest of these is the eclipse of the 16th June A. D. 863, date No. 59 of Ś. 788 expired, Vol. XXIII. p. 123. — I have ascertained that, with a single exception, the eclipses which above are spoken of as visible in India, were visible also at the particular places where the inscriptions which mention them may be supposed to come from. The exception is formed by the eclipse of the date No. 72 of Ś. 1113 expired (Vol. XXIII. p. 125) which was visible south of, and not very far from, Chaṇḍadâmpur, but not at that place itself.

[55] This eclipse which, for Ś. 534 expired, was the total eclipse of the 2nd August A. D. 612, is the earliest eclipse mentioned in a date of a genuine inscription that admits of verification. The only other solar eclipses that were not visible in India, which hitherto have been found quoted in genuine inscriptions, are those of the 17th February A. D. 638 and the 2nd January A. D. 937 (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 9, and Vol. XIX. p. 166).

three (the date of S. 872 and the dates[56] of S. 1080 and 1084) wrongly quote, not merely eclipses, but also saṁkrântis. Moreover, what may be noted as suspicious, is, that in seven of these dates that give a weekday the day with a single exception is Monday.[57]

Of the lunar eclipses quoted in the remaining 25 dates all were visible in India,[58] excepting the eclipse of the date No. 164 of S. 411 current (Vol. XXIV. p. 10), which is from a spurious copper-plate. But of the dates with visible eclipses the weekday again is wrongly given as Monday in the three dates Nos. 157-159 of S. 1145,[59] 1148 and 1483 (*ibid.* pp. 8 and 9) The result is, that **all lunar eclipses which are correctly quoted in genuine dates were visible in India.**

Saṁkrântis.

Saṁkrântis are mentioned in 47 dates: the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti in 38 dates, the Dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti in 5 dates, a Vishuva-saṁkrânti in two dates, and unspecified saṁkrântis in two other dates.

The Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti. — Of the 38 dates which mention the Uttarâyaṇa or Makara-saṁkrânti, 6 give no details for verification, and in 11 other dates the saṁkrânti is quoted quite incorrectly. Two of these 11 dates (Nos. 168 and 173 of S. 261 and 872, Vol. XXIV. pp. 11 and 12) are from undoubtedly spurious inscriptions. The date of S. 872 and the date No. 177 of S. 1080[60] of the chronological list also mention, together with the saṁkrânti, a lunar eclipse, equally wrongly. In the date No. 355 of S. 1483 of the chronological list the Makara-saṁkrânt is joined with Chaitra-sudi 5, on which no saṁkrânti of any sort took place during the giveni year. The other quite incorrect dates are Nos. 177, 178 and 185 of S. 941, 944[60] and 1060 (Vol. XXIV. pp. 13 and 14), and the dates of the chronological list No. 111 of S. 957, No. 122 of S. 984,[60] No. 130 of S. 997, and No. 175 of S. 1079. It may be noted that the weekday of 10 out of these 11 incorrect dates is again either Sunday or Monday.

Of the remaining 21 dates six contain errors which may be corrected with some confidence. Two dates (Nos. 147 and 148 of S. 902 and 966, Vol. XXIV. p. 6) apparently quote wrong *tithis*, and three (Nos. 151-153 of S. 984, 993 and 997,[61] *ibid.* p. 7) wrong weekdays.[62] And in the date No. 156 of S. 1141 current[63] (*ibid.* p. 8), in which the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti is connected with Mâgha-sudi 7, either the month and the weekday are incorrect, or, and this now appears to me more probable, the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti has been wrongly quoted instead of the Kumbha-saṁkrânti.[64]

There remain thus only 15 dates (out of 32), in which the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti apparently has been quoted with quite correct details. And here we find that in no less than 13 cases the saṁkrânti took place during the *tithi* quoted by the date, *viz.*, six times (in the dates Nos. 13, 14, 23, 70 and 90[65] in Vol. XXIII. pp. 115-128, and in the date No. 212 of the chronological list) on the given weekday on which the *tithi* also ended or which was wholely occupied by the *tithi;* once (in the date No. 6, *ibid.* p. 114), where no weekday is given, on the day on which the *tithi* ended; four times (in the dates Nos. 123-125, Vol. XXIV. p. 1, and in the date

[56] These two dates contain the term *vyatîpâta*, spoken of above.

[57] The taking place of a lunar eclipse on a Monday is called *chûḍâmaṇi*, 'crest-jewel,' and donations on such an occasion are highly meritorious.

[58] They were visible also at the particular places where the inscriptions which mention them come from. The eclipse of the date No. 3 of S. 765 expired (Vol. XXIII. p. 113) was visible in Java and in India.

[59] This date also contains the term *vyatîpâta*.

[60] These dates contain the term *vyatîpâta*.

[61] This date, again, contains the term *vyatîpâta*.

[62] The days, given by the dates, here also are Sunday and Monday.

[63] This date, also, contains the term *vyatîpâta*.

[64] In S. 1141 current the Kumbha-saṁkrânti took place 5 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 24th January A. D. 1219, during the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Mâgha which ended 7 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of the same day.

[65] On Saturday, the 25th December A. D. 1204, the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti took place, by the Sûrya-siddhânta, 3 h. 54 m. (not 4 h. 59 m.) after mean sunrise.

No. 184 of the chronological list) on the given weekday, on which the *tithi* commenced; and twice (in the dates No. 101,[66] Vol. XXIII. p. 130, and No. 143,[67] Vol. XXIV. p. 5) from 4 to 6 hours before sunrise of the given weekday, on which the *tithi* ended. Differently from what is the case in the preceding dates, the saṁkrânti took place before the commencement of the *tithi*, and on the day preceding the given weekday on which the *tithi* ended, in the date No. 15, Vol. XXIII. p. 115; and the case may be said to be similar in the date No. 142, Vol. XXIV. p. 5, although no *tithi* is actually quoted in that date. As shewn by these dates, **the rule for the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti no doubt was, to quote that tithi during which the saṁkrânti actually took place.**[68]

The Dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti. — Of the five dates which mention the Dakshiṇâyana- or Karkaṭa-saṁkrânti, not always in these terms,[69] only one, No. 16 of S. 999 expired (Vol. XXIII. p. 116), is regular;[70] and in this case the saṁkrânti took place 15 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise of the weekday of the date, after the given *tithi* which ended 3 h. 37 m. after sunrise of the same day. In the date No. 160 of S. 614 expired (Vol. XXIV. p. 9), which gives no *tithi*, the saṁkrânti took place on the weekday of the date, but the *nakshatra* which is quoted by the date is apparently incorrect.[71] In the date No. 175 of S. 919 expired (*ibid.* p. 12), which quotes no weekday, the given *tithi* is wrong. In the date No. 154 of S. 1080 expired (*ibid.* p. 8) where the saṁkrânti took place before the commencement of the given *tithi*, the given weekday is incorrect.[72] And the date No. 174 of S. 896 (*ibid.* p. 12), which gives no *tithi*, is suspicious, both because the year of the date apparently is quoted as a current year and because the saṁkrânti did not take place on the given weekday.[73]

Vishuva-saṁkrântis. — Vishuva-saṁkrântis are mentioned only in the two dates No. 2 of S. 679 expired (Vol. XXIII. p. 113), and No. 184 of S. 1056[74] (Vol. XXIV. p. 14). The saṁkrânti of the first date, which gives no weekday, is the Tulâ-saṁkrânti (or autumnal equinox), which took place 18 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise, before the commencement of the *tithi* of the date which ended on the following day. The saṁkrânti of the second date, which gives neither a *tithi* nor a weekday, but only a *nakshatra*, may be the Mêsha-saṁkrânti (or vernal equinox), but the year of the date is wrong.

Unspecified saṁkrântis. — Saṁkrântis are also mentioned, apparently wrongly, in the date No. 187 of S. 1084 (for 1085, Vol. XXIV. p. 15) and in the date No. 198 of S. 1106 of the chronological list, both times together with eclipses. These dates contain the term *vyatîpâta*, and have been mentioned before.

A *saṁkramaṇa* in the bright half of Mâgha is quoted in the date No. 162 of the chronological list which does not admit of verification.

In concluding these remarks on saṁkrântis, I may state that, so far as I am aware, the dates collected furnish **no instance of a tropical saṁkrânti.**

(*To be continued.*)

---

66 This is the only correct date with the term *vyatîpâta*.

67 The original text of this date shews that the *tithi* of the date is the 11th, not the 12th.

68 The same rule is furnished by the dates of the Vikrama era; see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 413.

69 The date No. 16 of S. 999 has *saṁkrânti-pavitrârôhaṇad-aṁdu*, but the saṁkrânti must be the Dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti, because it fell in the bright half of Âshâḍha. So far as I can make out, the *pavitrârôhaṇa* (or investiture of the image of some god with the sacred thread) must take place on certain days of the months Âshâḍha or Srâvaṇa, but I am not aware that it is specially connected with the Dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti. — The date No. 160 of S. 614 has *dakshiṇâyan-âbhimukhê bhagavati bhâskarê.*

70 The Sâtârâ plates of the Silâhâra Bhôja II. of S. 1113 expired (*Transactions, Lit. Soc. of Bombay*, Vol. III. p. 393) quote a Dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti which took place on Thursday, the 27th June A.D. 1191, 1 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise, during the *tithi* of the date, which ended 14 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise of the same day.

71 See above, note 45.

72 The given weekday, here again, is Monday; and this date also contains the term *vyatîpâta*.

73 Here the given weekday is Sunday.

74 The date has *vishuvati sutithâ(tau)*. — A Vishuva-saṁkrânti may possibly be quoted in the date No. 209 of the chronological list of which I do not possess the original text.

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(*Continued from p.* 277.)

VIII.

Mr. MÄNNER'S VARIANTS.

No. 1. — THE ORIGIN OF THE BEIDERLU.[32]

THERE was a Ballâḷ in the kingdom of **Parmaḷê.** He was happy in his palace, surrounded by his children and other relatives and all the necessaries and comforts of life. He had a friend, a *pujâri*, named **Sama Aḷwa.** He was a bosom friend, from whom he hid no secrets. Sama Aḷwa was a brave man, and was the only man who had the privilege of extracting juice from the palm-trees in the forest belonging to the Ballâḷ of Parmaḷê. He used to come thrice a day to the *buḍu* to speak with the Ballâḷ, and was very faithful to him. The Ballâḷ had a very extensive forest in which were countless palm-trees of various kinds. No one but Sama Aḷwa was able to climb those trees and extract their juice. This great forest was inhabited by great numbers of tigers, *chîtas*, elephants, antelopes, boars, foxes, wolves and bears. Daily, when Sama Aḷwa went to the forest, he took a camel with him. Early in the morning he would go and return at noon.

On a certain day he went to the forest as usual, and tied the camel to a tree; and with his knife and dry gourd he climbed a palm-tree and took the pot containing the juice and poured it into his gourd. As he was thus occupied he heard the sound of weeping. He quietly listened and came to know that it was the sound of some human being. At this he was astonished, and, intending to go and see whence the sound proceeded, he got down from the tree and placed the gourd near the camel and went to the eastward. Then he listened, but heard only a faint cry. He could not distinguish from what quarter the weeping proceeded. But as he went further and further he distinguished the voice of a girl. Then he said to himself:— "Alas! what monster of a man is he who has forsaken a girl in this frightful forest!"

Thinking and speaking thus within himself, he went further and further, until he heard more distinctly. Still proceeding and listening carefully, he saw a large clump of thorn-bushes, in the midst of which was a young and beautiful girl. She was blind-folded and her hands were tied behind her. Seeing a girl in such a state in the forest he was moved with compassion, and spoke to her thus:—"O child, who are you? Why do you weep? How did you come here? Tell me, child."

At this, the girl cried more and more. Then he said:—"Tell me, child, and be not afraid. I have female children like yourself, my child. I have many children like yourself, my child."

At this, she said to him:—"Who are you? You must tell me who you are."

Then he said:—"I am **Sama Aḷwa Beidya of Parmaḷê.** Now tell me who you are, my child. Where is your native place? Whose daughter are you? What are the names of your parents?"

At this, she said:—"First of all loosen the bandages over my eyes, and set my hands at liberty; then I will tell you. I am in great pain from these bandages."

Then he said:—"I feel a doubt about you. It seems that you are a **Brâhmaṇ maid.** How can I touch a Brâhmaṇ maid? I do not know what to do. I am a Biḷḷavar, and may I touch a Brâhmaṇ maid?"

[32] This is a variant of the stories of Kôṭi and Channaya already given in this series. It is quite as quaint as those that have gone before. Mr. Männer, in writing to me under date, Mangalore, 7th June 1886, says: — "The other version of the Beiderlu [Kôṭi and Channaya] Story. I think it rather a fiction, but if you wish to have it, too, I will get you a copy of it." — R. C. T.

At this, she replied :—"In extreme cases you may touch. In cases where you can prevent death, you may touch. In this fearful forest, full of tigers and bears, the wild beasts did not eat me! Even the wild beasts hate me! Please give me liberty. These wild beasts would not eat me, and thus set me at liberty."

At this, he looked to his right and to his left, and thinking there was no help for it, he exclaimed :—"Alas! to-day I am touching a Brâhmaṇ maid. And he said to her :—"My child, I touch you, calling on the name of the Lord God; there is no help for it, my child."

In this manner, with much fear, he touched her, and set her hands at liberty, and loosened and took off the bandages over her eyes. When he saw her after the bandages were taken off, she looked very beautiful. Then he said to her :—" Now, at least, tell me, my child, who you are."

At this, she said :—"I am the daughter of a Brâhmaṇ."

Then he asked her :—" Why did they leave a Brâhmaṇ maid in the forest in this manner? Who are your parents? Of what town are they? Tell me without any fear or bashfulness. You are as my sister. Tell me the name of your native town. Tell me the reason why you were left here in this condition."

At this, she said :—" You have touched me and loosened my bandages. Now, therefore, take me to your house, making me one of your own."

Then he said :—" Yes, as I have loosened your bandages I will take you home."

At this, she said :—"In that case I will tell you; hear me. If you ask me where I come from — **I come from Parmaḷê.** A Brâhmaṇ maid is like an earthen pot. A copper pot may be touched by any one, but an earthen one must not be touched by outsiders. When a dog touches an earthen pot, it is thrown away. This the custom among the Brâhmaṇs. If you ask my parents' names, I will not tell you. I am not married. I am a virgin maid. I am thirteen years of age. Nobody came to ask me in marriage, and as I reached puberty before marriage, they tied my hands and eyes and left me in the forest. If a girl attains puberty before her marriage, they do not allow her to remain in the town, but send her to the forest. This is the custom among the Brâhmaṇs."

At this, he said :—"O maid, your custom is not among other castes. Is it a sin in a girl to attain puberty before marriage? In our caste we have no such custom. We alway marry after a girl attains puberty. It is very rarely that we marry before that."

Then she said further :—"There is another custom among Brâhmaṇs. If a little girl, stils a child, should lose her husband and become a widow, she is not allowed to marry again. God has created different customs for different castes."

Then he said :—" O maid, hear me; if they leave a girl in the forest, blind-folding her and tying her hands behind her, how can she live?"

She replied :—" She must starve in the forest till some wild beast devours her."

Then he said :—" These Brâhmaṇs are very hard-hearted men. They do not shew any mercy to their own offspring. It would be better for them to kill her at once than to bring her and leave her in the forest in this manner. No other castes are so hard-hearted as the Brâhmaṇs. It seems to me that this custom is not given to you by God, but it is instituted by men themselves. God will never ordain that they should sacrifice young women to tigers and bears, to be devoured by them."

Then the girl asked him :—"Why did you come to this forest?"

He replied :—"I came to take palm-juice from the palm-trees which are in this forest. This forest belongs to the Ballaḷ of Parmaḷê, and I am the palm-climber of this forest. When I was on the top of a palm-tree, I heard the sound of weeping and came down to discover who was weeping; and so I found you. I have tied my camel to a palm-tree."

Then she asked him :—" Why do you want a camel ? "

He replied :—" I take the palm-juice on the back of the camel. I take thirty maunds of palm-juice every day. I cannot carry it on my head. Therefore the Ballâḷ has given me a camel. He is very kind to me. I go to his *buḍu* thrice a day. If I do not go, the Ballâḷ sends for me."

Then she said :—" Hear me, Sama Aḷwa Beidya; you have loosened the bandages which were over my eyes. Therefore you must be my husband."

Then he said :—" O my child, I already told you, you are as my sister. I will call you **Deyi Beidyadi.** There is my sister's son, **Sayana Baidya.** He has three younger brothers. So I have four nephews. I will marry you to my eldest nephew, Sayana Beidya."

At this, she said :—" O Beidya, you may do with me just as you please; I am at your mercy. When Brahmâ has written this on my forehead, what is the use of repining ? If one's face is ugly, why blame the looking-glass ? "

As they were thus speaking the sun rose to the meridian, and Sama Aḷwa, looking at the sun, said :—" It is getting late, my child ; now come with me."

At this she said :—" Where else shall I go ? I will follow you."

Then he slowly extricated her from the midst of the thorn-bushes, and they came to the place where the camel was. And he said to her :—" Child, stop here near the camel ; I will go and climb these palm-trees and take their juice."

So saying he went and climbed the trees and took their juice and poured it into his gourd, and then came down and poured it into the pots slung over the camels. Afterwards he went with her and the camel to his house. While they were trudging on their way home, the inmates of Sama Aḷwa's house became anxious on account of him. Said they :—" What has become of our uncle ? He used to come early every day. To-day it is very late, and yet he is not returned."

Then the nephews called their mother and said :—" Mother, uncle has not yet come. What is the cause of this ?"

She replied :—" I do not know, my children."

Then they said :—" We will go to the forest in search of him."

" Wait a little," said she, " and he will soon return."

Then they came and stood in the open space before the house, and looking towards the east they saw the camel at a distance. Then they called their mother and said to her :—" O mother, uncle is coming ; we see his camel."

Sama Aḷwa's wife hearing this came out, and looking to the east she saw a woman coming behind the camel, and was as if thunderstruck and said :—" O Râma, O Brâhmâ, O my ill-fortune ! What ! Has my husband become a fool ?."

She thought that he had become enamoured of the girl on account of her beauty ; and said moreover :—" She has deprived me of my bread. Why did not some plague take her ? My husband, looking at her beauty, has become mad on her account and has brought her here. How can I look at her face now ? I do not know from what town she comes."

As she was thus bewailing her lot, speaking to herself, they approached the house, and Sama Aḷwa's wife and his sister and her sons stood there before the house waiting for them. Then he said, pointing out his sister to the girl :—" See, my girl, that is my sister. She is to be your mother-in-law. Her eldest son, my nephew **Sâyana Beidya,** is to be your husband."

Then they came to the open space before the house where Sama Aḷwa's sister and nephews were. The nephews at once attended to the camel and unloaded it, and took the palm-juice and kept it on a raised platform in vessels. Then Sama Aḷwa called his sister and said to

her :—"My sister, I have brought a daughter-in-law to you. Come and look at her well. Have you ever seen such a girl in our caste? God has graciously given us this girl. Any man who sees her beauty will never go away from her. Look at her face. How beautiful! Look at her eyes, her eyebrows, and her waist. How beautiful! Her hair is sweeping the ground. Her hair is as black as the black-bee. We shall never find another to match her. See how noble she looks. Are our girls like her?"

Then he told his sister to give her water and have her face washed, and give her milk that she might be refreshed. His sister went in and brought a pot of water and gave it to the girl; and then she brought a bowl of milk and gave it to her. The girl washed her face and hands and feet and then drank the milk. And being refreshed she sat in a reclining posture against a wall. After some time his sister came to Sama Aḷwa and said :—"Brother, get up, the dinner is ready, wash your face."

So saying, she gave him water. But he said :—"Sister, I will go and bathe first; meanwhile go and prepare warm water and give the girl a warm bath."

So saying, he went to the side of the well and drew up water and bathed; and having finished his bath he came into the house and there he saw that his wife had served up rice for him and also for the girl in a new plate. Then Sama Aḷwa called to the girl, saying:—"Daughter, come and dine."

But she was slow in answering his summons out of bashfulness. Then he said :—"Why are you slow, my child? You have joined the Biḷḷavar caste. After you have joined my caste, what have you to fear? You are now like one of us. Be quite at home here."

At this she got up and went in and sat down to take her food. She quickly finished her meal and came out. She did it so quickly that no one knew how she went, or how she took her meal, or how she came back. Then Sama Aḷwa finished his meal and came out and sat in the verandah. His wife brought him a bag of betel-leaves. He opened the bag and took the betel-leaves, and ate betel-leaves and betel-nut. While eating betel-leaves he called his sister and thus spoke to her :—"My sister, hear me. I was always grieving that I had no female children. Now that grief is over. God has given me a daughter. I was very desirous, if a daughter should be born to me, to give her to your son. Now God has given me this daughter instead of one of my own. So I will give this my daughter to your son. We must celebrate a marriage. We must not do everything according to our own will. We must first tell the Ballâḷ of Parmaḷe. After informing him we must inform all the leaders of our caste. We must prepare all things necessary for the marriage. We must get half a corjee[33] of rice prepared. We shall require oil, jaggery, cocoanuts, salt, tamarind, coriander seed and saffron, etc."

While they were thus speaking, Koragars and Holeyas and other low caste people, who were their usual customers, came to the house to drink palm-juice. Sama Aḷwa told the Holeyas to bring him one *mura* of salt, and told the Koragars to get baskets, etc., prepared for him. When the fishermen came to his house to drink, he told them to supply him with enough fish for a marriage feast. And when Baṇṭs came to his house, he said to them :—"O ye sons of 'Sêṭṭis, there is to be a marriage in my house; you must do me a favor."

In this manner he told his friends, one thing to one man and another thing to another man, and so on. In the meantime the Ballâḷ of Parmaḷe sent a man for Sama Aḷwa, and the man said to Sama Aḷwa :—"The Ballâḷ has ordered you to come immediately with me."

Sama Aḷwa consented and started, and went to the Ballâḷ and bowed to him. Then the Ballâḷ said to Sama Aḷwa :—"O Sama Aḷwa, you are seldom seen. Why did you not come to me yesterday?"

33 [Corge is Anglo-Indian for 'score': see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Corge. In the text is a new and very odern form of the word which may help to the tracing of its obscure origin. — ED.]

He replied :—" Yesterday I could not come for something has happened. I hope you have already heard of it."

Then the Ballâḷ said :—" If something has happened, why did you not tell me ? "

" As I was starting to come here in order to tell you," said Sama Aḷwa, " your servant came to call me, and I have accompanied him."

On this the Ballâḷ said :—" O Sama Aḷwa, tell me what has happened in your house."

Then Sama Aḷwa began from the beginning and related to him the whole story, and the Ballâḷ of Parmaḷe said to him :—" You have no daughters. Therefore, God has given you this daughter. Marry her to your nephew."

To this he replied :—" So think I, and I do according to your commands."

Then the Ballâḷ asked him :—" When are you going to give her in marriage ? Ask me for whatever you want. Do not be afraid."

Then he said :—" Everything requires your help."

Then the Ballâḷ said again :—" Ask me whatever you may want."

Then he said :—" Up to this day I have never once given a big feast. Therefore, this time I must give a feast to all my castemen in this town. If I do not, they will excommunicate me."

Then the Ballâḷ asked him :—" O Aḷwa, tell me how much you will require."

He replied :—" Sir, I shall require half a corjee of rice. I want your help in this. This is the chief item."

Then the Ballâḷ said :—" O Sama Aḷwa, why are you afraid ? I will help you. I will give you whatever you require."

Then Sama Aḷwa replied :—" It is true that you will give me this now. But must I not return it afterwards ? What shall I say of a feast which is to be given by contracting debts ? Many have come to poverty and sold their lands and houses by contracting debts during marriages. If one becomes poor, the rich look down upon him. The poor man is lighter than cotton."

At this the Ballâḷ said :—" Do not talk too much, but go home and make everything ready. Whatever is wanting I will supply."

At this, Sama Aḷwa said to the Ballâḷ :—" Sir, please give me permission to go now."

" When will you come again ? " asked the Ballâḷ.

" To-morrow I will come again, Sir," replied he, and went home.

When he reached home he called his sister and said to her :—" O sister, I went to the Ballâḷ of Parmaḷe and saw him and spoke to him, and have come back. He told me to make everything ready for the marriage-feast, and promised to give me whatever was wanting. I told him that I was glad of the opportunity of putting some grains of rice upon my nephew's head."

Afterwards he called his nephew Sayana Beidya and said to him :—" Now we must make everything ready for the marriage. Therefore, go and take paddy from the store and get it boiled and dried, and get rice prepared at the rate of one *mura* a day. Get half a corjee of rice (twenty-one muras) prepared."

So he went and did as his uncle had ordered him. Afterwards Sama Aḷwa sent for the devil-priests of the stâna of Parmaḷe. He sent also for his neighbours and others of his caste-people. He got a *pandal* raised in front of his house, and got the floor made smooth and even, and made everything beautiful. And when the devil-priests and others, who were his neighbours, came to him, he went to meet them and brought them to his house, and gave them mats,

and made them sit down, and gave them betel-leaves and betel-nuts, etc., and in this manner shewed them respect. Afterwards he told them :—" Sirs, I have intended to celebrate the marriage of my nephew Sayana Beidya. You must help me that it may be done decently. I have made everything ready according to my poor circumstances. You must help that all may be decently done."

Then they asked him :—" When have you fixed the day for the marriage ? "

" How can I fix the day without consulting you ? "

Then they asked him :—" Do you wish to fix the day soon ? Have you made everything ready ? "

He replied :—" I have made some things ready. The Ballâḷ of Parmaḷe has promised to supply whatever is wanting. Fix the day first, and afterwards we shall speak of other things."

Then the devil-prists consulted among themselves, and said to Sama Aḷwa :—" You must have the marriage celebrated on the ninth day of next month. It is an auspicious day."

Sama Aḷwa consented and said :—" By that day I will have everything ready."

Then the priests asked him :—" For what number of persons are you preparing the feast ?"

" For eight hundred persons," replied he ; and asked them :—" Will that be enough ?"

They replied :—" It is according to your ability. We will not constrain you."

So saying, they dispersed and returned to their homes.

Then Sama Aḷwa said to his nephew, Sayana : — " O Sayana, the day for the marriage is postponed. What can we do ? Everything takes place according to fate. Nothing occurs till the time for it arrives."

Then Sayana said to his uncle : — " The bride is already found. It is not necessary to go in search of a bride. Therefore, we can well afford to wait. But when I think of the expense, I feel very anxious. It will be necessary to invite a man from every house in the town."

At this, the uncle said :— " Be not anxious about expense. If the things which we have prepared do not suffice, the Ballâḷ will supply us whatever we want, as he has promised to do."

" It is true he will supply us now," said the nephew, " but we will have to return it to him afterwards. We are happy when we borrow, but it is very difficult to return what is borrowed afterwards."

As they were thus speaking, Sama Aḷwa's sister came and said :—" What is this ? You, uncle and nephew, are talking idly. Are all the necessary things ready ? "

They answered :—" Yes, everything is ready."

So days went on, and the day appointed for the marriage came near. Then Sama Aḷwa one day went to the devil-priests of the town, and said to them : — " O Beidyas, the day appointed for the marriage is come near."

" How many days hence will it take place ? " asked they.

" After three days," said he.

" How many persons are you going to invite to the marriage-feast ? " asked they.

" One person from each house," said he.

" Yes, that is right," said they : " if you invite one person from each house, you will get one load from every house, and it will not be necessary for you to buy vegetables, etc."

When he had finished talking with them he said : — " Now, it is getting late, therefore, I will go."

Then they said: — "Yes, you may go now. We will come to you to-morrow evening."

So he returned to his house, and the next evening the priests came as they had promised. When they were yet at a distance from the house, Sayana Beidya saw them and said:— "O uncle, the priests are coming."

At this, he took his kerchief and put it on his shoulder and ran out to meet them. Having met them at a short distance from the house, he brought them to it, and made them sit on a mat, and gave them betel-leaves and betel-nuts, and thus honoured them. They remained at his house that night. When the time for supper drew nigh, Sama Aḷwa gave them water to wash their feet and hands. And they washed their hands and feet and prepared to take their meals. Rice and curry were served, and they took their meals. Afterwards they went to sleep. Early in the morning they got up, and called Sama Aḷwa to shew them the necessary things that had been prepared.

"If we do not see the things that have been prepared," said they, "to-morrow we will be put to shame if anything be wanting."

Then Sama Aḷwa took them to the godown and shewed them the things which had been prepared. Then they came out and sat down, and asked Sama Aḷwa whether he had sent invitations to all the people of the town or not.

"I have invited all in this town," said he; "they will all come this evening. We should prepare one meal for them to-night."

Accordingly, in the evening, men, women and children came to his house. The sister of Sama Aḷwa received them, and spread mats for them, and made them sit down, and gave them betel-leaves and nuts, and thus shewed them respect. Sama Aḷwa's wife brought lamps and kept them in the rooms and lighted them. All theneighbours who came to the marriage helped them in preparing for the feast. Vegetables of various kinds were brought and cut into small pieces and made into curry, fowls were killed and prepared in curries of various kinds, sweetmeats were made, rice was boiled, and everything was made ready for the marriage day. Guests began to come in, relatives and friends came, and all were made to sit in the marriage-pandal. Then the devil-priests of the *stâna* came and sat in the place of honour. They called Sama Aḷwa and asked him if the bridegroom was ready. So the bridegroom and the bride adorned themselves, and were brought and made to sit in the raised spot reserved for them. Then the women of the town who had come to the marriage sat in a semi-circle before them. The men sat on one side, the chief men of the caste in the front row. They called Sama Aḷwa and told him to perform the marriage ceremony. He called his sister to him to join him in pouring out water. She said: — "O brother, do it yourself with your wife. Pour water, you and your wife, and give Deyi Beidyadi in marriage to my son."

Then he asked the priests of the *stâna* whether they consented to what his sister had said. They replied: — "If you agree to it, we also agree."

He asked his relatives and friends, and they also consented. Then he stood up and called Sayana Beidya to him and told him to stand with his face to the east; and next he called Deyi his own daughter and told her to stand with her face to the west, and made them give to each other their right hands, and took a water-pot and poured out water, and gave the bride to the bridegroom. Then asked the priests what he should do next.

"Now let the bridegroom and the bride sit down," said they, "and let the relatives and friends sprinkle rice upon them."

Then, one by one, they went and gave money into the hands of the bride and bridegroom, and sprinkled rice upon their heads. Afterwards, when the *shesa* (the sprinkling of rice) ceremony was over, all the men and women stood up, and taking rice in their hands, threw it simultaneously upon the bride and the bridegroom, blessing them at the same time, saying:—

"May you live till the sun and the moon cease to shine. May you live till your hair becomes white. May you get children and grandchildren, and may you increase abundantly." Then the priests told Sama Aḷwa to present a new *dhotra* to the bridegroom and a new *shire* to the bride. Then the bride and bridegroom put on the new clothes and came and prostrated themselves before their relatives and friends, who blessed them and said: — "May God bless you with long life and save you."

Then the priests said: — "Now, make haste; it is getting late; the rice and curry is getting cold; let the guests sit down to dinner." Then all the guests went out of the *pandal*, and servants came with brooms to sweep the place. Afterwards, the chief men of the caste came and made all the people sit in rows, and pieces of plantain-leaves were placed before each person. The relatives and friends were made to sit in the front rows; and all were made to sit down according to rank. Those who had come uninvited were made to sit in the hindmost row. Then rice was brought and served, and curry was brought and served. Then they were told to begin to eat. Then they began to eat. Afterwards *payasa*[34] was served, and over the *payasa* sugar was served plentifully. All the people partook of as much as they liked, and were satisfied, and said that they had never tasted such a good dinner. So they arose from their dinner, and the plantain-leaves on which they had eaten were all removed and given to the Koragars. The Koragars found on the plantain-leaves quantities of rice, which had been left by the eaters; and they ate it and were glad. So the pandal was swept and cleansed, and again a second party[35] sat down to dinner; and after they finished their dinner, a third party[36] sat down to dinner. After all had thus finished their dinner, all the guests sat down; and the chief men of the caste and the priests of the *stâna* called Sama Aḷwa and said to him: — "O Sama Aḷwa, none have ever prepared so well for a marriage-feast as you have. God's blessing is upon you. You are a fortunate man."

Some indeed said: — "He would not have found a girl in the forest, if he were not a fortunate man."

Then they said to Sama Aḷwa: — "Now, we will go."

Then he said, clasping his hands: — "You helped me in celebrating the marriage of my nephew. As you have been so kind, this marriage has been celebrated with much success."

At this, they said: — "Do not compliment us; all has gone off so well on account of your good fortune; we have done nothing. Now we are going."

Then he gave them betel-leaves and nuts, etc., and shewed them respect. So they went away gladly. Then his relatives also prepared to go. But he prevented them, and said:— "You must stay here four days more." So they stayed.

On the next day Sayana Beidya said to Sama Aḷwa: — "O uncle, to-day I will go to the forest to bring palm-juice."

When he said this in the presence of the relatives and friends, Sama Aḷwa said to him:— "O nephew, hear me; you cannot go to the forest. It is infested by numerous wild beasts, such as tigers and bears; therefore, you cannot go."

At this, he said to his uncle: — "If you say this, when shall I be able to go to the forest? You are getting old now; and you will not be able to work always; therefore I must begin to do this soon. Therefore, in future, when you are going to the forest, you must take me with you."

Then he said to his nephew: — "So be it, accompany me to the forest from to-morrow. I will take you to the forest for some days."

---

[34] A thick gruel-like preparation made of cocoanut juice, jaggery, rice and pulse.
[35] *I. e.*, those who had not taken their meal at the first time.
[36] *I. e.*, those who were employed in serving their guests, etc.

So, from the next day, Sama Aḷwa took his nephew with him to the forest, and taught him everything. Afterwards, Sayana Beidya continued to go to the forest to draw toddy from the palm-trees of the forest of Parmaḷe. After some days the relatives of Sama Aḷwa who had come for the marriage returned to their homes.

So, as days went on, Deyi Beidyadi proved to be a very wise and careful housewife. She also knew many medicines, and by her prescriptions she cured many diseases. Her fame spread in all directions, and many who had diseases consulted her, and took her medicines, and were cured. In course of time she conceived, and became pregnant within a year after her marriage. When her mother-in-law came to know it, she informed her brother, and said: — "O brother, our Deyi Beidyadi has become pregnant."

To this, he replied: — "God has been gracious to her, and He will be with her and bless her. We need not have any anxiety on account of her."

In this manner he encouraged her. While they were thus talking, a man came from the Ballâḷ to call Sama Aḷwa. So Sama Aḷwa at once accompanied him to the Ballâḷ's *buḍu*. The Ballâḷ was sitting on the throne. Sama Aḷwa went and prostrated himself before him Then the Ballâḷ told Sama Aḷwa to rise. A stool was brought and given to Sama Aḷwa and he sat upon it. Then the Ballâḷ inquired of Sama Aḷwa about his welfare, and of his family. He replied that he and his family were very well and happy. The Ballâḷ thereupon said that he had intended to give him a present after the marriage of his nephew. Sama Aḷwa said: — "O Sir, everything we enjoy is on account of your bounty. Then why should you give us a present?"

At this, the Ballâḷ said: "As you are my friend, the palm-climber of my forest; therefore I ought to give you a good present."

At this, Sama Aḷwa said: — "The rice and the salt we eat is yours. What need is there that you should give us any present?"

But the Ballâḷ, not minding these words, called his accountant and told him to go and bring twelve pagodas. He brought them and gave them to the Ballâḷ. The Ballâḷ called Sama Aḷwa, and gave him the twelve pagodas. Sama Aḷwa stretched forth his hands, bowed his head, and took the pagodas, and thanked the Ballâḷ for his present. The Ballâḷ said to him:— 'O Sama Aḷwa, you must take these twelve pagodas, and get a golden bangle prepared out of them, and wear it upon your wrist. This is my present to you. Next year I will give you besides a golden chain to put on your wrist.'

He replied:— "O Sir, by your kindness alone I am living comfortably."

At this the Ballâḷ said: — "You get me fifty pagodas every year for the toddy you draw out of the palm-trees of the forest of Parmaḷe. If it were not for you, I would not get so much. There is none so bold as to go to the forest. A stupid fellow will not be able to supply your place. If my tenants are rich and able to pay, I shall not become poor."

Then Sama Aḷwa said: —"May I speak one word to my master? If you will not be displeased with me, I will say it."

Then the Ballâḷ ordered him to say on. Then he said: — "O Sir, I wish to give a small present to you. I wish to give you a pair of racing-buffaloes."

Then the Ballâḷ said: — "What! A pair of racing-buffaloes? Why do you wish to give me such a big present? I think that the present which I have given you is a very small one. A land-lord may give presents to his tenants. But a tenant will be ruined if he thinks of giving presents to the land-lord."

At this, Sama Aḷwa bowed to the Ballâḷ and humbly besought him to receive his present of a pair of racing-buffaloes, and not to be displeased with him. At this the Ballâḷ at last

consented. Then Sama Aḷwa took leave of the Ballâḷ and returned home. As soon as he reached home, he called his nephew Sayana Beidya to him and shewed him the twelve pagodas which the Ballâḷ had presented to him. The nephew seeing the gold was delighted and said :— "The Ballâḷ gave us such a present. What have we given to him?"

At this the uncle said :— "I intend to give him a pair of racing-buffaloes as a present. What do you say to that?"

To this the nephew said :— "I agree to whatever you do."

Then he called a servant and told him to bring the pair of racing-buffaloes. When they were brought, he told the servant to give them food and drink. So they ate their food and drank as much as they wanted; and afterwards Sama Aḷwa and his nephew Sayana Beidya and a servant took the pair of racing-buffaloes to the palace of the Ballâḷ of Parmaḷe. The ornaments of the buffaloes were tied in a cloth and given to the servant, and he carried them on his head. The buffaloes went first, and the servant with the ornaments followed. Then Sama Aḷwa and Sayana Beidya went behind. So they reached the palace of the Ballâḷ. The Ballâḷ was in the verandah. They went with the buffaloes and stood in the open space before the verandah; and when the Ballâḷ came towards them, they prostrated themselves before him and said :— "My lord, we have brought the racing-buffaloes."

Then he came down from the verandah and saw the buffaloes, and was very much pleased, and said :— "O Sama Aḷwa, how did you make up your mind to part with such a fine pair of racing-buffaloes?"

At this, he replied :— "When I once make up my mind, I stick to my resolution. We are eating your salt, and to whom else should we bring presents but to you?"

At this the Ballâḷ said :— "I am very much pleased with you. These buffaloes must be sent to the first race that takes place." And then he asked a question :— "O Sama Aḷwa, have you any more pairs of racing-buffaloes?"

He said :— "Yes, Sir."

Afterwards the Ballâḷ said to Sama Aḷwa :— "O Sama Aḷwa, in a few days, during the month of Kanya, I wish to go on a hunt."

Sama Aḷwa said :— "O Sir, before you go, please inform me; we[37] will accompany you."

He said :— "Yes, I will inform you."

Afterwards the uncle and nephew asked permission to return home. But the Ballâḷ said :— "No, you must not go away on an empty stomach. It is now late. You must take your meals here in my *buḍu* and then go."

But they said :— "O Sir, we are eating your salt, whether we eat here or at home."

But he said :— "Never mind; come into the verandah."

When they went to the verandah and sat down, plantain-leaves were placed before them, and food was served upon the leaves. So they took their meals, and came out and sat down. Betel-leaves and nuts were given to them. So they ate betel-leaves and nuts, and afterwards took permission of the Ballâḷ, and returned home. Some time afterwards the day appointed for the hunt approached. Then the Ballâḷ called his clerk and told him to notify to all his tenants his intention of going on a hunt, that they might be present at his *buḍu* on such and such a day. All were ordered to bring their weapons and come prepared for the hunt. So they came on the appointed day. The Ballâḷ saw them. They were about two hundred able-bodied men that assembled before the *buḍu*. When the Ballâḷ came out to see them, they all prostrated themselves before him. He was pleased with them and said :— "This evening you will take your meal in my *buḍu*."

[37] *I. e.*, many of my relations and friends.

So, food was prepared for all of them, and they sat down in rows according to their caste, and food was served to them. And they took their meal and slept there. The next day the Ballâḷ called them all and examined their weapons and instruments, their bows, arrows, and snares; and called **Malla, the keeper of the dogs**, to bring the dogs. When the dogs were brought, he was pleased with them and told the keeper to give them rice mixed with milk. So rice mixed with milk was brought and given to the dogs; but the dogs only sniffed at it and would not eat. Then the Ballâḷ said:—"O Malla, why is it that the dogs will not eat this rice mixed with milk?"

He replied:—"They will never eat just before going on a hunt, even if you give them the most dainty food."

Afterwards he called **Golla**, and examined the guns and bullets and ammunition, and saw that everything was in the best possible condition. Then he called **Paddyala**, and told him to shew the bows and arrows, and was pleased with Paddyala, the keeper of the bows and arrows, because they were in a very efficient condition. And, in this manner, he examined everything himself; the snares, the darts and many other instruments of hunting. The men, every one of them, praised the superiority of his own instrument and boasted of his former exploits. In this manner time passed, and as it had become late, the hunt was postponed for the next day. The Ballâḷ said:—"To-morrow, very early in the morning, before the crows alight on the ground, we must start for the hunt. To-day all of you must take your meals in my *buḍu*. In the meantime you must all sharpen your weapons. Your darts, arrows and all sorts of weapons must be in the best condition possible."

At this all were very glad, and every one went to mind his own business. So, on the next day, very early in the morning, they all started for the hunt with bows and arrows, darts and guns and various other instruments of destruction, and took many dogs with them. Thus they went out to hunt. The Ballâḷ also went with them. When they reached the great forest of Parmaḷe the day began to dawn. The Ballâḷ gave them orders. He stationed half of them in such places that the wild beasts must pass them. He sent the other half with the dogs into the forest, telling them to make as much noise as possible and frighten the wild beasts and drive them before them. They took great sticks and struck at thickets and bushes, and made a great noise. Though they were quite tired they did not find any wild beasts. So they returned quite tired and without finding a single wild beast; and said to the Ballâḷ:—"It seems that the moment of our starting was not auspicious. Otherwise in this great forest, where tigers, bears and wolves and such wild beasts abound, we must have found some wild beasts."

Then the Ballâḷ **made a vow** and said:—"If I get at least one wild beast, **I will give a Tambila to the Bhûta in our house.**"

After the Ballâḷ had said this, they again started and began to beat at the thickets and bushes and halloed, and yelled and made as much noise as possible. Then **a big boar** came in sight, and the dogs at once gave chase and overtook it; and as it came to the place where the hunters were stationed, Golla the hunter fired at it and the bullet took effect and the boar fell down and rolled about and writhed in agony. Then they speared it and killed it. **The Ballâḷ** was told of this, and was very glad, and came eagerly to see. As he was coming a kind of **poisonous thorn pierced his leg** below the knee. Blood began to flow from the wound, and he fell down insensible. When Sama Aḷwa came near he saw the Ballâḷ in a state of insensibility. At once he tore off a big piece of cloth from his *dhotra* and tied it to the Ballâḷ's leg and tried to stop the bleeding. He called to the Ballâḷ, but the Ballâḷ could not speak. His face became pale. Then a young cocoanut was brought, and a little of its water was put into his mouth and some was sprinkled on his face. After some time he became conscious. Then he was slowly lifted up and carefully laid in the palanquin and brought back to the *buḍu*. After a time his leg became swollen, and a great burning

sensation set in. As soon as he reached the *budu* physicians were called in. The most celebrated physicians brought drugs and prepared medicines, and applied them to the wound. But the burning sensation increased. Then the Ballâḷ said to the physicians:—"Your medicine is useless. It has increased my pain. If I use it, I shall die."

Then another medicine-man was called in. His medicine was also given a fair trial and proved a failure. So one medicine-man after another was called in, and yet the swelling increased and the burning also became unbearable. He did not find any relief. No one dared to go to give any medicine to the Ballâḷ. Whilst he was in this miserable condition, one of his friends said:—"I have heard that **Deyi Beidyadi,** the wife of Sayana Beidya, nephew of Sama Aḷwa, is a very wise woman. She **knows many medicines,** and has cured many diseases."

A man was at once sent to Sama Aḷwa's house to fetch Deyi Beidyadi. He went to Sama Aḷwa's house and gave his message. Then Sayana Beidya said to his uncle:—"O uncle, the Ballâḷ has sent for my wife that she may go and give him medicine for his swollen leg. He has been treated by many able physicians, and yet is not cured. How will my wife succeed in curing him? Besides, she is pregnant and about to be delivered."

Then Sama Aḷwa told his nephew to call his wife. So he called her, and she came before him, and he told her the Ballâḷ's message. To this she said:—"I have not learned many medicines. After he has been treated by so many able physicians without any success, what can I do? Besides, I am not able to walk as far as the Ballâḷ's *budu*. It is true the Ballâḷ is a great man, and I am worth only three cash. But yet what can I do? If I do not go, it will highly displease him. Still I cannot go, for my time to be delivered is very near."

Then Sayana Beidya told the man who had come from the Ballâḷ what his wife's state was, and that she could not go to the *budu*. The man returned to the Ballâḷ and told him these things. The Ballâḷ at once ordered his bearers to take his own palanquin to Sayana Beidya's house, and bring the woman in the palanquin to his palace. So the bearers took the palanquin and went to Sama Aḷwa's house. Sama Aḷwa, seeing the bearers and the palanquin, asked them:—"Whence are you come?"

"The Ballâḷ of Parmaḷe has sent us," replied they, "to take Deyi Beidyadi to the palace, The Ballâḷ is suffering extremely, and therefore there must be no delay. Let Deyi Beidyadi come and sit in the palanquin. We will take her to the palace."

To this, Sama Aḷwa replied:—"She is in pain herself; she is moaning. I do not know how she can go to the *budu*."

The bearers replied:—"We will not stir from this place unless she comes and sits in the palanquin. Our orders are strict. We must take her, and we cannot go without her.'

Deyi Beidyadi came out, and seeing the beautiful palanquin, she said:—"O Râma, what can I do now? I am a poor Biḷḷavar woman. How can I sit in the Ballâḷ's palanquin? He is equal to a god. How can I sit in the palanquin? And yet there is no help for it."

Then she told her husband to bring a young red cocoanut, and the roots and leaves of a plant called *nekki,* and also the tendrils and roots of sixty-four kinds of medicinal herbs. He went and brought them. She gave some presents to the bearers, and having taken her meal she put on her *sârî* and said:—"O God, I am not much learned in medicines. I am a very ignorant woman. O God, prosper me, that I may not be put to shame!"

So saying, she started. Then the bearers brought the palanquin before her and requested her to sit in it. But she declined, saying:—"I will never sit in the Ballâḷ's palanquin. I am a poor Biḷḷavar woman. The Ballâḷ's palanquin is not meant for such as I am."

Though the bearers constrained her, she repeatedly refused to sit in the palanquin; but determined to walk as far as the Ballâḷ's *budu*. So she kept the necessary medicines in the palanquin, and walked behind the palanquin, her husband Sayana Beidya accompanying her.

Thus she reached the *budu* and was at once brought before the Ballâḷ. Deyi Beidyadi saw the Ballâḷ's swollen leg and said: — "O my lord, you tell me to give you medicines; yet I am not a very clever woman in medicines. You have been treated by many wise medicine-men without success. Will you be cured by the medicine of an ignorant Biḷḷavar woman? You must anyhow first make vows to some gods before I give you my medicine."

So he made vows, and she also made vows, and prepared her medicine and applied it to his leg, and also gave him three doses of some medicine to drink. Before he had finished drinking the three doses of medicine which she had given to him, she began to be in travail. The Ballâḷ at once ordered her to be taken to a comfortable place and sent for midwives. The midwives came and helped her; and she brought forth twin-boys. The midwives went and told this to the Ballâḷ with joy. The Ballâḷ also was very glad, and ordered them to take great care of her and supply her with all her wants. He commended her very much and said:—"She is a very good woman. Yesterday she applied her medicines to my swollen leg, and to-day my pain is much lessened."

Then the Ballâḷ sent for Sayana Beidya and said to him:—"O Sayana Beidya, your wife, who was pregnant and ready to be delivered, came to me and gave me medicine, and I am much relieved. She also was delivered here last night, and has brought forth twin-boys. They are very beautiful. Go and see them and come."

So he went to the room where his wife was lying. The midwives, as soon as they saw him, told his wife that her husband was come. They came out and congratulated him on the birth of the twin-boys. So he went in and saw his wife and children and was very glad. He told the midwives to take care of his wife. He saw the infants and kissed them. Afterwards he told his wife that he would go and take leave of the Ballâḷ and return home, and tell the glad news to his mother and uncle and other relations. At this his wife said to him:— "When you come to me again, please bring four loads of young bamboo shoots and a load of large lemons, as a present to the Ballâḷ that they may prepare pickle. He supplies all my necessaries and is very kind to me. We cannot be sufficiently grateful to him."

So he took leave of his wife, and went to the Ballâḷ and said to him:—"Sir, I went to my wife's room and saw her and the children; I must now go to my house and tell my relatives of this glad news. Therefore, please give me leave. I will come again the day after to-morrow with my uncle."

Then the Ballâḷ said to him:—"Your wife has done me a great favor. Many physicians came to me and prescribed their medicines and tried to cure me; but I became worse and worse. If it were not for your wife I should never have recovered. She has saved my life. I am very much pleased with her."

Having said this, he gave him permission to go home. So he returned home and told the glad news to his mother and brothers and uncle and everybody. All were very glad at the news. Said his mother:—"I must go and see the infants." Said his uncle:—"I must go and see the infants." His brothers also shewed much eagerness to go and see the infants. So great was their joy that every one was eager to go and see the babes. But Sayana Beidya said:—"I must go in any case. I cannot help it. Remain at home, all of you, at present. I will go with my uncle first, and after we return you can go."

So saying he silenced them. Afterwards he called some of the wild people who live in jungles, and told them to bring to him four loads of young bamboo shoots and a load of lemons. They brought these things to him. So he got men to carry the loads and went to the Ballâḷ's *budu* with his uncle. They laid down the loads before the verandah of the *budu*, and went and saluted the Ballâḷ. The Ballâḷ was very glad to see them, and made them to sit down before him, and said:—"Now, what names will you give to the infants?"

At this the nephew said to the uncle :—"What shall we say, uncle? By what names shall we call them?"

His uncle said :—"Whatever names the Ballâḷ will be pleased to suggest, we will give them."

Then the Ballâḷ said :—"In this town, if any Biḷḷavar woman brings forth twin-boys, they are called **Koṭi Beidya** and **Channaya Beidya**. Therefore, let us call these children by these names."

So the parents called them Koṭi Beidya and Channaya Beidya. The grand-parents also called them by these names, and so did all their relatives and friends. Thus passed the ceremony of giving names. After sixteen days Deyi Beidyadi was strong enough to be able to get up from her bed and walk about a little. In this manner she slowly recovered. One day the Ballâḷ called his nephew and said :—"Child, that Biḷḷavar maid, Deyi Beidyadi, gave me medicine and cured me of my pain. She has saved my life. I am very grateful to her. She was pregnant and about to be delivered, and yet she came as far as my *buḍu* and gave me medicine. I wish to give her some present. What shall it be, child?"

He replied :—"Give her whatever you wish. I shall raise no objection."

"I wish to give her a few acres of land and a house," said the Ballâḷ. "She has saved my life, therefore whatever I may give her will not be equivalent to what I owe her."

The nephew consented and said :—"I am glad of it. I have no objection to offer."

After some days Sayana Beidya came to the Ballâḷ and said :—"O Ballâḷ, you have been very kind to us. My wife has been under your roof many days and has been well tended and nourished by your kindness. Now, please be kind enough to send her and the children with the cradle to my house."

At this, the Ballâḷ said : — "It is not yet two months since she has been confined. She will be very weak and unable to walk."

"But," said Sayana Beidya, "I will make her walk slowly, and I will carefully take her home."

"Then," said the Ballâḷ, "you may go to-morrow. Remain here to-night and go to-morrow early in the morning."

Afterwards, in the evening, the Ballâḷ went to Deyi Beidyadi's room, and saw her and said :—"O Deyi Beidyadi, your husband has come to take you home. You are going away to-morrow morning. As you have given me medicine and cured me, I wish to give you a present. I will give you land enough to sow four *muras* of paddy, and a house. It will produce one *corjee* of rice for you annually."

At this she said :—"Sir, you have been very kind to me and supported me in my confinement. Why should you give me land and a house? I shall be eating your salt all my life. Why then should you give me a present of land? God has been gracious to me and given me twin-boys. It is enough if you kindly send me back to my home with the cradle and the children."

So on the next day, in the morning, the Ballâḷ ordered his servants to prepare a feast of fine things for Deyi Beidyadi and her husband. He also ordered his steward to get ready a new cradle and new strings and a fine milch-cow yielding plenty of milk, in order to present them to Deyi Beidyadi when returning to her home. So the feast was prepared and Deyi Beidyadi and her husband took their meals and went to the Ballâḷ to ask the permission to return home. The Ballâḷ gladly gave them permission and sent them home together with a cradle and a cow and her calf. So they joyfully returned to their home. While they were yet afar off Sama Aḷwa's sister recognised her son and daughter-in-law, and called her sons and said :—"Look

at Deyi Beidyadi, when she went from among us, she went alone. Now, when returning, many bearers with infants, cradle and cow and calf, are accompanying her!"

"Yes," said they, "fortune is smiling upon us."

So saying they came to meet Deyi Beidyadi and received her gladly and took up the infants and kissed them and took them in. Afterwards Deyi Beidyadi told her husband to go to the garden and fetch large young cocoanuts to distribute them among the coolies who had brought the cradle, and when he brought them she gave two to each cooly, and said:—"You must be tired with bringing my loads in this hot sun. You must be very thirsty: therefore, drink of these tender cocoanuts. I am poor: I cannot give you much. You know my poverty: therefore, I need not tell you."

In this manner she spoke and they were pleased, and took the young cocoanuts and drank their water and were refreshed. Afterwards she brought rice and gave them rice at the rate of half a seer to each man, and gave them curry-stuff and everything necessary to prepare their food. So they took these things and went to the side of the well, and there they prepared their food, and having eaten it and being refreshed, they took leave of Sama Aḷwa and his nephew, and went their way.

So as days went on these twins grew and became two very fine looking lads. One day they asked permission of their mother to go to the hills, together with the cowherd boys who tended their cattle. But she said:—

"Don't you go to the hills, my children: many big lads come there and they will quarrel with you and beat you. Don't you go there."

"O mother," said they, "we will not quarrel with others. We will play quietly between ourselves. Why should they beat us? And if they beat us, we will also beat them."

At this she said:—"O my children, if you do so, you will lose your heads. The Baṇṭ boys who come there are very proud; and if they hate any one, they will not hesitate to shed blood. Hearken to my advice."

"O mother," said they, "we will go to-day and return. We will not do any wrong to any one."

So saying, they went to the hills to play with the cowherd boys who tended the cows belonging to themselves and their neighbours. On that day, it so happened, that the two grandsons of **Buddhivanta**, who was the minister of the Ballâḷ of Parmaḷe, had come to the hills to play with the cowherd boys who tended their grand-father's cattle. They began to play at **yettu**.[38] In the game the cowherd boys, who were on the side of the grandsons of Buddhivanta, won all the *pichis*[39] from these cowherd boys. Then these boys mortgaged their *pallis*,[40] and borrowed some nuts from them, and began to play again. Seeing this Koṭi Beidya said to Channaya Beidya:—"Brother, let us also play with them at *yettu*."

But Channaya said:—"Don't you remember how our mother warned us not to have anything to do with the Baṇṭ boys? Let us only look on at their play from a distance."

"Why are you so afraid of those boys?" said Koṭi; "are we not men like themselves? Those Baṇṭ boys: have they four eyes? They are also born of woman. We need not be afraid of them."

[38] This game is played as follows:—A small circle is described on the ground and cashew nuts are put down by the boys, each putting down a certain number. The players strike at the nuts from a certain distance with a flat piece of stone. When a player succeeds in driving the nuts out of the circle he wins them. If one fails to hit the nuts, the next boy strikes, and if he hits, he is allowed to strike till he fails in hitting one. Every player has the right of striking at the nuts till he fails in hitting. So one by one strike at them, and when all are driven out and the circle is cleared, the players put down the nuts again.

[39] The nuts which are placed within the circle are called *pichis*.

[40] The flat piece of stone is called *palle*.

At this, Channaya said :—"It is true, we could have played with them, but we have neither *pichis* nor *palles*. How can we play without them?"

"There is a way of doing that," said Koṭi. "Now I will borrow one hundred *pichis*, promising to return them with interest."

"How will you pay them back?" said Channaya.

"Oh! do you ask me how?" said Koṭi. "I am not like them. They only hit once or twice out of ten tries. I shall not be like them; I shall hit every time I strike, and I shall win all their *pichis* in no time. You just stand by and see the fun."

"Then do as you say," said Channaya.

One of the boys who overheard this conversation between the brothers went to the grandsons of Buddhivanta and repeated it to them. When they heard this they became angry, and said :—"Who are these that speak so proudly? Let us see them. When Billavar boys have become so proud, what is the use of our being here?"

So saying, they went towards the group with their informer. When they went there, they saw the brothers sitting in a reclining posture, stretching out their legs before them, the one across the other. Seeing the boys in this posture, the grandsons of Buddhivanta said to them :—"You, Billavar boys! You do not rise up when you see us. You are reclining with your legs before you. What do you mean? It seems that the time of your destruction is nigh."

At this, they replied :—"It is true, we are Billavar boys. Are you not also Banṭ boys? When you come to us, we have no need to rise up before you. We never called you. We never came to the place where you were. We are by ourselves alone."

At this, the grandsons of Buddhivanta became very angry, and said to the boys who had come with them :—"What do you see? Give them two knocks to each on their temples. Do you feel a pleasure in hearing their arrogant words?"

At this, all the boys pacified them, and said :—"Don't be so angry. This is the first time that they have come to this place. We shall meet again to-morrow, and then we can see. Let us go home to-day. Let them also return to their home to-day."

After they were pacified, all of them returned to their respective homes. The boys on both sides did not say a word of what had occurred on the cattle-grazing-hill. At night when they were going to sleep, Deyi Beidyadi asked her sons :—"How did you play to-day, my children?"

They told her how they had played at many games and enjoyed the day. But they whispered not a word about the quarrel. So she told them to go to sleep. Early in the morning on the next day they got up and provided themselves with *pichis* and *palles*, and taking their breakfast went with the cowherd boys to the hills. After reaching the hills they began to play at *yettu* with their companions. As they were playing, the grandsons of Buddhivanta came up, putting on their best suit of clothes and ornaments. They came with many cowherd boys who formed their retinue. Proudly they came to the place where the boys were playing with their companions, and stood looking at their play. But the boys did not speak a word to them. Then they were very angry, and not knowing how to contain their anger, said to the cowherd boys :—"What is this, ye boys? Why are you playing with these toddy-drawer's boys? Do you not find more respectable companions to play with?"

At this Channaya Beidya said :—"Why do you abuse us? It is true we are the children of toddy-drawers, and yet if we did not draw toddy, your fathers and mothers and wives and other relations will die of indigestion or diarrhœa.[41] Therefore, we save you from dying of such diseases. We are your saviours in that sense. So do not abuse us."

(To be continued.)

[41] The allusion is that arrack distilled from toddy is said to cure people of indigestion and many other diseases. Arrack is drunk by Banṭs and other Śûdras.

A NEW INSCRIBED GRÆCO-BUDDHIST PEDESTAL.[1]

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

SOME weeks ago Dr. M. A. Stein kindly sent me two photographs of a lately found Græco-Buddhist pedestal, which is now in the Lahore Museum, and bears the number 1194. According to his remarks it was discovered in the Charsada mound, belonging to the ruins of Hashtnagar, which mark the site of the ancient town of Pushkalâvatî, the Peukelaotis or Peukelaitis of the Greeks, and once the capital of Western Gandhâra.

The front of the apparently hexagonal stone shews in a niche, which occupies nearly its whole breadth, in high relievo, five male figures, a seated one in the centre and two standing ones on either side. The standing figures are easily recognised as Buddhist monks by their shaven heads and arrangement of the dress, which leaves the right arm free. The pair of them on the proper left and the one on the proper right, who stands nearest to the central figure, join their hands (*kritâñjali*) in adoration, and the second holds, it would seem, a garland. All four turn their faces towards the seated person. The latter, who sits cross-legged on a square stone slab, apparently covered with a cushion, raises the right hand in the manner usual with teaching or speaking persons. This posture as well as his *ushṇîsha* and the rather full dress characterise him as a teaching Buddha. Two feet, which belonged apparently to a statue of very large size, are attached to the top slab of the pedestal. What makes the sculpture particularly valuable is an inscription in Karoshṭhî characters, engraved below the five figures. In the centre and on the proper left there appears[2] to be one line only, while on the proper right two lines are visible. With the help of some very good paper-impressions, which I owe likewise to Dr. Stein, I read it is follows:

(1) on the proper left, — *Arog* . . . .
(2) in the centre, — *Saṁghamitrasa Sham* (?) . . . *sa danamukhe Bu*
(3) on the proper right, l. 2, *dho tu* . *sa* . .
l. 1, *Arog* . . *me* . . .

The line in the centre and the first letter of line 2 on the proper right no doubt belong together and form one sentence which means: "A Buddha, the excellent gift[3] of Saṁghamitra Sham . . ." The explanation of the remainder of the letters on the proper right is more difficult. Possibly it began with the wish, frequently expressed in votive inscriptions: *Arog*-[*iyaṁ*]*me* [*bhava*]*tu*, "may I obtain health." But in order to make the reading certain, a larger photograph is required. The mutilated signs on the proper left — *arog* . . . indicate that the same formula was repeated there. The portion of the inscription which can be explained with certainty, shews first, that the pedestal bore a statue of Buddha. Secondly, the type of the characters leaves no doubt that the inscription belongs to the time of one of the three well-known Kushana kings, Kanishka, Huvishka, Vâsushka or Vâsudeva. For the palæographically characteristic signs *da*, *bu* and *mu* exhibit the strangely cursive forms of the Kharoshṭhî of the Maṇikyâla, Zeda and Suë Bihâr inscriptions as well as of that of the Wardak Vase.

The antiquity of the so-called Græco-Buddhist sculptures has been for many years a matter of dispute. Of late Mr. V. A. Smith[4] and Prof. Grünwedel[5] have expressed the opinion that they belong, one and all, to the first three centuries of our era, and they have sup-

[1] This note appeared first in German, in the *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Wiener Akademie der Wiss.* 1896, No. xiv. The date of the Hashtnagar Pedestal inscription has been given there by a *lapsus calami*, as 276 or 286.

[2] Above the middle of the central line the photograph and the impressions shew a number of strokes, which appear to me to be merely ornamental lines, not letters or numeral figures.

[3] The word *danamukhe* has first been explained by M. Senart. Its Pali equivalent *dânamukha* occurs in Jâtaka No. 524, Vol. V. p. 163, ll. 8 and 25.

[4] "Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilisation of Ancient India," *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol, 58, p. 108 ff.

[5] *Buddhistische Kunst in India*, Berlin, 1893, p. 79 f.

ported this view with very strong and convincing arguments drawn from the style which these sculptures exhibit. The only other known inscribed piece, the Hashtnagar Pedestal, of which Mr. Smith has published an excellent photo-etching in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (*loc. cit.* Plate x.), furnishes no clear and certain indications as to its age. Its inscription, a revised reading of which was first given by M. Senart[6] and later by myself,[7] is dated in the year 274 or 284[8] of an unnamed era, and its letters are, as it happens, such as possess no characteristic palæographic peculiarities. The new inscription makes it certain, that the Charsada pedestal belongs to the second century A. D. Hence the determination of the age of the sculptures from Gandhâra, made in accordance with the principles of archæology, is supported, in this case, by palæographical considerations.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B.A., M.F.L.S.

No. 42. — A Knock on the Head of Âkiri.

In the town of Tanjore there once lived a famous musician named **Mahâsêna.** He was a great specialist in singing the great tune known as **Âkiri.**[1] But it vexed him very much that this tune which he so greatly admired and which he had so carefully cultivated should be thought so inauspicious in the morning. He had a great desire to prove to the world that the idea entertained by it towards *Âkiri* was wrong. But, of course, he must first prove it to himself before his taking up the task of doing so to the public at large. But how to do it?

Mahâsêna argued thus with himself: — "They say that if *Âkiri* is sung in the morning, we cannot get any food during the whole day. All right. If I start with food in my hand, sing *Âkiri* first and then eat that food, will it not amount to a proof that the belief held by the people about *Âkiri* is wrong?"

Thus thought he, and resolved to put the idea into execution. But he could not sing as he proposed in the town, for his brother musicians and others who would recognize the tune would not permit it. So he resolved to go outside the town to some respectable distance and away from the public notice, and there put his resolution to the test. He started with food tied up in his upper cloth, and left home very early in the morning, five *ghaṭikâs* before sunrise. Just at dawn he reached the banks of the river **Veṭṭâr,** whose bed was dry, as the summer season had almost set in. He walked up the bed a little distance, and chose a fine, sandy and secluded spot to sit down on and sing *Âkiri.* The place itself, the fresh morning, the luxuriant bamboo groves on either side the river, the thousand and one birds which had already commenced their songs to greet the rising lord of the day — all these fired the ambition of Mahâsêna to begin the *Âkiri* at once, and do full justice in the clear morning to the tune he had so specially cultivated. He sat down. Near him a bamboo was hanging down, and not to spoil the food by placing it on the bare sand he tied the bundle to the tip of a branch of the hanging bamboo and commenced his favourite *Âkiri.* **A person who has specially cultivated a certain tune generally takes ten or twelve ghaṭikâs' time to do full justice to it,**[2] and our hero, shaded by the extensive shadow of the bamboos behind, did not perceive the heat of

---

[6] *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*, III. p. 16 f.

[7] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX. p. 394. I regret that, when writing this note, I had overlooked M. Senart's remarks on this inscription. He certainly first recognised that Sir A. Cunningham's *emborasmasa masasa* is erroneous and that the month is the Indian Praushṭhapada.

[8] With Sir A. Cunningham and Mr. Smith I read the figure for 200 with certainty on the photo-etching, and I think that 70 is more probably 80.

[1] This is the name of a tune in South-Indian music. The time for singing it is generally between 8 p. m. and 4 a. m., and it is the tune most adapted for giving vent to mournful feelings. It is most melodious, but it is considered very inauspicious to sing it after six in the morning, for there is also a belief among the musicians of Southern India that he who sings *Âkiri* at six will go without food during the day.

[2] [Have we not here a key to the endlessness of native musical performances? — ED.]

the ascending sun, and went on singing and singing till it was midday. And why should he not? For, as soon as he finished singing, he had only to bathe in the crystal water that was running in a small part of the river and eat the food he had with him. So, without any anxiety about his going without food in consequence of singing his favourite tune, Mahâsêna went on exhausting all the several minute departments of the *Âkiri*. The more he sang the more he enjoyed his music, and above all the means devised by him to upset a prejudice. At last the song was finished, and our hero looked for his bundle of food.

Alas! Prejudice had won the day. His bundle was no more within his reach, but was hanging high above him just as he had tied it on the tip of the bamboo. Now the bamboo reed has the peculiarity of bending down low at night. As the sun advances in the morning the bamboo too advances from its pendent posture, and stands almost erect during midday. This Mahâsêna did not know, nor had he brains enough to suspect it.

"So, after all, what they say about *Âkiri* is too true," thought he. And as the bamboo is not a plant which one can easily climb up, Mahâsêna had to give up his bundle of food. His upper cloth too was lost. So, with only a single cloth remaining with him, he proceeded to the waterside, bathed, finished his ablutions, and proceeded to the nearest village to beg a meal from some charitable person.

Fortunately for him he had not far to go. At a *ghaṭikâ's* distance there was a Brâhmaṇ village, where a rich Mirâsadâr[3] was celebrating the birth-day of his first-born child. On such occasions every Brâhmaṇ is freely fed, provided he is present at the time of eating. Our hero thought that an opportunity of proving to the public that by singing *Âkiri* a person does not go without food for the rest of the day was not yet lost. So he at once approached the host and requested to be fed. The Mirâsadâr in reply explained to him that all the available space in the house was taken up by the Brâhmaṇs who had already commenced to eat, but said that if he would wait for half a *ghaṭikâ* he could join in the second batch for meals. "As you please, Sir," said Mahâsêna, inwardly delighted, as so short a time did not make much difference, and that he would soon have his food. And was he not right? Who would refuse him food on the occasion of public feeding?

Soon the first batch of meals were over and the guests left the house after receiving betel-leaves and areca-nuts. Only a select few, about a dozen, remained for the second batch: and all these, with the exception of Mahâsêna, were the inmates of the house. Ten or twelve leaves were spread now in the hall of the Mirâsadâr's house, and all the remaining diners sat down before them. Mahâsêna occupied one corner. The moment the food was served in his leaf his heart leapt with joy, not at the sight of the food itself, but at the idea that he had secured food to eat, notwithstanding that he had sung *Âkiri* that morning. Now after serving food to all, the lady of the house pours *âpôchana*-water into each diner's hand as a sign to commence, and according to this custom the Mirâsadâr's wife poured a spoonful of water in the up-raised palm of Mahâsêna, with whom she commenced the *âpôchana*-ceremony that day. As soon as Mahâsêna received the *âpôchana*, he uttered aloud and in joy, even before drinking it, "**A knock on the head of Âkiri.**" But, alas! before he finished the words and before he had lifted up his right palm to drink the *âpôchana*, he received several blows on his back from one or two servants of the house, who lifted him up from his seat, notwithstanding his cries and lamentations, and pushed him out, bolting the door behind. Mahâsêna cried out from the street to be allowed to explain: he wept: he begged. But no one would pity him. No one would open the gate for him.

What a world of misery! He had sat before his leaf, he had witnessed the serving of the food, he had received even the *âpôchana*, and yet he had not tasted one grain of food. "Is this all for having sung *Âkiri?* Why should I have been thus thrashed and pushed out?" Thus argued our hero.

[3] A landed proprietor.

By this time the second batch of diners had finished, the door was opened, and the master of the house came out. "Get away, Sir. Do not stand before me," were the first words he uttered on seeing Mahâsêna. "You are a beggar. You came to me begging for meals. What have I done to you that you should insult my wife thus? Is this your return for her having given you the *âpôchana* first?"

Our musician stood bewildered. Where and how had he abused the wife of the Mirâsadâr? He ransacked his brains. He found no clue. He pleaded innocence. And again roared the master, "'**A knock on the head of Âkiri**' did you not say? And why should you, a beggar, say such a thing of the wife of a respectable Mirâsadâr? Is it for her having given you the *âpôchana* first?".

Now unfortunately for our hero, the name of the Mirâsadâr's wife was Âkiri Ammâḷ or Âkiri. And as soon as he had spoken, every one took his words to be aimed at the good woman. However, when the whole thing was explained and the real state of affairs understood, Mahâsêna was excused and was given his food.

But it was then very late in the day. So he made up his mind never more to sing *Âkiri* in the mornings, and returned home a wiser man.

MISCELLANEA.

SEBUNDY.

(Concluded from p. 259.)

1858. — "The Government of India request that measures may be taken for raising in the Madras Presidency a Company of Sibbundies for service in the Andaman Islands . . . . The pay of all ranks is to be the same as that of the Sibbundy Corps in Ganjam." — *Madras Consultations, August 23rd*, 1858.

1858. — "He could find no recruits owing to the rates of pay offered, men refusing to serve in the Andamans on the scale of pay of the Ganjam Sibbundi Corps." — *Letter, Madras Government to Government of India, September 13th*, 1858.

1859.—"Make arrangements for hutting the Andaman Sibundy Corps." — *Letter, Government of India to Superintendent, Port Blair, April 29th*, 1859.

1859. — "On the afternoon of the 27th June the Andaman Seebundy Corps arrived in the transport Malacca." — *Letter, Superintendent, Port Blair, to Government of India, 1st July*, 1859.

1860. — "John Jones Sebundy Corps" on a wooden cross in the cemetery on Ross Island, Port Blair.

1860. — "—— Jones | age —— | Andaman Sebundy Corps | diarrhœa | admitted 14th November 1860 | died 14th November 1860 | Sergeant-Major." — *Register of Europeans buried on Ross Island in* 1860.

1860.— "The convicts here utterly despise the Sebundy Guard." — *Letter, Superintendent, Port Blair, to Government of India, December 3rd*, 1860.

1861. — "She left for Rangoon on 4th September with the Sebundy Corps." — *Letter, Superintendent, Port Blair, to Government of India, October 2nd*, 1861.

1861. — "A guard of Sebundies has consequently been re-posted at Ryabjee and another at Mahasinghee of Chinna Kimedy." — *Report of Captain McNeill, Agent to the Governor-General in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, 11th June* 1861, *in Carmichael, Vizagapatam, p.* 344.

1861. — "Sliding down Mount Tendong, the summit of which, with snow lying there, we crossed; the Sebundy Sappers were employed cutting a passage for the mules." — *Report of Captain Impey, R. E., in Gawler's Sikhim, in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1864. — "A Khond, whom I had induced to join my Corps of Sebundies, joined in repelling an attack."— *Campbell, Personal Narrative, p.* 242, *in Macpherson's Memorials, p.* 376.

1865. — "The best arrangement he could make [in 1846] for defence by sending up a guard of Sebundies to repel the attacks upon Leinpurra." — *Macpherson's Memorials, p.* 264.

1869. — "[*c.* 1855, the road] twelve miles short of the town of Jeypore [in Vizagapatam] was first traced by the old Sibbundy Corps."— *Carmichael, Vizagapatam, p.* 19.

1869. — "[Viziaram Raz in 1794 wrote a letter] in which he attributed his disobedience

of the Company's orders to the restraint laid upon him by the rabble of **Sebundies** and others that had gathered round him." — *Carmichael, Vizagapatam, p.* 47.

1869. — "An attack in open day was made on the party of **Sibbandis** posted at Boorjah."— *Carmichael, Vizagapatam, p.* 233.

1869. — "The **Sibbundies** under Captain Owen, assisted by some of the Sirdars in the hills, promptly put it [insurrection in **1857-8**] down."— *Carmichael, Vizagapatam, p.* 237.

1869. — "The **Sibbandi** Corps which replaced the detachments of the regular Army was incorporated with the constabulary, and a considerable number of the old police establishment joined the new force [in **1861**]." — *Carmichael, Vizagapatam, p.* 257.

1869. — "Comparative Glossary of the Wild Tribes of the District . . . . English, granter | . . . . Highland Khond, **sibondi** | Saura, *sávukári* ('soucar')." — *Carmichael, Vizagapatam, p.* 363.

c. **1875.** — "**Sebundi** see **Sibundi** . . . . **Sibandi**, Hill, militia, police." — *Bombay Places and Common Official Words, p.* 65.

1876. — "'**Sibbandi**, an establishment." — *Rice, Mysore and Coorg, Vol. ii., Appendix ii., Glossary, p.* 25.

1878. — "A **Sibbundi** or Revenue Corps, 800 strong, was ordered to be raised at once [in **1795-6**]."— *Morris, Godavery District, p.* 265.

1878. — "[In **1857**] the campaign was continued by a **Sibbandi** or Revenue Corps." — *Morris, Godavery District, p.* 301.

1878. — "The **Sibbandi** Corps which was raised at the time of Subareddi's disturbance was reduced in and amalgamated with the Police [in **1861-62**]." — *Morris, Godavery District, p.* 309.

1878. — "[In **1775**] the Police of the Trivandipuram farm consisted of a Poligar and four watchers . . . . but he had in addition to provide a force of **Sibbandi** peons in time of war for the protection of the farm."— *Garstin, South Arcot, p.* 226.

1879. — "When (**1853**) His Highness Sindia handed over the Panch Mahâls to British management, the greatest disorder prevailed. For years the district had been in the hands of revenue contractors, who so long as they paid the amount they had bid, were allowed to manage the district as they chose. Under them was a military force, **Sibandi**, distributed through the district in outposts, *thânâs.* — *Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. iii., Panch Mahâls, p.* 261.

1879. — "[*s. v. sih*, three] **si-bandî** = (1) a quarterly payment — *kaho unke hâñ kî* **sehbandî** *baṭ gaî*; (2) a tribute, a contingent; (3) a militia soldier employed in collecting revenue or in police duties, etc.; (4) charges in the revenue accounts for the maintenance of such troops. **Sibandî** *ughânâ*, to levy or collect quarterly payments."— *Fallon, New Hindustani Dict.*

1880. — "The [police] establishment consisted [in **1877**] of . . . . an Arab militia, **sibandi**, 500 strong." — *Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. v., Cutch, p.* 183.

1883. — "[Before **1860**] offences committed at night were under the cognizance of the *killedár*, whose **sibandis** were in charge of the city at night . . . . [Up to **1870**] the *kille* **sibandi** was amalgamated with the *fauzdari* sepoys and a police battalion was formed . . . . [After **1875**] The difference between the past and the present is this, that up till now there was no clear line of demarcation between the army and the police. The *taináti* **sibandi** was essentially a military and an offence against the public peace was in no vague sense treated as an act of rebellion against the Sovereign." — *Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. vii., Baroda, pp.* 466-8.

1884. — ["*s. v., sih*] **Si-bandî**, a three-monthly or quarterly payment. **Sibandî** *ughânâ*, to levy or collect three-monthly payments." — *Platts Urdu Dict.*

1885. — "**Sibandi.** Irregular soldiery, a sort of militia or imperfectly disciplined troops maintained for the garrisons of forts and guards in towns and villages and for the collection of revenue." — *Whitworth, Anglo-Indian Dict., s. v.*

1886. — "[In **1844-45**] Independent of the rural police each *peta* or sub-division was furnished with a body of **shibandi** . . . . They were armed with swords and shields and generally stationed at head-quarters of each sub-division."— *Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. xxiv., Kolhapur, p.* 274.

c. **1886.** — "Captain Gilmore of the (Bengal) Engineers was appointed to open the settlement of Darjeeling and to raise two companies of **Sebundy** Sappers in order to provide the necessary labour . . . . Gilmore got sick; and in **1838** I was suddenly ordered from the extreme border of Bengal — Nyacollee — to relieve him . . . . The **Sebundies** were a local corps designed to furnish a body of labourers fit for mountain-work. They were armed and expected to fight if necessary." — *Letter from Lord Napier of Magdala, in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, p.* 609.

1886. — "**Sebundy** from the Pers. **sihbandi**, (*sih*, three). The rationale of the word is obscure

to us. It is applied to irregular native soldiery, a sort of militia or imperfectly disciplined troops for revenue or police duties, etc. Certain local infantry regiments were formerly officially termed **Sebundy**. The last official appearance that we can find is in application to the **Sebundy** Corps of Sappers and Miners employed at Darjeeling. This is in the *East India Register* down to July **1869**, after which the title does not appear in any official list. Of this corps if we are not mistaken the present Field Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala was in charge as Lieutenant Robert Napier about **1840**." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1886. — "Name of Prisoner, Juma | caste, Sindhi | Village, Naniâni | Taluka, Chotilâ | District, Jhâlâwâd | . . . . | Previous history of the prisoner, Juma Nathu was a sepoy in the **Sibandi** of Vichhiâ under Jasdan [in Kâthiâwâḍ], He was convicted on the 7th July 1884 by the Sar Nyâyâdhish of Jasdan of causing grievous hurt by a sword in some dispute about the exaction of forced labour." — *Extracts from the Nominal Roll of a Prisoner at Port Blair, dated 6th Sept.* 1886.

1893. — "[*s. v., sipah*] **Sibbundy (sibbandi)**. Hind. From above [*sipah*] + bandi, Pers. recruitment [a slip and false derivation — R. C. T.]. Militia for garrison of forts, guard in towns and villages and collection of revenue. So an establishment of clerks and peons, etc." — *Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. iii., Glossary.*

R. C. TEMPLE.

ZUFT.

THIS curious Anglo-Indian word is not to be found in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, and, though apparently familiar enough in the Madras Presidency, has never, I fancy, been known out of it.

1808. — "The Sindias, as Sovereigns of Broach, used to take the revenues of Moojmooadars and Desoys of that district every third year . . . and called the periodical confiscation **juptee**.— *R. Drummond, Illustrations, in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1852. — "**Zabtî.** Sequestration, attachment, seizure of goods." — *Brown, Dict. of Mixed Telugu, s. v.*

1869. — "[In **1849**] Mr. Smollett took the step of **zafting** the four *tâluqs* on the eastern side of the ghauts . . . . It was urged upon the regent on some sides to **zaft** the entire estate . . . . At the conclusion of his arrangements for this **zaft** the regent returned to Head-Quarters." — *Carmichael, Vizagapatam, p.* 238.

c. **1875.** — "**Japti** (Marathi and Gujarati), attachment; seizing; settled landholders. **Zaptî**, Hill, see **Japti**. **Zuptee**, Hill, see **Japti**." — *Bombay Place Names and Common Official Words. Glossary.*

1879. — "**Zabt**, Rustic **japat**, **zabti** . . . . seizure, confiscation, resumption, sequestration." — *Fallon, New Hind. Dict., s. v.*

1886. — "**Jubtee, Juptee**, etc. Guzarati **japti**, etc., corrupt forms of **jabti**, see **zubt** [but there is no entry *zubt* in the book. — R. C. T.]." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1893. — "**Zuft** ضبط — *zabt*, Hind. from (*zabata*, Ar. to keep) (*zaubitah*). Attachment, distraint. **Zufty** is sequestrated." — *Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. III., Glossary, s. v.*

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A MEANS OF KEEPING OFF RAIN.

THE Baniyâs of a village will, if the villagers take means to propitiate the gods who may bring them rain, use *chapâtîs* for a very unworthy purpose, and then expose them outside the village to shew the deity that there is no scarcity of food, and that he need not trouble to bring rain. The use of *ghî* in the lamp instead of oil may have the same object.

DENZIL IBBETSON in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

MODERN JAIN ANTIPATHY TO BRAHMANS.

PRONOUNCED outcastes in the social scale by an intolerant and powerful priesthood, the large section of Sûdras scarcely dared to manifest resentment openly. But there must have been a deep under-current of animosity all along. Of this an instance is found in a ceremony among the Sarâôgî Baniyâs of apparently ancient institution. At a marriage, and in a private apartment to which only the relatives of the parties affianced meet, the figure of a Brâhman in dough, with a stock of honey inside, is set up. The father of the bridegroom, armed with a miniature bow and arrow, topples over the effigy, which is then disemboweled, so to speak, of its honey, into which all present dip a finger and suck it.

If the embodied Brâhman were as deliciously tasted, the figurative execution might long ere this have been preluded by a substantial massacre and a social regeneration.

A. P. W. in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

MISCELLANEOUS SOUTH-INDIAN COINS.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

THIS paper has been drawn up at the instance of the Rev. J. E. Tracy, M.A., who was good enough to send me for examination a number of unpublished coins from his cabinet. To these I have added some inscribed South-Indian coins in my own collection. To Mr. E. Thurston, Superintendent of the Madras Museum, I am indebted for the loan of some interesting gold and copper coins which were lately discovered in the Anantapur, Kistna and Vizagapatam districts. The following abbreviations are used: — **T.** = Mr. Tracy's cabinet; **M.** = Madras Museum; **H.** = my own cabinet.

As on previous occasions, Mr. B. Santappah has again obliged me by preparing the plaster casts, from which the two accompanying Autotype Plates were copied.

No. 1. — T. Impure silver. 51½ grains.

Obv. — The typical squatting figure, as on Sir W. Elliot's Nos. 165 and 166. Under its left arm, the emblem of the Chôḷa king — a tiger, seated, facing the proper right, flanked by two lamps, and surmounted by a parasol.

Rev. — Same as Sir W. Elliot's No. 152 (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 323, No. 7) and No. 153, but the legend —

श्रीराजरा	Śrî-Râjarâ-
जदेवः	[jadêvaḥ].[1]

This unique coin, as well as the gold coin with the legend *Râjarâja* and the first issue of the copper coins with the same legend (Sir W. Elliot's Nos. 165 and 166), may be attributed with great probability to the great **Chôḷa** king **Râjarâjadêva,** who ascended the throne in **A.D. 984-85**; see *ante*, Vol. XXIII. p. 297, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 68.

No. 2. — T. Impure silver. 30 grains.

The obverse and reverse are identical. Both bear the same devices as the reverse of No. 1, but the legend —

राजेन्द्र	Râjêndra-
चोलः	Chôlaḥ.

This unique coin may be attributed to **Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva I.**, the son and immediate successor of Râjarâjadêva. Another coin of his, which bears his surname *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa*, was published *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 323, No. 7.

No. 3. — M. Gold pagoda. 51½ grains.

Obv. — A rude figure of Garuḍa, kneeling towards the proper left.

Rev. —

ಶ್ರೀವೀ	Śrî-Vî-
ರಹರಿ	ra-Hari-
ಹರ	hara.

Sixteen specimens of this hitherto unknown coin were recently discovered in the Anantapur district, and sent to me by Mr. Thurston. The coin belongs to **Harihara II.** of the first **Vijayanagara** dynasty, the son and successor of Bukka I., whose pagoda shews the same obverse (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 302, No. 1).

No. 4. — T. Copper.

Obv. — Hanumat, advancing towards the proper left.

Rev. —

हरि	Hari-
हर	hara.

[1] The reading of the second line of the legend is conjectural; only the tops of the syllables *dê* and *va* are seen on the coin.

No. 5. — T. Silver.

Obv. — An elephant, facing the proper left.

Rev. — A sword and, to the right of it, the legend —

देव Dêva-
राय râya.

This specimen is the only silver coin of the Vijayanagara kings that has hitherto come to light; compare *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 301. The elephant appears also on the quarter pagodas and on part of the copper issues of **Dêvarâya**; see *ibid.* p. 303.

No. 6. — H. 3 specimens. Copper.

Obv. — Hanumat, advancing towards the proper left.

Rev. — { श्रीवीर Srî-Vîra-
भुपती Bhupatî-[2]
राय râya. }

This coin was first published *ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 26, No. 9, where the legend is, however, misread. The figure of Hanumat on the obverse connects it with Harihara's coin No. 4. **Vîra-Bhûpati** was the son of Bukka II. and a grandson of Harihara II.; see Dr. Aufrecht's *Oxford Catalogue*, p. 371*b*, Dr. Burnell's *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 16*a*, and my *First Report on Sanskṛit Manuscripts*, p. iii. f.

No. 7. — T. Silver. 31 grains.

Obv. — A male figure, squatting, wearing ear-rings, and holding a bow in the right hand.

Rev. — శ్రీవీర 'Srî-Vîra.

Copper coins with the same legend are found in endless numbers and varieties in Madhurâ. But no second specimen in silver is known. Sir W. Elliot attributed two copper coins of this series (Nos. 94 and 95) to the Kâkatîyas or the Reḍḍis. But, though the legend of these coins is engraved in Telugu characters, their finding-place, **Madhurâ,** forces us to connect them — as was first done by the Rev. E. Loventhal in his *Coins of Tinnevelly*, Madras, 1880, p. 20 — with the only Telugu dynasty which is known to have resided there, *viz.* the **Nâyakas.** The legend *Srî-Vîra* may refer to, and may have been started by, one of the four different Nâyakas who bore the surname **Vîrappa**; see Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 200.

No. 8. — H. 6 specimens. Copper.

Obv. — A standing figure.

Concave rev. — { श्रीमि Srî-Mi-
नाक्षी nâkshî.[3] }

As remarked before (Vol. XXI. p. 326, No. 21), **Mînâkshî** is the name of the goddess of Madhurâ and of a queen of the Nâyaka dynasty.

No. 9. — H. 2 specimens. Copper.

Obv. (Tamil) — { [Ma]d[i]-
rai. }

Rev. (Grantha) — Tañchai(?).[4]

Madirai or *Madurai* and *Tañjai* are Tamil names of the two towns **Madhurâ** and **Tañjâvûr** (Tanjore). The word *Madurai* occurs also on two other coins which I have published before (Vol. XXI. p. 326, Nos. 22 and 23).

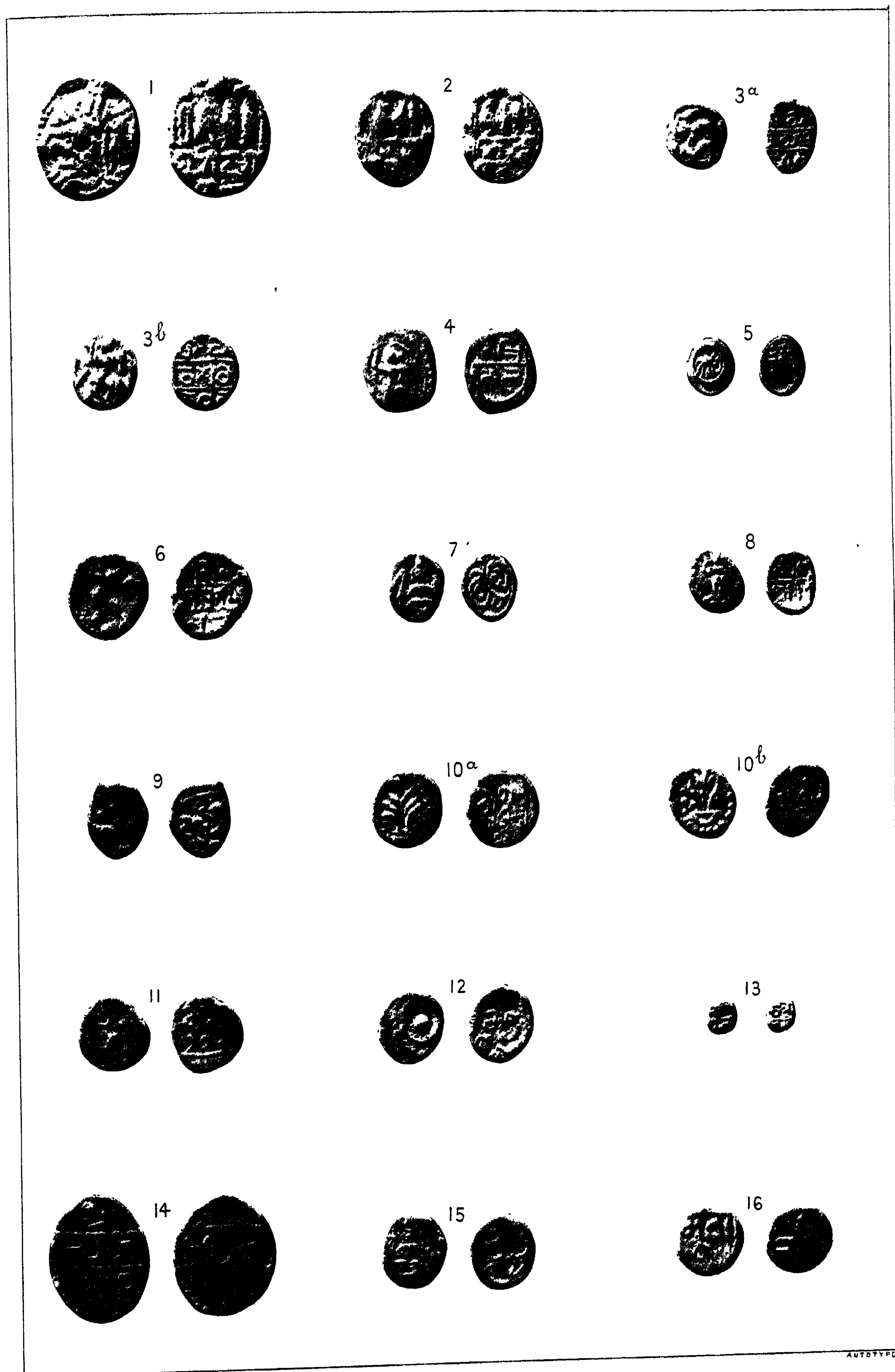
[2] Read *Bhûpati.*

[3] Read *Mînâkshî.*

[4] Read *Tañjai.* The vowel *ai*, which ought to stand before the group *ñch*, seems to be written below the line.

MISCELLANEOUS SOUTH-INDIAN COINS.

Plate i.



FULL-SIZE.

From Casts made by Mr. B. SANTAPPAH, Curator, Bangalore Museum.

No. 10. — H. Copper.

Obv. — A plant.

Rev. — Same as No. 9.

No. 11. — H. Copper.

Obv. — A star or flower.

Rev. — Same as No. 9.

No. 12. — H. Copper.

Obv. — The sun within a crescent.

Rev. — Same as No. 9.

No. 13. — H. Gold fanam. 5¼ grains.

Obv. —	श्री राजा	'Srî. Râjâ
Rev. —	छेत्रा पति	Chhetrâ-[5] pati.[6]

This coin was first noticed in Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India*, p. 79, from information supplied by myself.

No. 14. — H. Copper.

Obv. —	श्री राजा शिव	'Srî. Râjâ 'Siva-
Rev. —	छत्र पति	Chhatra- pati.

This very common coin was already published by Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, Plate xlvii. No. 1068. It is here figured again in order to shew its connection with the fanam No. 13. The title *Chhattrapati*, 'lord of the parasol,' was borne by the **Mahratta** kings of Satara; see Dr. Codrington's paper 'on the Seals of the late Satara Kingdom;' *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI. p. 126 ff. Hence the coins No. 13 and No. 14 may be ascribed to the first Mahratta king, **'Sivâjî** (A. D. 1674 to 1680).

No. 15. — T., H. Copper.

Obv. — God and goddess, seated.

Rev. —	रघु नाथ	Raghu- nâtha.

This coin may be attributed to **Raghunâtha**, the third of the **Nâyakas** of **Tañjâvûr** (*Manual of the Tanjore District*, p. 750 ff.). The name Raghunâtha occurs also among the Sêtupatis of Râmnaḍ and the Toṇḍaimâṉs of Pudukkôṭṭai; see Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. pp. 228 and 225 f.

No. 16. — T., H. Copper.

Obv. —	मुद्रा	Mudrâ.
Rev. —	माहा रज	Mâhâ- raja.[7]

This piece professes to be a coin (*mudrâ*)[8] of a *Mahârâja* who does not condescend to acquaint us with his name.

[5] Read *Chhattra*. [6] Another specimen reads *patî* instead of *pati*. [7] Read *Mahârâja*.

[8] The same term is used on a rupee of Jeswant Rao Holkar; see Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, edited by Thomas, p. 60, note 1, and Cunningham's *Coins of Mediæval India*, Plate x. No. 19.

No. 17. — H. Copper.

Obv. — Goddess, seated.

Rev. — Same as No. 16.

No. 18. — H. Copper.

Obv. — God and goddess, seated.

Rev. — { माहा / राज — Mâhâ- / râja.[9]

No. 19. — H. Copper. 11 and 12½ grains.

Obv. — A five-headed cobra and, below it, the Tamiḻ legend *kâśu* 1 (*i. e.* 1 cash).

Rev. — The Teṅgalai Vaishṇava mark and, below it, the Tamiḻ figures **917**, followed by the abbreviation for *varusham* (*varsha*), 'year.'

No. 20. — T. H. Copper. 16 and 17½ grains.

Obv. — Same as No. 19, but the Tamiḻ legend *kâśu* 2 (*i. e.* 2 cash).

Rev. — Same as No. 19.

The date on the reverse of Nos. 19 and 20, if referred to the **Kollam era**, would correspond to **A.D. 1741-42.**[10] These coins were struck by the **Travancore** State; see the remarks on No. 23 below.

No. 21. — H. 2 specimens. Copper.

Obv. — Hanumat, advancing towards the proper left.

Concave rev. — A double, linked C, the monogram of **Charles II.**

The same monogram occurs on the silver fanams of Charles II., on which see, *e. g.*, *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 315, and Mr. Thurston's *History of the Coinage of the East India Company*, p. 20. The figure of Hanumat on the obverse of No. 21 may have been copied from Vijayanagara coins like Nos. 4 and 6.

No. 22. — H. Copper.

Obv. — An elephant, facing the proper left.

Rev. — 1808.

This is a new variety of another, common coin, which bears on the obverse the bale mark of the **U. E. I. C.** The figure of an elephant on the obverse has been evidently copied from Vijayanagara coins, just as the Hanumat of No. 21 and as the image of Vishṇu on the Madras pagodas of the Company.

No. 23. — Copper. 36 grains.

This coin belongs to Mr. G. A. Hawks, 1st Madras Pioneers.

Obv. — A five-headed cobra and, below it, the Tamiḻ legend *kâśu* 4 (*i. e.* 4 cash).

Rev. — The Teṅgalai Vaishṇava mark and, below it, the Tamiḻ figures **911**, followed by the abbreviation for *varusham* (*varsha*), 'year.'

The date on the reverse has to be referred to the **Kollam era** and corresponds to **A. D. 1735-36.** According to the Rev. S. Mateer (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1889-94, pp. 64 and 66), this coin and Nos. 19 and 20 above were struck by the **Travancore** State and are known as *Anantaṉ kâśu.* This name suggests that the figure of a cobra on the obverse is meant for the serpent-king Ananta, with whom the name of the capital of Travancore, Tiruvanantapuram (Trivandrum), is popularly connected.[11]

---

[9] Read *Mahârâja.*

[10] See *ante*, p. 54.

[11] In inscriptions, however, the forms Tiruvâṉandapuram and Syânandûra, *i. e.* Śry-Ânand-ûr, occur; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 202, note 5.

No. 24. — M. 66½ grains.

Centre. — A boar, facing the proper left and surrounded by two lamps, an elephant-goad, a parasol, and two indistinct symbols which may be either the sun and the moon or two *chaurîs.* Below the boar's head, the Telugu letter *ja* (?).

Margin. — శ్రీరాజరాజ స ౩౪ 'Srî-Râjarâja. Sa[ṁvat*] 34.

The central device and each of the six portions of the marginal legend of Nos. 24 and 25 were struck by a separate punch. The punches shew through on the plain reverse. The irregular concave shape of the obverse was evidently caused by the gradual bending of the thin metal during the application of the six punches.[12]

The coins described under Nos. 24 to 29 form a recent find of sixteen gold coins, which the Collector of the Kistna district sent to Mr. Thurston, who has kindly forwarded them to the author of this paper. They were discovered by coolies in a metal box buried in a mound at the village of Gûḍûr near Masulipatam.

No. 25. — M. 2 specimens. 66½ grains.

Centre. — Similar to No. 24. Below the boar's head, the Telugu letter *ka.*

Margin. — శ్రీరాజరాజ స ౩౭ Srî-Râjarâja. Sa[ṁvat*] 37.

The boar was the crest of the Chalukya family. Hence Nos. 24 and 25 must be assigned to the 34th and 37th years of the **Eastern Chalukya** king **Râjarâja,** who reigned from A. D. 1022 to 1063.[13] Dr. Fleet's three coins (*ante,* Vol. XIX. p. 78, Plate) bear the dates *Sa[ṁvat*]* 3, 4 and 35.[14]

No. 26. — M. 61½ grains.

Centre. — A tiger, facing the proper left and surmounted by the sun, the figure of a *chaurî*-bearer (?), and a crescent. Below the tiger's head, the Telugu numeral '6.'

Margin. — శ్రీచోళలనారాయణ . 'Srî-Ch[ô]lanârâyaṇa.[15]

No. 27. — M. 61½ grains.

Centre. — A tiger (?), facing the proper right and surmounted by the sun and a crescent.

Margin. — Same as No. 26.

The tiger was the crest of the **Chôḷa** dynasty. Nos. 26 and 27 were perhaps issued by **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.,**[16] who bore the surname *Râjanârâyaṇa,*[17] which resembles the legend of the two coins. The numeral on No. 26 refers to the 6th year of the king's reign.

No. 28. — M. 3 specimens. 58 grains.

Nine punch-marks, of which five represent a lion, two the syllable శ్రీ *śrî,* one త్రైలో *trêḷô,*[18] and one మల్ల *malla.*[19]

[12] Sir Walter Elliot (*Coins of Southern India,* p. 55) aptly suggests that the cup-shaped *Râmaṭaṅkas* are later imitations of punch-marked coins, the concave surface of which was due to accident.

[13] *Ante,* Vol. XX. p. 273.

[14] Instead of these three dates, Dr. Fleet read the syllable *sya.* The three coins of Châlukyachandra, which are figured on the same Plate, bear the dates *Sa[ṁvat*]* 9, 4 and 13, which have also been read as *sya.*

[15] The syllable *śrî* is clear on No. 27, but looks like *la* on No. 26. This may be due to a mistake of the mint-officer, who used twice the punch bearing the letter *la,* once before and once after the syllable *chô.* Compare notes 19 and 22 below.

[16] He ascended the throne in A. D. 1070: see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 72.

[17] *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. I. p. 59, verse 12.

[18] Read *trailô[kya].*

[19] A similar coin has twice *malla* and omits *trêḷô.* This is probably due to a mistake of the officer who handled the punches.

The lion appears on the coins of the Hoysaḷas[20] and of the Kâdambas of Goa.[21] But the legend of No. 28 suggests that this coin was struck by one of the **Western Châlukya** kings who bore the surname **Trailôkyamalla.**

No. 29. — M. 6 specimens. 57½ to 59 grains.

Nine punch-marks, of which five represent a lion, two the syllable ಶ್ರೀ *śrî*, one ಜಯ *jaya*, and one ದೇವ *dêva*.[22]

This coin I attribute with some hesitation to one of the Western Châlukya kings named **Jayasiṁha.** The blank reverse of most specimens of Nos. 28 and 29 shews an irregular network of raised straight lines. Mr. Santappah suggests that these are due to scratches which were purposely made on the anvil, — a simple device which the Indian goldsmiths are practising to the present time in order to prevent the slipping of the beaten metal.

No. 30. — H. Gold fanam. 6½ grains.

Obv. — A recumbent bull, facing the proper left, with a conch in front and a crescent above.

Rev. (in two lines) — ಸ ೩ Sa[ṁvat*] 3.

No. 31. — H. Gold fanam. 6½ grains.

Obv. — A recumbent bull, facing the proper left and surmounted by a crescent.

Rev. — ಸ ೪ Sa[ṁvat*] 4.

No. 32. — H. Gold fanam. 6½ grains.

Obv. — A recumbent bull, facing the proper left, with a *liṅga* in front and a crescent above.

Rev. — ಸ ೭ Sa[ṁvat*] 7.

No. 33. — H. Gold fanam. 6½ grains.

Obv. — A recumbent bull, facing the proper right, with the sun (?) in front and a crescent above.

Rev. — ಸ ೫ Sa[ṁvat*] 5.

Nos. 30 to 33 were obtained by Mr. F. Fawcett, when Superintendent of Police in the Gañjâm district.[23] These coins have to be assigned to the **Gâṅga** dynasty of **Kaliṅganagara,** — the modern Mukhaliṅgam in the Gañjâm district,[24] — whose crest was a bull.[25] Perhaps they belong to the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 7th years of **Anantavarman,** surnamed **Chôḍagaṅga,** who ascended the throne in **A. D. 1078,**[26] and whose numerous inscriptions at Mukhaliṅgam are dated both in regnal years and in years of the Śaka era.[27]

No. 34. — M. Copper.

Obv. — Within a dotted border, a lion, facing the proper left. Above the lion is punched on the legend —

ವಿಷಮಸಿದ್ಧಿ Vishamasiddhi.

Rev. — Within a border of rays, a double trident, surmounted by a crescent and flanked by two lamps.

---

[20] *Ante*, Vol. XX. p. 304, note 8.

[21] Sir W. Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, p. 152*c*.

[22] A similar coin has twice *dêva* and omits *jaya*. A mistake of the same kind was referred to in note 19.

[23] Sir W. Elliot's No. 93, a gold fanam of 6½ grains, seems to belong to the same series; but the date on its obverse is indistinct.

[24] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 183.

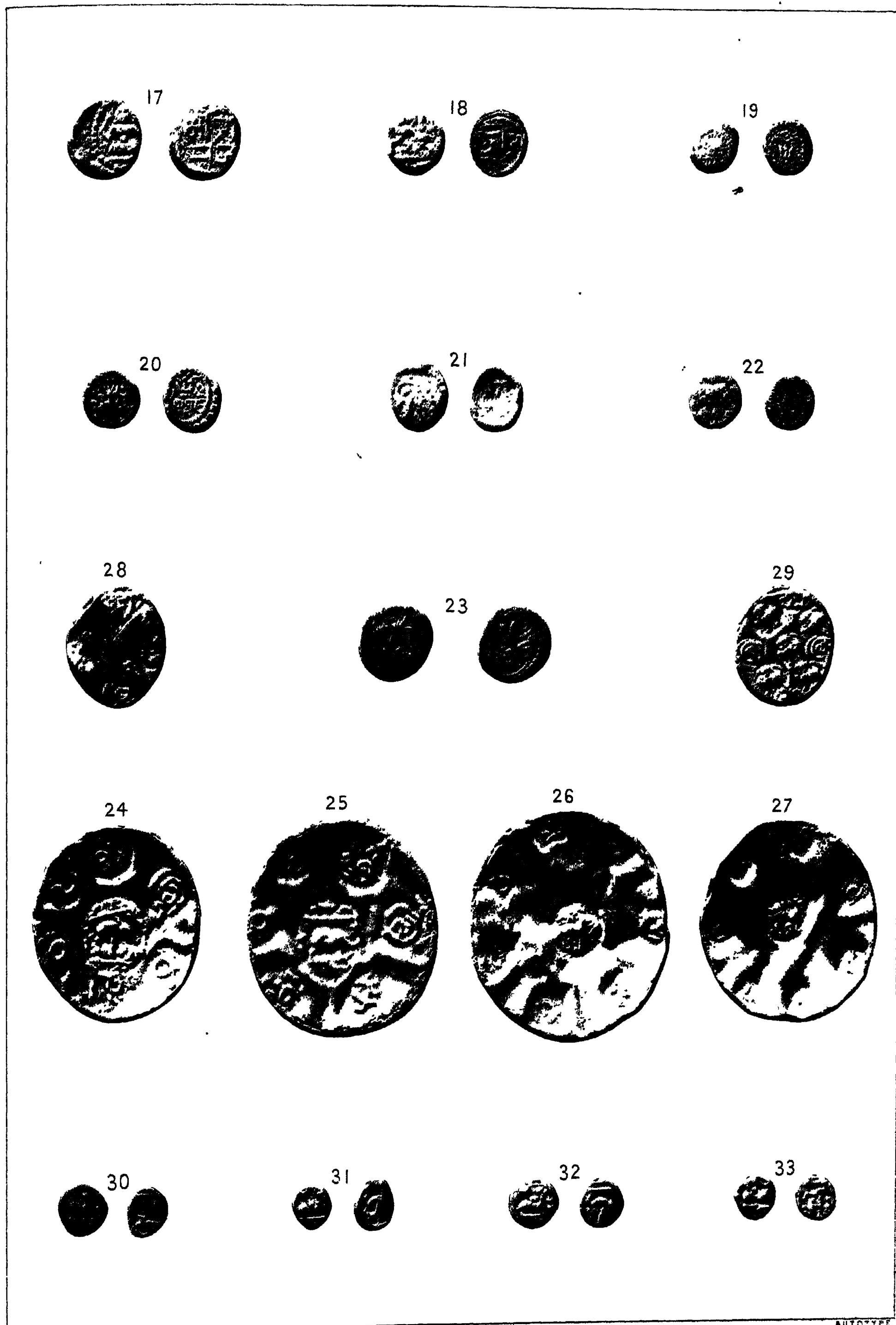
[25] Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, second edition, p. 299, note 3.

[26] *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 162.

[27] See my *Annual Report* for 1895-96, p. 6.

MISCELLANEOUS SOUTH-INDIAN COINS.

Plate ii.



FULL-SIZE.

From Casts made by Mr. B. SANTAPPAH, Curator, Bangalore Museum.

After I had passed the two accompanying Plates for printing, Mr. Thurston sent me, for examination, seventy-one specimens of this coin, which had been discovered near Yellamañchili in the Vizagapatam district. **Vishamasiddhi** was a surname of the first Eastern Chalukya king, **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana** (A. D. 615-33) and occurs on the seals of the copper-plate grants of his grandson.[28] Consequently No. 34 has to be assigned to the **Eastern Chalukya** dynasty.

APASTAMBA'S QUOTATIONS FROM THE PURANAS.

BY GEORGE BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

IN the introduction to the first edition of my translation of Âpastamba's Dharmasûtra,[1] I stated my belief that Âpastamba's quotation from the *Bhavishyatpurâṇa*, Dh. Sû. II. 24, 6, had been taken from the original on which the existing *Bhavishyat-Upapurâṇa* is based, and I added in a note that in my opinion our *Purâṇas* are, though not identical with, yet not altogether independent of, the *Purâṇas* which are not rarely mentioned in Vedic works. I also protested against the estimate of the antiquity of our *Purâṇas* by Prof. H. H. Wilson and others,[2] who hold that, one and all, they have been composed or brought into their present shape within the last thousand years, and I adduced in support of this protest the well-known mention of the *Pavana* or *Vâyu-Purâṇa* in Bâṇa's *Harshacharita* (*circa* A. D. 625). The progress of Sanskrit scholarship during the last seventeen years has enabled me to adduce in the second edition of the introduction, just printed, some facts for the greater part of my views, which formerly I put forward as mere guesses, and particularly to point out that two of Âpastamba's quotations from the *Purâṇas* are traceable. As the question regarding the antiquity and authenticity of the *Purâṇas* possesses considerable importance for the history of Indian religion and literature, I venture to expand here the brief notes inserted in the introduction.

The two passages of the *Dharmasûtra*, to which I refer, are the two verses, quoted in II. 23, 3-5 from "a *Purâṇa*," or possibly from "the *Purâṇas*" (see below), and the already mentioned quotation from the *Bhavishyatpurâṇa*.

The text of the former passage runs as follows : —

अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति ।
अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजामीषिरर्षयः ।
दक्षिणेनार्यम्णः पन्थानं ते श्मशानानि भेजिरे ॥ ४
अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजां नेषिरर्षयः ।
उत्तरेणार्यम्णः पन्थानं तेमृतत्वं हि कल्पते ॥ ५

The quotation contains two mistakes, the unmetrical पन्थानं for the metrically correct Vedic form पन्थाम् and the obviously corrupt and senseless कल्पते for भेजिरे. I attribute both to Âpastamba, who, being a Yâjñik, probably cared little for grammatical and metrical correctness. The irregular Sandhis ईषिरर्षय: and नेषिरर्षय: are admissible in the ancient language, where words already modified according to the euphonic rules occasionally undergo a second change. Thus we have, Dh. Sû. I. 19, 8 *sarvatopetam* for *sarvataḥ upetam*. If we turn to the Jyotishprachâra section of the *Purâṇas*, the *disjecta membra* of the two *ślokas* are traceable in several of the most important works of this class. Thus the *Vâyupurâṇa* says, I. 50, 213 ff.,

---

[28] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 32, note 2, and *ante*, Vol. XX. pp. 95 and 98.

[1] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II. p. xxvii. f.

[2] The *Vishnupurâṇa*, p. xvi., ed. F. E. Hall ; A. Weber, *Hist. Sansk. Lit.* p. 190, where Prof. Weber, however, admits that our *Purâṇas* contain much of the matter of the older homonymous works which they replaced.

after giving in verse 208 the definition of the Path of the Fathers or Manes and describing it as the abode of the Sages who assist in the successive creations: —

अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि मुनीनां गृहमेधिनाम्[3]।
सवितुर्दक्षिणां मार्गं श्रिता ह्याचन्द्रतारकम्।
क्रियावतां प्रसंख्येया (*sic*) ये श्मशानानि भेजिरे ॥ २१३
लोकसंव्यवहारेण भूतारम्भकृतेन च।
इच्छाद्वेषप्रकृत्या (*sic*) च मैथुनोपगमेन च ॥ २१४
तथा कायकृतेनेह (*sic*) सेवनाद्विषयस्य च।
एतैस्तैः कारणैः सिद्धाः श्मशानानि हि भेजिरे।
प्रजैषिणस्ते मुनयो द्वापरेष्विह जज्ञिरे ॥ २१५ ॥
नागवीथ्युत्तरे यच्च सप्तर्षिभ्यश्च दक्षिणम्।
उत्तरः सवितुः पन्था देवयानस्तु स स्मृतः ॥ २१६
यत्र ते वासिनः (*sic*) सिद्धा विमला ब्रह्मचारिणः।
सततं (*sic*) ते जुगुप्सन्ते तस्मान्मृत्युर्जितस्तु तैः ॥ २१७
अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि तेषामप्यूर्ध्वरेतसाम्।
उदक्पन्थानमर्यम्णः श्रिता ह्याभूतसंवप्लवात् ॥ २१८ ॥
इत्येतैः कारणैः शुद्धैस्तेमृतत्वं हि भेजिरे।
आभूतसंप्लवस्थानाममृतत्वं (*sic*) विभाव्यते ॥ २१९ ॥

In the *Matsyapurâṇa* the definition of the Path of the Fathers is found exactly in the same words as in the *Vâyup.* at I. 123, 96, and at 101*b* follows an only slightly differing version of the passage quoted: —

अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ऋषीणां गृहमेधिनाम्[4] ॥ १०१ ॥
सवितुर्दक्षिणां मार्गमाश्रित्याभूतसंप्लवम्।
क्रियावतां प्रसंख्यैषा ये श्मशानानि भेजिरे ॥ १०२ ॥
लोकसंव्यवहारार्थं भूतारम्भकृतेन च।
इच्छाद्वेषरताच्चैव मैथुनोपगमाच्च वै ॥ १०३ ॥
तथा कामकृतेनेह सेवनाद्विषयस्य च।
इत्येतैः कारणैः सिद्धाः श्मशानानीह भेजिरे ॥ १०४ ॥
प्रजैषिणः सप्त ऋषयो द्वापरेष्विह जज्ञिरे।
संततिं ते जुगुप्सन्ते तस्मान्मृत्युर्जितस्तु तैः ॥ १०५ ॥
अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि तेषामप्यूर्ध्वरेतसाम्।
उदक्पन्थानपर्यन्त (*sic*) माश्रित्याभूतसंल्पवम् ॥ १०६ ॥
ते संप्रयोगाल्लोकस्य (*sic*) मैथुनस्य च वर्जनात्।
ईर्ष्याद्वेषनिवृत्त्या (*sic*) च भूतारम्भविवर्जनात् ॥ १०७ ॥
इत्येतैः कारणैः शुद्धैस्तेमृतत्वं हि भेजिरे।
आभूतसंप्लवस्थानाममृतत्वं (*sic*) विभाव्यते ॥ १०८ ॥

A third much more mutilated, but in some points correcter, version stands in the *Vishṇu-purâṇa*, II. 8, 90, where the preceding definition of the Path of the Fathers (verse 85) and some more verses again agree with the words of the other two *Purâṇas*; —

सवितुर्दक्षिणं मार्गं श्रिता ह्याचन्द्रतारकम् ॥ ९० ॥
नागवीथ्युत्तरं यच्च सप्तर्षिभ्यश्च दक्षिणम्।

---

[3] I give the text exactly as it stands in the late Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra's incorrect edition.

[4] The text is from the edition by Janârdanâchârya Vaḷe and Anantâchârya Ashṭaputre, Puṇâ Śakasaṁvat 1792.

उत्तरः सवितुः पन्था देवयानस्तु स स्मृतः ॥ ११ ॥
तत्र ते वशिनः सिद्धा विमला ब्रह्मचारिणः ।
संततिं ते जुगुप्सन्ति तस्मान्मृत्युर्जितश्च तैः ॥ १२ ॥
अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि यतीनामूर्ध्वरेतसाम् ।
उदक्पन्थानमर्यम्णः स्थिता ह्याभूतसंप्लवात् ॥ १३ ॥
तेसंप्रयोगाल्लोभस्य मैथुनस्य च वर्जनात् ।
इच्छाद्वेषाप्रवृत्त्या च भूतारम्भविवर्जनात् ॥ १४ ॥
पुनश्च कामासंयोगाच्छब्दादेर्दोषदर्शनात् ।
इत्येभिः कारणैः शुद्धास्तेमृतत्वं हि भेजिरे ॥ १५ ॥
आभूतसंप्लवस्थानममृतत्वं विभाव्यते ।
त्रैलोक्यस्थितिकालोऽयमपुनर्मार उच्यते ॥ १६ ॥

These three passages appear to go back to one and the same enlarged version of the two *ślokas* quoted by Âpastamba. Their order has not been changed, but several *pâdas*, partly changed in form, are either embedded in a mass of explanatory statements or hidden under paraphrases. The second *śloka* has been best preserved. Its first and last *pâdas* appear unaltered in the *Vâyup.* vv. 218 and 219; *Matsyap.* vv. 106 and 108, *Vishṇup.* 93 and 95. The third *pâda* has received in the *Vâyup.* and *Vishṇup.* a correct metrical form and has been remodelled on the basis of the reading *panthânam* by the substitution of *udak* for the trisyllabic *uttareṇa*. The reading of the *Matsyap. udak panthânaparyantam* is, of course, merely due to a copyist's blunder. The second *pâda* of the ancient *śloka*, *ye prajâṁ neshirarshayaḥ* has been lost in all the three *Purâṇas*. But its former existence is indicated by the paraphrase, *saṁtatiṁ te jugupsante*, which in all the three works (*Vâyup.* v. 217; *Matsyap.* v. 105, *Vishṇup.* v. 92) precedes the first *pâda*, *ashṭâśîtisahasrâṇi*.

As regards the first *śloka* of Âpastamba's quotation, its first *pâda* occurs only in the *Vâyup.* v. 213*a* and in the *Matsyap.* v 101. In the *Vishṇup.* it has been lost and verse 90, where it ought to occur, consists only of two *pâdas*. The mutilation is ancient, as it is found not only in all the MSS., examined hitherto, but also in the version known to the commentator Ratnagarbha, who, according to his own statement, consulted earlier commentaries. The *Vishṇup.* has also lost the fourth *pâda* of the first verse, which, slightly modified, occurs twice in *Vâyup.* v. 213*b* and 215*b* as well as in *Matsyap.* v. 102*b* and 104*b*. The second *pâda* of the ancient *śloka* *ye prajâṁ neshirarshayaḥ* has again been torn out of its connexion and is represented in the *Vâyup.* v. 215, merely by the word *prajaishiṇaḥ*. In the *Matsyap.* v. 105*a* we have the same expression and the word *rishîṇâm*, found in v. 101, is probably another remnant. The third *pâda* has undergone a very considerable change and, though the beginning of *Vâyup.* v. 213*b*, *Matsyap.* v. 102*a* and *Vishṇup.* v. 90 agrees in sense, only the single word *dakshiṇa* has been retained. But in a somewhat different version of the *ślôkas* in the *Vâyup.* I. 61, 99*b*-102, the form of this *pâda* comes closer to Âpastamba's text. We read there :—

अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि प्रोक्तानि गृहमेधिनाम् ॥ ९९ ॥
अर्यम्णो दक्षिणा ये तु पितृयानं समाश्रिताः ।
दाराग्निहोत्रिणस्ते वै ये प्रजाहेतवः स्मृताः ॥ १०० ॥
गृहमेधिनां च संख्यैया[5] श्मशानान्याश्रयन्ति ते ।

[5] Read संख्यैषां and *dele cha.*

Chaṇḍikâśataka, has extracted numerous other legends, and states in the *Harshacharita* that the *Pavanaprokta Purâṇa*, which no doubt is identical with the *Vâyup.*, was read out to him by his *pustakavâchaka*.[11] His and his son's (Bhûshaṇabhaṭṭa's) references to the *Purâṇas* are well worth a special monograph, which might also be extended to an enquiry regarding the relation of Mayûra's contemporaneous *Sûryaśataka* to the *Sauxapurâṇa* and include an examination of the question, whether the Brâhma Siddhânta, remodelled by Brahmagupta in A. D. 628/9, in his time already belonged to the *Vishṇudharmottarâ*.[12] For the present, I fear, it is not possible to trace the history of our *Purâṇas* beyond A. D. 600 or to advance anything, that will carry conviction, regarding the upper limit for their composition. It may, however, be pointed out the account of the future kings in the *Vâyup.*, *Vishṇup.*, *Matsyap.* and *Brahmâṇḍap.* seems to stop with the imperial Guptas and their contemporaries.

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(*Continued from page* 310.)

At this, the grandsons of Buddhivanta became exceedingly angry and bit their lips and changed colour. Their eyes became red. Full of anger they went near Koṭi and Chennaya, and stood near them and said :—"What did you say? You sons of a widow! If we do not make you bleed from your noses and mouths we are not born of Baṇṭ mothers."

Hearing this Koṭi and Chennaya said :—"We are not born of a widow. We are born of our father. All know that you are born of a Billavar father. As for making us bleed from our mouths and noses, you cannot do it. If you dare to do so, come now, and we are ready. We shall see what we can do."

At this bold challenge the grandsons of Buddhivanta went upon them, and putting their hands on their necks, pushed them and took out of their hands by force their bag of *pichis* and their *palles*, and said :—"Go now and call your fathers." At this both the brothers tried to regain possession of their bag of *pichis*. Then the grandsons of Buddhivanta beat the brothers with their fists. They returned their blows. Then they fell upon one another and wrestled. In the meantime all the cowherd boys came and stood around to see them wrestling. After wrestling for some time Koṭi and Chennaya prevailed and put down their antagonists and sat upon their prostrate bodies. Then the cowherd boys interfered and separated the combatants and pacified them, and told the grandsons of Buddhivanta to return the bag of *pichis* to the brothers. They refused to return them; but went home and reported against their antagonists to their grandfather. At this he was highly incensed and sent his servants to Sama Aḷwa's house, ordering them to bring the two lads, Koṭi and Chennaya, to his house. So they went to Sama Aḷwa's house and said to Sama Aḷwa :—"O Sama Aḷwa, Buddhivanta, the minister of the Ballâḷ of Parmale, sent us to you, ordering us to take your two grandsons before him. Your grandsons have abused his grandsons, and beat them and felled them to the ground and sat upon their chests, and thus injured them very much. Therefore, he wants to inquire into the matter, and has sent us to take your grandsons before him. So send them with us soon."

Hearing this, Sama Aḷwa was thunderstruck. He said :—"O you servants of Buddhivanta, our boys are not such wicked boys. They could never do such things. Some one out of spite towards us must have made a false complaint against them to Buddhivanta. Our boys could never do such things. Go now and tell Buddhivanta as I told you."

At this, they said :—"Aha! your grandsons are very good lads! But you alone praise them. We know everything. So send them at once. It is getting late for us."

[11] *Ante*, Vol. I. p. 111, *Harshacharita*, p. 95 (Nirṇayasâgara Ed.), and especially the verse in ll. 13-14.
[12] See *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 383.

In the meantime Deyi Beidyadi, the mother of the lads, happened to come out and seeing a crowd asked what was the matter. They told her that they had come to take her sons to Buddhivanta's house. Full of fear she went in and called her sons to her and asked them :—

"What have you done, my children? Tell me the truth, my children."

Then the boys, Koṭi and Chennaya, told their mother how the grandsons of Buddhivanta came and abused them, and forcibly took from them their bag of *pichis*, and thus began the quarrel; and how they tried to regain their own bag, and, in trying to do so, how the grandsons of Buddhivanta beat them with their fists, and how they returned their blows, and so on. So they told everything to their mother. Afterwards Koṭi and Chennaya came out and stood in the verandah. Then the messengers of Buddhivanta said:—"Well, now, come along with us, lads!"

"Where?" replied they.

"Before Buddhivanta: you are to appear," replied the men. "He has sent us to take you before him."

"We will not go to Buddhivanta's house. Go and tell him so," said the brothers.

Then the messengers said:—"You see, in this matter you will be ruined. We tell you plainly: if you are obstinate and refuse to come, you will be ruined. Do not blame us afterwards that we did not warn you."

They still refused to go with them. Then the messengers returned to their master.

The brothers now said to one another:—"You see brother, they will now go and complain of us, and Buddhivanta will be still more incensed at us. So we must not sit idle here. We must take some present to the royal Ballâḷ, and represent the truth of our cause before him. Otherwise we shall be proved to be the transgressers"

"Yes," said the other, "let us go at once. Before they reach Buddhivanta's house, we must reach the *buḍu* and represent our cause before the king."

Their father, Sayana Beidya, hearing this conversation of the brothers, approved of it and went at once to the garden of plantain-trees, and finding a very large bunch of excellent plantains, he cut it and brought it hanging on a pole carried by two men. He then said to his sons:—"Now, children, go to the Ballâḷ with this present. He will be very much pleased with this large bunch; it is so large and excellent. Represent your case to him, and he will do justice to you."

So saying he sent his sons with two men carrying the bunch of plantains hanging on a stout pole. So they went quickly and reached the Ballâḷ's *buḍu*. They found the Ballâḷ sitting on his throne. They went and prostrated themselves before the Ballâḷ. He told them to rise up, and then they brought the bunch of plantains and placed it before him. Then the Ballâḷ asked them:— "O ye Beidyas, have you brought this bunch of plantains as a present to me? Where did you get such a large and fine bunch?"

They said:— "O Ballâḷ, this is a small present. We came to tell you a secret. You must listen to us. Buddhivanta, your minister, hates us very much. We have done him no wrong. Therefore, you must be pleased to inquire into the matter."

At this, the Ballâḷ said:—"Well, I will inquire into the matter afterwards. But, first of all, you must pay your respects to Buddhivanta, who is my right-hand man, and you must give him a present."

At this, the Beidyas said:—"O king, in this kingdom you alone are king. Only one is entitled to receive homage. One present, one palace, one regal umbrella, one throne, one

court; one of each, not two. Therefore, there is no present for Buddhivanta. Never should there be a present for him. Then, why do you command us to give him a present?"

At this, the Ballâḷ said:—"Why are you so angry with Buddhivanta? Tell me everything."

Then they said:—"O king, hear us. Four days ago, when we went to the cattle-grazing hill and were playing at *yettu*, the grandsons of Buddhivanta came there. At first, when they saw us, they began to abuse us; and when we kept quiet they abused us more and more. When at last, we could not bear it, we also retorted with abuse upon themselves. Not seeing their own fault, they came upon us and beat us and felled us to the ground and sat upon our breasts and put us in great distress. In the meantime, all the cowherd boys came and surrounded us, and, seeing our great distress, told them to allow us to rise. But they would not rise, and gave us more distress. Then we skillfully tried to slip from between their legs and succeeded in escaping. Afterwards they went and complained of us to their grandfather, Buddhivanta. And he sent men to take us to his house. But we refused to go to him and came straightway to the palace; because, if we should go to Buddhivanta we are afraid we will not have justice done to us."[36a]

"We must go to see the Ballâḷ in whose face shines the goddess Lakshmî, whereas in our face sits Kâḷî. We must get rid of Kâḷî, and try to gain over Lakshmî."

So said the children to each other, and one of them advised the other to ask the opinion of Sayana Baidya, and he gave them his advice, and told them that he must first consult the Ballâḷ about it. Accordingly, he went to the Ballâḷ. The Ballâḷ was sitting in his hall with great pomp. He had on a hat of areca-nut spathe,[37] which was ornamented with peacock-plumes. He had likewise adorned himself with garlands of jasmine and *kêtakî* flowers. To the Ballâḷ thus seated, Sayana humbly made obeisance.

"Come, Sayana, take a seat," said the Ballâḷ. "What is the object of your coming here!"

He replied:—"Kâḷî that sits in the face of the children whom you had nourished should be driven away, and Lakshmî be invited to sit there."

To this the Ballâḷ said:—"Have the ceremony performed according to our caste. Fell plantain trees, hang up festoons of cocoanut leaves, set up four posts of plantain trees, ceil the inner roof, and carpet the ground; rain coral on the heads of the boys and wave lamps before their faces in a plate filled with pearls. Perform the ceremony just in the same way as a Ballâḷ would have it done."

On hearing this, Sayana Baidya returned home, and inquired of the elders who the man was that had been serving his house as a barber from the time of his ancestors. He was told that it was one **Îsara Kambi**, the son of a barber, and that he was at that time living on the land of one **Kunda Boḷḷeri Svâmi of Karmi Sale in the city of Ijjya on the Ghâṭs.**

He then intended to write letters on palm leaves and send for him. So he enquired of his friends who it was that had been writing such letters from the time of his ancestors. He was told that the writer was a clerk named **Nârâyan Rangoji.** So Rangojî was sent for. He came and asked Sayana Baidya why he had been sent for. The latter then gave him a palm-leaf which had been dried and prepared so as to be used for writing, and asked him to write the following letter. The clerk took it and bent it and rubbed oil and turmeric on it, and asked Sayana Baidya what he should write on it. The latter dictated thus:—

"O you that have been serving as a barber from the time of my ancestors, from Sayana Baidya's house Kâḷî is to be driven out and Lakshmî is to be invited. Therefore, you must bring

36a [There is a hiatus in the story here, and it seems to have been taken up from this point from another bard. — ED.]

37 The areca-nut spathe is used for making various sorts of hats or coverings for the head, which are worn by all classes of Śûdras.

with you for that purpose all the instruments connected with your profession. Kâḷî is to be driven out from the faces of the children whom the Ballâḷ has caused to be brought up. Immediately on seeing this letter, in whatever dress you may be at the time, and even though you may be taking your food, you must start, taking your box with you, with the man I have sent you."

Sayana Baidya sent this letter by **Vanappa Bhandâri,** the son of his mother's sister. The latter then started and went to the Ghâṭs to the house of Îsara Kambi, and delivered him the letter. He opened the letter and read it. Immediately on reading it he set out, taking all his instruments with him, and came to Sayana Baidya's house.

He was asked to name all the things required for the performance of the ceremony of driving out Kâḷî and inviting Lakshmî. He gave the following list of things needed:—Five bundles of betel-leaves, five areca-nuts, a cocoanut, a seer of raw rice, and a seer of cow's milk. He was supplied with all the things required for his part of his business, and all the friends of Sayana Baidya assembled. A small bower of plantain trees was formed; festoons of cocoanut leaves were hung up, and the inner part of the roof was ceiled, and the ground was carpetted. The children of Sayana Baidya, together with friends who had assembled, walked round the bower. Afterwards the boys were seated within the bower, and those who assembled there sprinkled rice on their heads. First the barber sprinkled rice on their heads, afterwards Sayana Baidya and others, last of all Sayana Baidyati.

Then the barber, holding the left cheek of Koṭi in his hand, began his work on his right cheek. He shaved the front part of his head, and made figures of the sun and the moon, and on the back of the head he made figures of Bhîma and Arjuna. Thus the tonsure of Koṭi Baidya was finished. In the same manner the barber performed the tonsure of Channaya. Afterwards lamps were waved before their faces in a plate filled with pearls, coral was thrown on their heads, and they went to bathe and washed away all the pollution of Kâḷî. Then they came in and fully besmeared their bodies down to their waists with sandal-wood paste and sat down to take their food. Having finished their meals they got into a palanquin of the colour of parrots. They had each of them tied to his waist a dagger like that of Râma. Thus they went to the Ballâḷ's house.

The Ballâḷ was sitting on his throne with great pomp. To him thus seated, they humbly made obeisance. "Come children, sit down," said the Ballâḷ, and he ordered flowers to be brought and spread out for them. They sat down on the ground and placed their daggers down. Then the Ballâḷ asked them the object of their coming. "You nourished us with great love," replied they, "and treated us with great respect; now, therefore, we beg of you to provide for our future livelihood."

Then the Ballâḷ said:—"**Buddyanta** owns the upper part of the paddy fields named **Anilaja.** I assigned to you the lower part of that field." And he accordingly marked its boundaries. When he gave them the field he likewise advised them to give presents to Buddyanta whenever they went to sow it.

In course of time, when the season for sowing the *suggi* seed came near, the brothers gathered all the refuse in the field and set fire to it. In this way they manured the field.

Meanwhile, in order to choose a day for celebrating a *kambala* in his field, Buddyanta was going to ask the opinion of one **Mutti Bira Ballaya.** On his way he met Koṭi and Channaya. These brothers asked him where he was going.

"I am going to ask the opinion of a fortune-teller for fixing a day for the celebration of a *kambala,*" replied Buddyanta.

"When you are asking about your *kambala*, please ask also about ours," said the young men. And they gave him a cocoanut to present to the fortune-teller on their behalf. He

consented to do as they desired him, and took the cocoanut from them and went on his way. As soon as he got out of their sight, he struck the cocoanut against a rock and broke it into pieces, and putting them into the skirts of his garments he continued to eat them all the way. The younger brother saw this act and told his elder brother about it.

Buddyanta went to Mutti Bîra Ballaya and asked him to name a day for the celebration of a *kambala* to his field. And, accordingly, he told him that Tuesday would be auspicious for the intended *kambala*. Hearing this answer Buddyanta returned home.

"Now, Buddyanta, what day has been found to be auspicious for us? And what day for you?" asked the elder brother.

"This Tuesday has been chosen for me, and the next for you," replied Buddyanta.

"We must celebrate the *kambala* on the very day that Buddyanta does, and we must sow our field at the same time as he does," said the brothers to each other.

So the young men went to order he-buffaloes and coolies for the *kambala*. One went to the north and the other went to the south.

In the meantime Buddyanta also went to order he-buffaloes and coolies. Meeting Koṭi on the way he asked him where he was going? "I am going to order he-buffaloes and coolies," was the reply.

"Next Tuesday has been chosen for you, and this Tuesday for me; why do you act in this manner?" asked Buddyanta.

"Acting upon your advice, my brother has put the seed into water," replied Koṭi.

When he proceeded further he met Channaya and asked him where he was going. "I am going to order he-buffaloes and coolies, my lord," replied Channaya.

"If so, when do you mean to celebrate your *kambala*?" asked Buddyanta.

"We mean to celebrate it to-morrow. Listening to your advice, my brother has put the seed into water," replied Channaya.

"What do you mean by this, Channaya? Why are you playing tricks?" said Buddyanta, and went his way in anger.

So the men who were to drive the he-buffaloes were ordered by the brothers to appear along with the animals very early next morning. Accordingly, they came with the animals to the fields belonging to the brothers. It was only after their fields had been twice ploughed that the buffaloes and coolies came to Buddyanta's fields; and by the time that the fields of the latter had been ploughed but once, Koṭi and Channaya had entirely finished their *kambala*. So they sent four he-buffaloes and four coolies to Buddyanta's fields. Seeing them, he got enraged, rooted out a plant from the ground and severely beat the buffaloes and coolies. At this, the two brothers said:—"Why do you beat the buffaloes and coolies belonging to others? If you bear hatred against us, revenge yourself on our own persons." And to the coolies they said:—"Although you have been beaten, we shall consider ourselves aggrieved by it."

They then caused the buffaloes to be washed, and boiled rice to be given to them. They likewise caused food to be served to those who were willing to eat it, and supplied young cocoanuts to those who would not take food. All were dissmissed happily. They then brought seed in baskets and sowed it in their fields. Buddyanta also finished his *kambala*, and had his seed carried to his fields in a palanquin and a plantain-tree on the shoulders of coolies. So he caused his seed to be sowed in his field with much pomp, and had the plantain-tree planted in the midst of his fields. The brothers also planted a plantain-tree in the midst of their fields and went home. Six days afterwards, Koṭi told his younger brother that he would go to the fields to let out the muddy water and let in clear water. So, taking his

harrow, he set out from his house. On his way he passed by Buddyanta's fields, and saw that they were dry and that Buddyanta was engaged in scaring away birds from his fields. Koṭi came to his own fields and rejoiced to see that they presented the appearance of a green lake.

Then he went to the edge of his field and made a wide opening in one of its banks; thus the water flowed out very rapidly. Seeing this, Buddyanta called out his servants and ordered them to shut up the opening (made by Koṭi) by means of grass. Koṭi then said:—"Take care, Buddyanta, the *suggi* crop is the only means of food for the rains for us as well as for you. If you have emmity against us, revenge yourself on our persons and not on the crop that we have cultivated. Let, therefore, the water which has been flowing out according to custom flow on its proper course."

"Dare you to speak of right and custom, you Biḷḷavar lad?" said Buddyanta.

"It is fortunate for you that I came alone," replied Koṭi; "if my brother had come matters would have borne a serious aspect."

"Did your brother descend from heaven? Or did he spring out from the earth? Was he born in peacock's plumes? Was he suckled by the wild buffalo? Will he ride to this place on a noseless horse? Ah! if your brother had come, I would have got a bundle of thorny plants ready and struck him on his face with them," said Buddyanta.

In the meantime the younger brother came to **Uddanda Bottu,** and, looking around him, said to himself:—"What could possibly have delayed my brother so long? He is not yet to be seen."

Thus the quarrel between Buddyanta and Koṭi continued. Words on both sides rose to such a high pitch that the younger brother heard them. Immediately he returned to his house, unsheathed his dagger, proceeded to the place where they were quarrelling, and remonstrated with Buddyanta, and warned him not to interrupt the course of the water which flowed out according to the custom. At this, Buddyanta got enraged and said:—"Dare you speak of the custom, you Biḷḷavar lad?" At this, Channaya fell upon Buddyanta, and holding him by the head, broke his neck and hurled him to the ground, so that he fell prostrate on his back Then he stabbed him on his throat and breast, and thus killed him.

The two brothers held the corpse by the hands and feet and bore it to the channel they had dug and placed it there and covered it up with earth. On their way home they went to Buddyanta's house and called out to his wife, and said to her:—"Our lord, your husband, is very thirsty, his body is full of sweat, and his throat is dry; therefore he has ordered that you should take him a cup of milk and a goglet of water, and betel-leaves in a metal plate."

"Who effected this union between you and my husband?" asked the woman.

"All the people of the upper and lower countries joined and reconciled us to one another," replied the brothers.

"If you have become friends, I shall still have the good fortune of enjoying married life," said the woman, and requested them to take their food in her house, but they declined it. She then offered betel-leaf to them and asked them to chew. They took up some of the leaves in their hands and bid her farewell and returned.

In the meantime Buddyanta's wife did as she was told, and went with a maid-servant to the place were Buddyanta had been sitting, scaring away the birds. Instead of seeing him, she saw a harrow, decorated so as to assume the appearance of Buddyanta, placed on his seat. At the same time she saw blood slowly flowing through a narrow channel. Immediately she cried out:—"Alas! the brothers have committed murder!" So saying, she threw away her nose ornament, and her neck ornament and earings and bracelets, and began to mourn for the loss of her husband. The brothers standing at a distance rejoiced to see her in this distracted con-

dition; and then they returned home. On account of this wicked deed of theirs, every man in their country became their enemy; so they resolved to go to some foreign land.

So they first went to their uncle's house to pay him their last visit. Their aunt saw them coming from afar, and told her husband that his nephews were coming. He went out to meet them and brought them into his house. As soon as they came in, their aunt spread out a bed of flowers on a swinging-cot and asked them to sit down. So they sat down, and their uncle also sat there with them. "Children," said their uncle, "you have not been here for a long time, and now with what object have you visited us to-day? And what are those stains on your faces? And why does your dagger shine so brightly?"

"Our mother has not been able to wash away those stains, and our dagger having been whetted, the polish on it still continues," replied the brothers.

"Tell me the story as it is, will you, my children?" asked their uncle.

The younger brother said:—"The tone of Buddyanta's words rose to a high pitch and so he met his death at my hands."

"Now you will be hated by one and all of the people of this country," said their uncle.

"We will leave our country and go to a foreign one. Up to this time you have supplied us with a handful of food, after our death you would have reduced our bodies into two seers of ashes," said one of the brothers.

"When you were seven years old, land was given to you by the Parmale Ballâḷ. Do not go away when you possess land and the love of woman. Make the throne (*i. e.*, the Ballâḷ) the cause of your departure. Consider this well," said the uncle.

They then asked him to tell them the means by which they were to carry his advice into execution.

"O you children, listen to me. The *pañcholi* betel creeper that has climbed up the areca-nut tree and *mundoli* betel creeper that has climbed up the mango tree. Fetch some leaves of both the creepers, tie them in bundles, put them into the skirts of your garments, and beg of the Ballâḷ to give you food and clothing according to the promise which he had made to your mother. Then he will become terribly angry. At that time catch him at his very word, put the blame upon him, and go away." Thus did he advise the two brothers.

Afterwards they took their meals, and chewed betel-nut and departed. And then did according to their uncle's advice and went to the Ballâḷ's hall, and found him seated on his throne in great pomp. To him thus seated they humbly bowed. "Come, children, take your seats," said he, and ordered seats to be given to them. So they sat down, and the Ballâḷ asked them to tell him the object of their visit.

"We have become tired of living by cultivation, and our purses have become empty; therefore, give us something substantial that will always bring us an income sufficient to meet all our expenses," said the brothers.

"What do you want, my children? Tell me and I will give it you," said the Ballâḷ.

"In front of the *bidu*, there is a field called **Bâkimâr**, sowing five seers of seed and producing five hundred *mudis*; give us that," asked the brothers.

"That field meets all the expenses of the *biḍu*; leave that alone and ask something else," said the Ballâḷ.

"There is a field named **Bertali** below your *biḍu*, sowing three seers of seed and producing three hundred *mudis*; give us that," asked the brothers.

"Let that alone and ask me something else," said the Ballâḷ.

"In your spacious cow-pen there are two she-buffaloes; give us one of them," asked the brothers.

"They are for supplying milk to the children of my *bidu;* let them alone and ask something else," said the Ballâḷ.

"In the yard of your house there is a jack tree of a superior quality, bringing forth on one of its branches fruits of soft rind, on another of its branches those with hard rind, on a third unripe fruits, and on a fourth very tender ones; give us that," asked the brothers.

"I cannot give you that," said the Ballâḷ.

"Your grandmother has got two pleasure gardens; favour us with one of them," said the brothers.

"You, who, to-day, have asked for a flower garden, will to-morrow ask me to give you my grandmother," said the Ballâḷ in anger.

"Ho! You have conceived the strange idea of marrying us to your grandmother!" said the brothers; and bowing low, rushed out from the hall, and proceeded on their way to a foreign country. While they were going, the Ballâḷ's nephew met them, and asked them, why they were going with such angry looks from the Ballâḷ's hall.

"The Ballâḷ hit on the idea of marrying us to his grandmother; we therefore ran out of his hall," said the brothers.

Then he went to this uncle the Ballâḷ, and asked him why those young men ran out of his hall.

"They asked me to give them very unusual gifts, at which I became very angry. So they saluted me and went away," said the Ballâḷ.

"We must pursue them," said the nephew.

So the royal elephant was sent out after them.

"If you have come on behalf of justice, on our very breasts we will let you tread; but if on behalf of injustice, we will cut you to pieces," said the brothers to the elephant.

On this the elephant returned to its stable, and the royal horse was sent after them. They said the same words to the horse as they had said to the elephant. And the horse went back to its stable. So the brothers proceeded on their way, and resolved to get back (from a plow-wright to whom they had given them to get them repaired) some of the implements of husbandry. So they went to the plow-wright and asked of him the things that they had entrusted to him.

"The plow-tail and the plow-share have been injured by white-ants. The plow-shoe has been injured by rust," said the plow-wright.

"You had better give us our implements; if not, we will reduce you to Buddyanta's condition," said the brothers.

Hearing this he went in, and stretched his hands to the rafters of his roof, took from thence the broken plow-share, the decayed plow-tail and the injured plow-foot and threw them towards the brothers, saying:—"Let those implements which were used to furrow the earth, henceforwards furrow your breasts."

"Ho! thou paltry whoreson! Shall the implements used to furrow the earth furrow our breasts?" asked the brothers. So saying, Channayya Baidya held him by the head and broke his neck; hurling him to to the ground, so that he fell down on his back. He looked on his neck and on his breast, and with his silver-hilted dagger stabbed him in the breast. He vomited all his food. The wound streamed forth blood. He fled from his body to Kailâsa.

They said to the corpse :—" Drink a bellyful of rain-water. Repair old plows and make new ones."

So saying, they went on. On the way, a **washerman** asked them :—" What are those cries of men and groans of women in that plow-wright's house ?"

" We kindled a fire, a spark flew from it and burnt a shed; therefore, the inmates of the house are crying out," said the brothers.

" Wherever you go, there ruin will never be wanting; for wherever the crab goes, there dirt will never be wanting," said the washerman.

" Do you compare us to a crab that lives in the water ? Thou whoreson, that live by washing dirt from other men's clothes !" said the brothers. And holding him by the head they broke his neck, and hurled him down to the ground; so that he fell on his back. They then stabbed him three times.

They then said to the corpse :—" Bring dirty clothes, cleanse them, and eat your bellyful."

Saying thus, they proceeded on their way, and came to a small river, in which they washed themselves. Afterwards they sat down by the foot of an *asvatha* tree, and chewed betel-leaves and areca-nut. Thus, being refreshed, they went on and approached a toll-gate on the way. The toll-man, **Dêre**, saw them coming, and asked them who they were. They said that they were travellers.

" Look, there is the toll-gate, pay me the toll before you go away," said Dêre.

" Toll ! What is it on ? Do we carry any packs on our heads ? Do you see any loads on our backs ? Is it on any cattle that we have brought with us ? Have we brought a whole family with us ?" asked the brothers.

To this, the toll-man, Dêre, answered: —" The toll on the steel-dagger of the length of five feet that you carry with you amounts to a cash; pay that to me and then go away."

The brothers said :—" No man has set so low a price on our dagger; and now you have been born."

" Is it any wonder that you should pay the toll ? If the son of a Baṇṭ should pass this way he would pay toll on the slippers on his feet. Should the son of a merchant pass the toll-gate, he would pay toll on the white umbrella that he holds. If a king's son should pass this way, he would pay toll on his palankin," said the toll-man.

" You may proceed ; I will pay the toll to Dêre and follow you," said the younger to his elder brother.

So the elder brother went on. Then the younger brother took a cash from his purse and said :—" Here, Dêre, receive the toll !"

Stretch your hand to the *pial* and pay it to me," said Dêre.

" Come down from the *pial* and receive it," said the younger brother.

" I will not descend from the *pial*," said the toll-man.

The younger brother then stood a while, gazing on him with fiery eyes ; and twisting his red mustaches, got up upon the *pial*, and made Dêre to run round it three times. Then he held him by the head and broke his neck; and then he held him by the back, and broke the back-bone, stabbing his breast and neck three times with his silver-hilted dagger. Dêre vomited all his food. His soul fled from his body to Kailâsa.

The younger brother then said to the corpse :—" Eat your bellyful and thus feed your belly. Receive toll from Baṅga, Mûllya and Chanta."

So saying, he placed a cash on the breast of the corpse and went on. He overtook his brother and both proceeded on their journey. When the day began to wane they became tired. The younger brother became very thirsty and said :—" O brother, my throat is dry. I am almost dying with thirst: what shall I do ?"

"Look yonder, brother, there is the spot named **Dharma Kaṭṭe.** Look, there it is in sight; it is very near. A poor **Brâhmaṇ** keeps holy water there," said his elder brother.

So they proceeded and reached Dharma Kaṭṭe. "Give us a little water, O Brâhmaṇ, to quench our thirst," said they.

"What is your caste ?" asked the Brâhmaṇ.

"We are Billavars by caste," replied the brothers.

"Come to the southern side where I have a tube of bell-metal. Through it I will pour water into your hands, and thus allay your thirst," said the Brâhmaṇ.

"We will not drink out of the vessel that has been used by people of a hundred and twenty different castes. We will hold our dagger to our mouths, and you may pour water into our mouths through it," said the brothers.

The elder brother then placed the point of the dagger in his mouth and stretched the hilt towards the Brâhmaṇ, and the Brâhmaṇ slowly poured water on the hilt; thus he quenched his thirst. Next Channayya did the same, and the Brâhmaṇ poured water as before. While pouring water upon the dagger the Brâhmaṇ saw the red mustaches, fiery eyes and broad face of Channayya and his hand trembled. He poured a large quantity of water all at once so that it ran down on to Channayya's body. The latter then said :—" O Brâhmaṇ ! Do you give water for the sake of charity, or for the purpose of committing sin ?"

Saying this, Channayya suddenly stood up. Seeing this, the Brâhmaṇ began to run and Channayya followed him.

"Wait a little, brother ! Wait a little ! Do not murder the Brâhmaṇ. If you disobey me, your crime will be equal to that of murdering me, or to that of killing a cow in Banâras, or to that of destroying the *stâna* of the Bhûta Brahmâ of Kemmule." Thus did Koṭi solemnly forbid his brother to hurt the Brâhmaṇ.

Hearing this, the latter drew back, and said :—" The cow that you speak of is in Banâras, the *stâna* is in the forests of Kemmule; and where can I wash away the sin of murdering you ?" So saying he returned to where his brother was standing.

Then the Brâhmaṇ said :—" Wait here a little while, O brothers. I will just go home and return."

So saying he quickly went home and brought two seers of milk in two cups, and gave it to the brothers to drink. They accordingly drank the milk, and said to each other that they would not murder the Brâhmaṇ that had given them milk.

"Sit down both of you, and I will predict future events." said the Brâhmaṇ.

So he prophesied and said :—" Oh you heroes, in the village named **Adakkanellyine,** the Koragars living in their huts, the Mugers in their street, and Bakders of the plain are eagerly waiting to meet you. **Kemêr Ballâḷ,** of the village named **Pañje,** keeps a watchful guard ; therefore, be very cautious on your way. If you think that what I say is false, on your way to **Nellijine,** you will see white stone-berries and **Koṭi Baidya's** palankin, and hear the sound of the war-drum. If you think this also to be false, you will meet a female areca-nut seller called **Kântakke** ; she will verify my statement. And if this too shall prove false, when you return, you may put me to death."

Hearing this, Koṭi and Channayya walked on. On the way, they met the female areca-nut seller, **Kântakke.**

She cried out :—"O children, why are you going? Where did you come from? Where do you go to? Wood, stone, and earth-work is being busily carried on there. O children, why are you going?"

"She, who has given us such good advice, shall not henceforwards carry the basket of areca-nuts on her head," said the brothers to each other, and gave her their blessing by lightly touching her hand with their dagger; and said to her :—"Put out rice to interest in kind and money to interest in coin and thus live happily."

So saying, they went on their way to **Nellijine.** While they were walking on their way they saw a bunch of stone-berries from which Channayya took one and threw it up. He held his dagger directly under it and made it to pass through the berry, which was reduced to fine powder. The men who waited for them in ambush saw this wonderful feat and said :—"If the younger brother can shew so much dexterity, how much more will the elder? All our ability and skill would be nothing in comparison to theirs. If we obey our master's orders and attack them we shall loose our lives."

So saying, the Bakders and the Koragars and the Mugers fled away. And the brothers proceeded on their journey, and went through the plain of **Pañje.** On that plain there were some cowherds grazing cows. Channayya proposed a riddle to them and said :—"Look, there in your herd of cattle, a bull has brought forth a calf and is licking it."

To this the cowherds answered :—"Look to the west, O you heroes, and see the fire!"

"It is the sun setting, boys!" said the brothers.

To this, the cowherds answered :—"It is not that the bull has brought forth a calf and is licking it, but the bull is smelling its dung."

"Oh! they have solved our riddle, brother," said Koṭi.

"We must get every information about the way from these boys," said the brothers to each other. And asked of the boys the way to the house of a rich man in **Paḷḷi** called **Payya Baidya.** Thus, getting every information about the way, they proceeded and reached the house of Payya Baidya. They called out his name three times, but he was not at home, and his wife came out and asked who they were. They said that they were travellers, and asked whether Payya, the rich man of Paḷḷi, was present or not.

"He is not present; he has gone to draw toddy from the palm-trees in the forest called **Sanka,**" replied his wife.

"At what time does he go out, and when does he return?" asked the brothers.

"He goes out in the morning and returns at noon. If you are Brâhmaṇs wearing the thread, sit down on the round *pial* of the cocoanut-tree bearing red fruits. If you belong to the Vakkater Tribe, sit down in the shed, built by the poor man. If you belong to our caste, sit down on the swinging-cot within the house," said the woman.

Hearing this, they approached the house and said :—"We will not enter into a house in which there are no males."

So they spread out their blanket within the shed and sat on it, and chewed betel-nut with great delight. Then Channayya became thirsty. "You, who are a member of Payya's family, please give us a cup of water," asked the brothers.

To this the woman answered :—"I will not go out of my house to a place where there are no males (belonging to my family)."

She said this merely in jest ;she did not mean it in earnest. So she took off her dirty dress and put on a clean one, and, taking a copper-pot in her hands, drew pure water from the

deep well. She poured the water into a goglet and came into the house. When she was coming, the younger brother looked at the elder's face, and the elder looked at the younger's face. They indulged in suppressed laughter.

"You males, are you laughing at my beauty, or at my foolishness?" asked the woman.

"We did not laugh at your foolishness, but we laughed at your beauty," answered the brothers. They further said :—"Before we could drink the water given by you, you must tell us the place you were born in, the tribe you belong to, the names of your parents, and the Bhûta you worship."

"(As for my native place) in its eastern part, it is named Seṭṭi **Bannâḷa**; in its western part, it is called Uppi Bannâḷa; in its southern part, it bears the name of Kirodi Bannâla; and in the northern, it is known by the name of Becchi Bannâla. My father is **Sâyina Baidya**, my mother **Sayina Baidetti**, and my uncle **Kântaṇṇa Baidya**. As for the Bhûta worshipped by my family, I have merely heard it said, that it is the Bhûta **Brahmara of Kemmule**. I have not personally seen it. It is said that, after my birth, my mother gave birth to two children in **Parimâle's** house; that they are burning city after city without even fire; and that my hands were joined to those of a stranger at the age of seven. My name is **Kinni Dâru**." Thus did the woman answer.

"We are the persons that committed depredation in the kingdom of Parimâle," said the brothers.

Hearing this, she held Channayya by her left hand and Koṭi by her right, and brought them into the house, and seated them on the swinging-cot. And brought milk in two cups, and asked them to drink. In the meantime, Payya Baidya came home carrying a pot of toddy. Seeing the brothers, he inquired of her who they were, and rejoiced to hear that they were his brothers-in-law. Hot water was prepared, and they all bathed. Afterwards they sat down to take their food. They were served with boiled rice, *ghî*, and various kinds of curry and pickles. Thus, after finishing their meal, they sat down on the swinging cot and chewed betel-leaves and nut. In conversation they asked Payya Baidya :—"Who are the most intimate friends and the most faithful servants of **Kemêr Ballâḷ of Pañje**?"

"I was the dearest friend of the former Ballâḷ, but those of the present Ballâḷ are **Chamundu Burneye**, and **Chandagidi Baidya**," said Payya.

"Can you introduce us to one of them?" asked the brothers.

"I can," said Payya. And so the three went to visit him. They found him engaged in teaching a number of boys to play on the flute. As soon as they arrived, he ordered the boys to be silent. So they went in and were introduced to him by Payya Baidya. In conversation they requested Chandagidi to introduce them to the Ballâḷ. He consented, and took them to the Ballâḷ's hall, and introduced them to him. The brothers then saluted him, and the Ballâḷ received them with honor and offered them seats. Just at this time a messenger from the Ballâḷ of Parimâle brought a letter to this Ballâḷ. It was to the following effect :—

"Koṭi and Channayya, two brothers, have committed murder in the kingdom of Parimâle; they have murdered one Buddyanta. Therefore, if they come to you, you should confine them in a narrow room, and put them in heavy chains."

The Ballâḷ quietly read this letter, and, after some time in conversation, he said to them :—"I have erected a *biḍu*, and I have named it **Elade**; I would like you should examine it and point out to me its several beauties and defects."

So saying, he conducted them to his *biḍu*. They examined all the apartments and said :—"O Lord, there is no creeper without a curve, there is no thorn without a point."

Then the Ballâḷ led them to the upper story which was very strongly built, and shewed it to them. While going out the Ballâḷ came out first, and suddenly the porter shut the doors, and the man that had the charge of the key locked them. Their legs were heavily chained.

The elder brother then cried out :—"Oh God! Oh my hard fate! Oh woeful day! What shall we do now? Now we must die in this dungeon. Oh Brahmâ of **Kemmule**, we consecrate to you the silver hilt of our daggers as our offering to you. If you are the Brahmâ that relieves men from their difficulties, relieve us now. We are heroes, who, while living, deserve a place in the king's council, and, after death, deserve to be taken to the heaven of Brahmâ. We are persons that would not, under any circumstances, fail to fulfil our promise."

At these words, Brahmâ sent them extraordinary strength in their shoulders. Then the heavy chains broke. The upper story gave way. They crushed it like elephants. They stamped on it like tigers. They shewed their ferocity like wild boars. In this manner they destroyed the *bîḍu*, and levelled it to the ground. Then they escaped from **Pañje**, and proceeded on their journey towards **Êdambûr**. On their way they rested under a banyan-tree, and opening their bags began to chew betel-leaves and nut. While they were thus sitting, they saw a man coming from the Êdambûr side. They asked his name, and where he was going. He said that he was **Channayya of Êdambûr**, and that he was going to Pañje.

"Why are you going to Pañje?" asked the brothers.

"My master, the Ballâḷ of Êdambûr has heard that two heroes had come from Parimâle to Pañje, that they had been imprisoned by the Ballâḷ of Pañje, and that they had destroyed the upper story in which they had been imprisoned, and levelled the whole *bîḍu* to the ground. Therefore I am going to Pañje to ascertain the truth about this news," replied Channayya of Êdambûr.

"You need not go so far to ascertain the truth of it. We ourselves are the heroes whom the Ballâḷ of Pañje treacherously imprisoned. We have broken open the door of the upper story where we were confined and destroyed his *bîḍu*, and levelled it to the ground," replied the brothers.

Then Channayya of Êdambûr was surprised and glad to see them, and said :—"My master, the Ballâḷ of Êdambûr, is the enemy of the Ballâḷ of Pañje. Therefore he will be very glad to see you, and receive you with great honour."

So saying, he proposed to them that they should go to the **Ballâḷ of Êdambûr**. The brothers consented, and the three proceeded on their journey to Êdambûr. On the first day they remained at Channayya's house, and took their meals and rested. On the following morning they went to see the Ballâḷ. He was sitting on his throne with great delight. Channayya first entered and made obeisance to the Ballâḷ.

"What are the news about the heroes, Channayya?" said the Ballâḷ.

"My lord," replied he, "I have brought them with me, and they are waiting outside the hall."

"Let them come in," said the Ballâḷ, and ordered a bed of flowers to be spread out before them. When they came in, he asked them to sit down upon it. They sat down on the bed and placed their daggers on the ground. The Ballâḷ then said to them :—"I know by hearsay that you have been imprisoned in Pañje. Is it true?"

"We were, my lord," said the heroes.

"Oh heroes, now it behoves a to you to remain in my kingdom. Do you want the field called Berampoḷḷi cultivated by the Brahmans, or that called Guttuberke cultivated by the Baṇṭs, or that called Naṭṭil Nâlaja cultivated by the Billavars?" asked the Ballâḷ.

The brothers replied:—"If you give us the field Naṭṭil Nâlaja, cultivated by the Billavars, our very caste people will become our enemies. If you give us that field Guttuberke, cultivated by the Baṇṭs, it will be like setting a dog against a dog. If you give us the field Berampoḷḷi, cultivated by the Brâhmans, you will be only setting the cobra against the serpent. Therefore, if there is any waste land or any land overgrown with the plants *tumbe* and *nekki*, give that to us. If there is any land such as is named by us, favour us with that."

"O heroes! there is the land called **Ekkâḍka Erryaṅgada,**" said the Ballâḷ."

"Then give us that, and mark out its boundaries," said the brothers.

Accordingly the Ballâḷ marked out its boundaries. When he had done so, they went and inhabited that desolate land. They engaged a woman to cook for them, and began to cultivate the waste land. They ploughed the fields and manured it, and sowed seed in it. In course of time it came up and flourished. While the fields were waving and there was a prospect of a fine crop, on a certain night, wild hogs came and destroyed all. Next morning, when they went to see their field, they found that all had been destroyed by wild hogs. At this they became very angry and said to one another:—"This Ballâḷ of Êdambûr is a very poor king, and hunting is not practised in his kingdom; the food of this place is very course, even the water that we drink is bad."

When they spoke thus to each other, some one overheard the remarks, went in, and reported it to the Ballâḷ. The Ballâḷ, hearing this, appointed a day for a hunt, and caused a proclamation to be made by beating of tom-toms that there should assemble in the town, on the appointed day, every man who had a tuft upon his head. Accordingly all the people assembled with their arms, swords, bows and arrows, etc., on the appointed day. Hunting dogs also were ready. So they started early in the morning, on the appointed day, and went to the forests called **Saṅka** towards the east. They blew the horns, beat the bush, and yelled and made a great noise, in order to frighten the beasts so that they might shew themselves. At last a very big boar was discovered in a large pit. When it heard the great grunting and noise made by the men, dogs, etc., it started and began to run. It came near **Koṭi,** roaring as if to tear him to pieces. Koṭi was now in a strait. He could not fly from the beast without bringing a stain on his heroism, and could not fight with it without risking his life. In this strait he prayed to the Bhûta, **Brahmara of Kemmule,** craving his help; and, setting an arrow to his bow, discharged it with such dexterity, that it entered the body through the mouth and came out through the anus. The boar cried out with a loud noise, and ran towards Pañje and fell down dead on the borders between Pañje and Êdambûr. The hunters went searching after the boar, looking along the traces of blood on the ground.

In the meantime one of the tenants of the Ballâḷ of Pañje saw the dead body of the boar on the borders of the land between Pañje and Êdambûr, and went to his neighbours, brought them to the place and shewed it to them. They all examined it and found that it had been killed by hunters, and had not died of any disease. Assuring themselves of this fact, they began to carry it to their quarters. The hunters reached the spot immediately after the boar was carried away, and looking towards Pañje they saw at a distance a great number of men carrying the boar. They pursued them, overtook, and compelled them to lay down their burden. One of them immediately ran to the Ballâḷ of Pañje and informed him. In the meantime a regular hand-to-hand fight took place. The Pañje Ballâḷ sent one hundred men with bows and arrows to fight with the hunters. When these men appeared on the scene, the hunters of Êdambûr were frightened and retreated. But Koṭi and Channayya, stood firm facing the enemy. Koṭi alone took hold of the tusks of the boar and dragged it to Êdambûr, and Channayya slew one hundred men with his dagger.

So the hunters returned to Êdambûr with joy. The flesh of the boar being distributed between them, they cooked it and feasted upon it. On the other hand, the **Ballâḷ of Pañje**

heard of the slaughter of his men with sorrow, and determined to destroy the kingdom of the Ballâḷ of Êdambûr, especially the heroes, Koṭi and Channayya. So he allied himself with the Ballâḷ of Parimâle, and declared war against the Ballâḷ of Êdambûr. At this, the latter being filled with fear searched for the heroes, Koṭi and Channayya, and told them that on account of his giving them shelter, two powerful Ballâls had become his enemies and declared war against him. Then the heroes told him to take courage, and not in the least to be afraid of his enemies. Then the Ballâḷ asked them to shew him their skill and bravery.

At this Koṭi said :—"Bring me a *mura* of gingelly seed, and I will shew my skill."

So the seed was brought, and Koṭi shewed all the dexterity of his hands and caused the seed to fly in the air.

Then the Ballâḷ said:—"I have seen your skill; now I want to see the skill of your brother Channayya."

"O my lord," said Channayya, "your swinging-cot has four iron chains, please order one of such chains to be brought to me."

So a very heavy iron chain was brought and given to Channayya. He took it in his hand and broke it into pieces.

So the Ballâḷ, seeing this skill, and the strength and bravery of these heroes, was highly pleased with them, and prepared for battle. Eight hundred men with bows and arrows were ready for battle. Each of the brothers commanded four hundred men, and went to face the enemy. The Ballâḷs of Parimâle and Pañje each sent one thousand men with bows and arrows. Both these armies met in a plain, and the fight began in earnest. At first the men commanded by the brothers began to give way, but were encouraged again (by the brothers) to stand firm After some time the men of Pañje and Parimâle felt the battle to be hot against them. The brothers shewed so much courage and skill that the enemy could not long stand against them ; so they fled for their lives, and were pursued by the men of Êdambûr, and a great number of them were killed. When the battle was the hottest an arrow hit Koṭi in the lower part of his leg. As it was a poisoned arrow, it slowly took effect and Koṭi fell down while pursuing the enemy. At once he was carried in a palanquin to the Ballâḷ's hall, and there he expired. Channayya slaughtered the whole army of the enemy, and while returning to the Ballâḷ's hall he heard of the death of his brother. As he had been elated with pride and joy on account of the victory against the enemy, this shock was too much for him to bear. So, seeing a rock in the way he struck his head against it and killed himself. The Ballâḷ, instead of rejoicing at the victory gained by the brothers against the enemy, was filled with grief on hearing the news of their death. So he caused their bodies to be washed and annointed ; mango and jack fruits were cut down and firewood was prepared, and a large funeral pile was made, and the bodies were placed upon the pile and burnt with all the usual ceremonies. So the brothers who were together in life were together in death also.

Therefore the people, and especially the Billavars, believe that these heroes are still powerful in the other world, and worship them.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE SIGNS OF A SACRED BULLOCK.

HINDU Râjpûts in Gurgâon shew me a bullock with a small fleshy growth in the corner of his eye, which they call a "tongue" (*jîbh*), and tell me that a bullock with such a growth in his eye or elsewhere — *e. g.*, on his head or his back — must not be yoked by any Hindû, or he will be excommunicated by his brethren. An animal with such a mark is called *nâdiyâ* (= *nandi:* see Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.*, *s. v.*), which is the name of the bull that carries Śiva, and must be given to a Jôgî, who puts trappings and strings of *kauṛis* (shell money, *Cypræa moneta*) on him, and takes him about on his begging expeditions to

excite the reverence and generosity of good Hindûs by shewing them the sacred mark.

J. WILSON in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A RELIC OF HUMAN SACRIFICE.

MARI MAI, the goddess of cholera, is propitiated in the Kâṅgṛâ district by the Pachbalâ and Satbalâ ceremonies. At the Pachbalâ ceremony a pumpkin (*pêthâ*), a male buffalo, a cock, a ram, and a he-goat are offered to the goddess at some selected spot. The animals must be decapitated at one blow with a sharp sword before the goddess is appeased. If more than one blow is necessary the goddess is not propitiated, and the ceremony fails. The Satbalâ ceremony is not now in use, for it consisted of the above with a man and a woman added, being in fact human sacrifice; *balâ* = (?) sacrifice, *cf. bal jânâ*, to sacrifice one's self.

R. C. TEMPLE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BOOK-NOTICE.

PROFESSOR WEBER'S ANNIVERSARY.

PROFESSOR A. WEBER, of Berlin, the distinguished Sanskritist, was in a position to celebrate last year, in good health, the fiftieth anniversary of the day on which he took his degree of Ph.D. in the University of Breslau. In commemoration of the day, a *Festgabe* has been published, under the editorship of Prof. Kuhn, which contains learned papers by thirty friends and pupils of Prof. Weber. We subjoin a list of the several heads under which it will perhaps be permitted to arrange the subjects treated in the thirty papers, with the names of the authors added in brackets; *viz.*, Vedic Studies (Delbrück, Garbe, Geldner, Leumann, R. von Roth, L. von Schröder, Sieg), Tales and Folklore (Eggeling, Kern, Kuhn, E. Müller, Windisch), Biography of Sanskrit Writers (Clenm, Pischel), Dramatic Literature (Cappeller, Zachariä), Geography (Huth, Stein), History of Writing (Ludwig, Pertsch), Metrics (Jacobi, Oldenberg), Sanskrit Grammar (Heller, Kielhorn), Comparative Philology (Schmidt, Zimmer), Pâli Lexicography (Franke), Siamese (Frankfurter), Singhalese (Geiger), Sanskrit Law (the present writer). The variety of the topics discussed in the papers is even greater than what might be inferred from the foregoing enumeration, and corresponds to the wide range of Prof. Weber's own investigations. The universality of his studies and the importance of his distinguished achievements in the entire field of Indo-Aryan Philology has been well brought in a Dedicatory Preface to the present volume by Prof. Bühler. We join heartily in the wish that Prof. Weber may be spared for many years to come to enjoy his eminent position in the learned world and to add to the lustre of Sanskrit Philology by his scientific work.

Würzburg. J. JOLLY.

SOME RECENT RESEARCHES CONCERNING THE MAHABHARATA.

PROFESSOR HOLTZMANN'S four volumes on the *Mahâbhârata* in the East and West have been succeeded very quickly by Dr. Dahlmann's book on the *Mahâbhârata* viewed as an epic and as a lawbook.[1] This is a very remarkable work, and the author, an industrious and clever pupil of Prof. Bühler's, has worked out his new theory regarding the rise and origin of the great epic with great care and skill. Starting upon the hints thrown out by Prof. Bühler, in his well-known *Contributions to the History of the Mahâbhârata*, to the effect that the *Mahâbhârata* certainly was a *smṛiti* or compendium of the sacred law from A. D. 300, and similar in contents to the now extant works about 500 A. D., Dr. Dahlmann has examined the references to the *Mahâbhârata*, and the legends related in it, in the *Jâtakas*, the *Dharmakathâ* of the Jains, Aśvaghôsha's *Buddhacharita*, Âśvalâyana's *Gṛihyasûtra*, Pâṇini and Patañjali. He thus arrives at the result that an epic little differing in size and character from the present work must have existed as early as the fifth century B. C. This is a somewhat startling proposition, and it may be questioned whether Dr. Dahlmann has not overrated the value of some of the evidence collected by himself. He is quite right, no doubt, in assuming that Aśvaghôsha was acquainted with the *Mahâbhârata*, and his lucid discussion of the difficult texts in question, in collecting which he has received much valuable assistance from Prof. Bühler, is among the most remarkable parts of his work.

The early date which Dr. Dahlmann has thus endeavoured to make out for the great epic concerns the whole of it, the theory of a gradual rise of the *Mahâbhârata* in successive ages being vigorously contested by him. Indeed, it is his principal aim to prove that the *Mahâbhârata* is and has always been a moral tale, and that it is impossible to separate the didactic portion from the narrative without destroying the latter. The main plot of the poem, Dr. Dahlmann argues, is intended to illustrate the persecution of the just by the unjust and the final triumph of innocence.

[1] *Das Mahâbhârata als Epos und Rechtsbuch.* Von Joseph Dahlmann, S. J. Berlin: 1895.

The poor orphaned Pâṇḍava brothers are cheated of their hereditary right by the wicked Duryôdhana. They are obliged in the end to have recourse to the sword, and after a long struggle their just cause proves victorious. The unity of the main plot corresponds with the unity of style and language which pervades the whole work. Nor are the numerous episodes and intermezzos (amounting to three-fourths of the *Mahâbhârata*) a later outgrowth and superfluous embellishment. Thus the famous history of Nala is quoted by way of analogy, in order to console the principal hero of the epic about his hard fate. In the same way, the *Râmôpâkhyâna* is introduced for the purpose of consoling Yudhishṭhira of the forcible abduction of Draupadî. Many other tales are intended to inculcate special rules of the sacred law, the Gândharva and Âsura forms of marriage being illustrated by the tales regarding Śakuntalâ and Mâdrî, Svayaṁvara by the instance of Ambâ, Niyôga by the cases of Satyavatî and Kuntî. The philosophical doctrines scattered throughout the epic, and the sectarian worship of Vishṇu and Śiva, belong likewise to the original elements of the *Mahâbhârata*.

It is impossible to do full justice to Dr. Dahlmann's elaborate theories without entering into details. Suffice it to mention that they appear to be well substantiated in the main, and that he has certainly succeeded in refuting the old theory of several successive layers still discernible in the body of the epic, which were supposed to represent the social condition of several widely different epochs. The alleged anti-Kaurava tendency in particular, which was conjectured to be due to an innovation on the part of the adherents of the reigning Pâṇḍava dynasty, has never existed. Indeed that theory, which has again been advocated in Prof. Holtzmann's above-mentioned work, has hardly any other foundation to rest upon than a mistaken derivation of the name of Duryôdhana which does not denote 'a bad fighter,' but 'one who is hard to overcome.' On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Dr. Dahlmann has carried his didactic theory too far, thus, *e. g.*, it is difficult to agree with him that the extraordinary marriage of Draupadî with the five Pâṇḍava brothers is a mere allegorical illustration of the community of property in an undivided family. The tabular synopsis of the sons, natural and adopted, according to eight authorities, is useful and instructive, but Dr. Dahlmann seems to have overlooked the fact that an analogous table based on the statements of fourteen authors has been given in Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*. The numerous Sanskrit quotations from the *Mahâbhârata* are well selected and have been correctly given as a rule. Slight mistakes or misprints occur in the quotations at pp. 69, 108, 116, 145, 148, 158, 169, 183, 203, 255, 256, 258, 274, etc. The difficult but important question as to the commentaries of the *Mahâbhârata* has been left aside by Dr. Dahlmann. The earliest commentary extant, as pointed out by Prof. Bühler, belongs to the fourteenth century A. D., and it is clear enough that the external evidence bearing on the condition of the *Mahâbhârata* is much weaker than, *e. g.*, in the case of the Code of Manu, of which a continuous series of commentaries exists from the ninth century downwards. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that, *e. g.*, the last twenty-three chapters of the *Âśvamêdhika Parvan* are deficient in all printed editions of the great epic, and have been discovered but recently by Paṇḍit Vâman Śâstrî Islâmpurkar[2] in an old Malayâḷam copy of the *Mahâbhârata* and in the so-called *Smṛiti* of Vṛiddha-Gautama. As to the weakness of the historical element in the great epic, Dr. Dahlmann agrees with the views advanced by Prof. Ludwig in 1884. The latter scholar has published very recently a paper on the mythical basis of the *Mahâbhârata*,[3] in which the main incidents of the plot are explained allegorically. The Pâṇḍava brothers are the seasons, and Draupadî, their common wife, is the earth. Bhîma represents the spring season. Duryôdhana, the cruel pursuer of the Pâṇḍavas, is the deity of winter. The long and manifold struggles described in the epic correspond to the incessant conflict between the successive seasons of the year. The dice are the stars, the winning stars are those constellations the rise of which marks the beginning of winter.

The question as to the date of the *Mahâbhârata* has been incidentally treated in Prof. Jacobi's recent paper on the origin of Buddhism.[4] He considers the second or third century B. C. to be the very latest date, on the ground that the Śakas and Yavanas are not referred to in the epic as nations inhabiting the Pañjâb, and that neither Buddhism nor the Persian sway over the Pañjâb is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*.

J. JOLLY.

Würzburg.

[2] The *Parâśara Dharma Saṁhitâ*, Vol. I., p. 7 (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1893).

[3] *Über die mythische Grundlage des Mahâbhârata.* Prag. 1895.

[4] *Der Ursprung des Buddhismus aus dem Sânkhya-Yoga.*

MISCELLANEA.

MISCELLANEOUS DATES OF INSCRIPTIONS.

1. — A date with a Vijaya-saptamî.

THE Tôrkhêḍê plates of the reign of the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda III., published by Dr. Fleet in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 54 ff., in lines 1-3, contain the date —

> Śakanṛipakâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu pañchatriṁśaty-adhikêshu[1] **Pausha-suddha-saptamyâm**=aṅkatô=pi saṁvatsara-śatâni 735 **Nandana**-saṁvatsarê Paushaḥ śuddha-tithiḥ 7 asyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-divasa-pûrvvâyâṁ;

and in line 43 we are told, besides, that the grant was made 'adya **vijaya-saptamyâm**,' *i. e.*, 'today, on the (*tithi* called) **vijaya-saptamî**.' This additional remark enables us to verify the date with absolute certainty.

According to a verse[2] from the *Bhavishyat-purâṇa*, quoted in Hêmâdri's *Chaturvarga-chintâmaṇi*, Vol. III. Part II. p. 625, the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of a month is termed **Vijayâ** (*i. e.*, such a *tithi* is a **vijaya-saptamî**), when it falls on a **Sunday**. Applying this in the present case, the given date practically is **Sunday**, the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha of Śaka-saṁvat 735; and it corresponds, for Śaka-saṁvat 735 *expired*, to **Sunday, the 4th December A. D. 813**, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 2 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

This equivalent of the date shews that the Jovian year **Nandana** has been quoted in the date in accordance with the so-called **northern luni-solar system**. By the southern luni-solar system Nandana would have been Śaka-saṁvat 735 current, *not* expired. And by the mean-sign system Nandana lasted from the 9th May A. D. 812 to the 5th May A. D. 813, *i. e.*, it was current at the commencement of Śaka-saṁvat 735 expired, but was no longer so on the day of the date, the 4th December A. D. 813, which by the mean-sign system would have fallen in the Jovian year Vijaya. This agrees with what I have stated *ante*, Vol. XXV. p. 269.

2. — A date with the Ardhôdaya-yôga.

When during the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Pausha (or *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha), on a **Sunday in day-time**, the moon's *nakshatra* is **Śravaṇa**, and the *yôga* **Vyatîpâta**, this coincidence is called **Ardhôdaya**. It is a most auspicious occasion for making donations. An instance[3] is furnished by the date of some copper-plates of Allâḍa-Doḍḍaya-Reḍḍi, lately sent to me for calculation by Dr. Hultzsch, which runs thus:—

> Śrî-Śâkê kara-bâṇa-viśva-gaṇitê Sâdhâraṇê vatsarê Paushê=**rdhôdaya**-nâmni puṇya-samayê;

i. e., at the auspicious time of the **Ardhôdaya**, in (the month) Pausha of the year Sâdhâraṇa, which was the Śaka year 1352.

From the given definition it follows that, for purposes of calculation, the date is **Sunday**, the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Pausha of Śaka-saṁvat 1352 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was the year Sâdhâraṇa. And with these *data*, it regularly corresponds to **Sunday**, the 14th January A. D. 1431, when the new-moon *tithi* of Pausha ended 2 h. 20 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Śravaṇa** for 11 h. 10 m., and the *yôga* **Vyatîpâta** for 18 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise. The **Ardhôdaya** of the date, therefore, is the time from sunrise to 2 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday, the 14th January A. D. 1431.**

3. — A date with the Kapilâ-shashṭhî.

The 6th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Bhâdrapada (or *pûrṇimânta* Âśvina) is called **Kapilâ-shashṭhî**, when it falls on **Tuesday**, and is joined with the *nakshatra* **Rôhiṇî** and the *yôga* **Vyatîpâta**, and is particularly auspicious for making donations, when the sun, besides, is in the *nakshatra* **Hasta**.[4] Here an instance is furnished by the date of the Śaṅkalâpura inscription of Kṛishṇarâya of Vijayanagara, sent to me for calculation by Dr. Hultzsch, which runs thus:—

> Śaka-varushaṁgaḷu 1435nêya Śrîmukha-saṁvatsara **nija-Bhâdrapada** ba 6 **Maṁgaḷavâra Ka[pi]la-shashṭhi**-puṁṇya-kâladalû.

This date, for Śaka-saṁvat 1435 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was the year Śrîmukha, and in which Bhâdrapada was intercalary, corresponds to **Tuesday, the 20th September A. D. 1513**, when the 6th *tithi* of the dark half of the **second Bhâdrapada** ended 17 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise. On this day the moon's *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî** for 1 h. 58 m., and the *yôga* was **Vyatîpâta** for 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrsie; besides, the sun's longitude at mean sunrise was 169° 46′, and the sun, therefore, *was* in the *nakshatra* **Hasta** (160°-173° 20′).

---

[1] Read *pañchatriṁśad-*.

[2] *Śukla-pakshasya saptamyâṁ Ravi-vârô bhavêd=yadi* | *saptamî Vij yâ nâma tatra dattaṁ mahâ-phalam* ||

[3] For another instance see *ante*, Vol. XXV. p. 290, note 10.

[4] Because this synchronism is rare, the Marâṭhî expression *Kapilashashṭhîchâ yôga*, according to Molesworth, is used of any astonishing or unhoped for combination of favourable circumstances.

4.—A date with a Shaḍasîtimukha-saṁkrânti.

Dr. Fleet informs me that the Chauḍadâmpur inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Mahâdêva of Śaka-saṁvat 1185 (current) and the year Dundubhi (*Páli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 111) contains two other dates, one of which, in lines 92 and 93, is —

> **Rudhirôdgâri**-[saṁvatsa]rada Jêshṭha-bahula 5 (*but possibly* 1) **Âdi-vâra Shaḍasîtimukha-saṁkrânti**-tâtkâladalli; *i.e.*, '**Sunday**, the 5th (*but possibly* 1st) of the dark half of Jyaishṭha of the year **Rudhirôdgârin**, at the time of a **Shaḍasîtimukha-saṁkrânti.**'

The Shaḍaśîtimukha-saṁkrântis are the saṁkrântis of the sun into the signs of Mithuna, Kanyâ, Dhanuḥ, and Mîna;[5] and of these, a saṁkrânti that takes place in the dark half of Jyaishṭha can only be the Mithuna-saṁkrânti. And the year Rudhirôdgârin of the date must be Śaka-saṁvat 1185 expired. In that year the **Mithuna-saṁkrânti** took place, by the Sûrya-siddhânta, 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday, the 27th May A. D. 1263,** during the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Jyaishṭha, which ended on the same day, 12 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. This result shews that the numeral figure for the *tithi* of the date ought to be 3, not 5 (nor 1).

5. — Date of the death of Pratâpa-Dêvarâya of Vijayanagara.

In the genealogical table of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, given by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 36, **Pratâpa-Dêvarâya** is put down as a younger brother of Dêvarâya II.[6] The day on which he died is recorded in *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, p. 95, No. 125, in the following verse in the Pṛithvî metre:—

> **Kshayâhvaya**-kuvatsarê **dvitayayukta-Vaisâkhakê Mahîtanaya-vârakê** yuta-baḷaksha-paksh-êtarê ।
> **Pratâpanidhi-Dêvarâṭ** pralayam=âpa hant=âsamaś=chaturdaśa-dinê kathaṁ Pitṛi-patê nivâryâ gatiḥ ॥

'In the evil year **Kshaya,** in the wretched second **Vaiśâkha,** on a miserable **Tuesday,** in the fortnight which was the reverse of bright, on the fourteenth day, the unequalled store of valour (*pratâpa*) **Dêvarâj,** alas, met with death. How, O Yama, can fate be averted?'[7]

Here it so happens that Śaka-saṁvat 1368 expired is the *only* year **Kshaya** of the southern luni-solar cycle, in which the month **Vaisâkha was intercalary;** and for that year the date is correct. For in Śaka-saṁvat 1368 expired the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the second Vaiśâkha ended 14 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday, the 24th May A. D. 1446,** which therefore is the day on which Pratâpa-Dêvarâya died.

6. — A date of the year 2493 after Vardhamâna's Nirvâṇa.

In an inscription, published in *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, p. 111, No. 141, Kṛishṇarâja Voḍeyar of Maisûr confirms some grants on a date which is given thus:—

> Svasti sri-**Varddhamân-âkhyê Jinê** muktiṁ **gatê sati** ।
> vahni-randhr-âbdhi-nêtraiś=cha vatsarêshu mitêshu vai ॥
> **Vikramâṅka-samâsv**=ind u-gaja-s â m a j a - hastibhiḥ ।
> satîshu gaṇanîyâsu ga ṇita-jñair=bbudhais= tadâ ॥
> **Sâlivâhana-varshêshu**[8] nêtra-bâṇa-nag-êndubhiḥ ।
> pramitêshu **Vikṛity-abdê** Śrâvaṇê mâsi maṅgalê ॥
> Kṛishṇa-pakshê cha pañchamyâṁ tithau **Chandrasya vâsarê** ।;

i. e., on **Monday,** the 5th *tithi* of the dark half of Śrâvaṇa of the year **Vikṛiti,** which was the year 2493 after **Vardhamâna's Nirvâṇa,** the **Vikrama** year 1888, and the **Saka** year 1752, the numbers of the years being denoted by numerical words, which, in the case of the Vikrama year, are irregularly put in the same order (1, 8, 8, 8) as the figures are written.

The date, for Śaka-saṁvat 1752 expired, which was the year Vikṛiti, regularly corresponds to **Monday, the 9th August A. D. 1830,** when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise. Śaka-saṁvat 1752 *expired* is equivalent to the *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama-saṁvat 1888 *current;* and this, again, has been commuted into the year 2493 after Vardhamâna's Nirvâṇa simply by the addition of 605. See *ante*, Vol XII. p. 21.

Göttingen. F. KIELHORN.

---

[5] See *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 330.

[6] So far as I know, the latest available date for Dêvarâya II. is the date of the Tañjavûr inscription, published by Dr. Hultzsch in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 339, of Śaka-saṁvat 1368 expired and the year Kshaya, which corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th June A. D. 1446. And the Seringapatam plates of his son and successor Mallikârjuna Immaḍi-Dêvarâya (*Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 17, No. 11) are dated in the month of Mârgaśîrsha of Śaka-saṁvat 1370 (current) and the year Prabhava, falling in A. D. 1447.

[7] For a similar date, of Vikrama-saṁvat 1100, see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 181, No. 134.

[8] The omission of the word *Saka* from this phrase is quite unusual.

INDEX.